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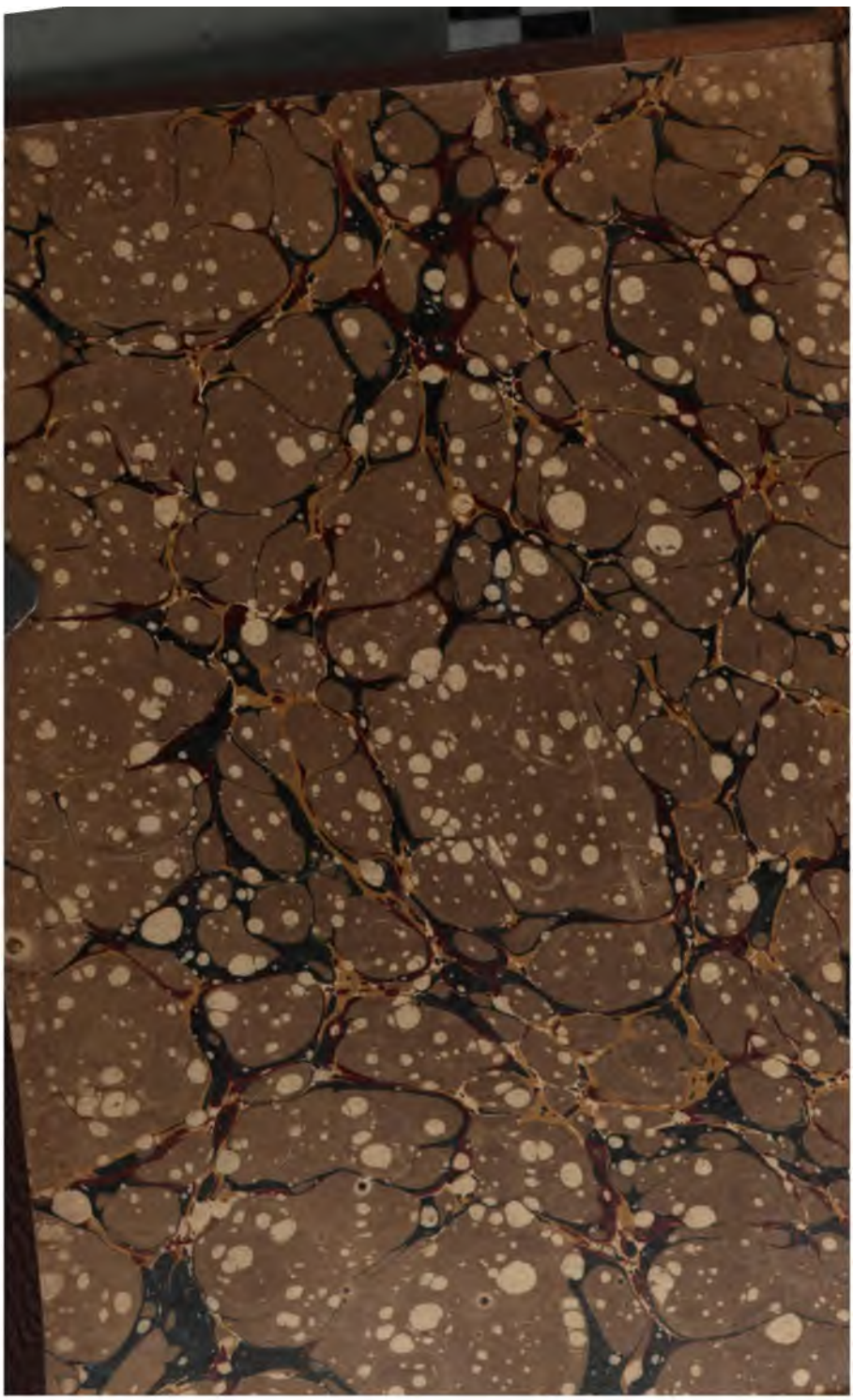
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TRANSACTIONS
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I.—THE DIALECT OF PEWSEY (WILTSHIRE).

By JOHN KJEDERQVIST, Ph.D., Docent in the University of Lund.

PREFACE.

To those who are engaged or interested in dialect studies I need not give an explanation why I undertook to study an English dialect, although as a stranger I was in an unfavourable position compared with most dialect investigators. I could not speak the dialect; I could not, like Wright in his excellent Windhill Grammar, proceed from speech sensations and a vocabulary acquired already from childhood, or like Elworthy, in his exhaustive work on the dialect of West Somerset, base my description on experience gained during years of intercourse with the natives. For even after picking up as much of sounds and phrases as I was able to during the time I stayed in Wiltshire, I could not, to tell the truth, speak a single sentence in the dialect without at the same time thinking of the positions and movements of my tongue and lips; and even thus my ability was limited to the expressions to which I had devoted a special study. This was decidedly to my disadvantage, and I therefore owe my readers a report of the method of bringing together my material, to serve as a guarantee for the general accuracy of my collections.

One difficulty of obtaining real dialect pronunciation is included in the fact that the peasantry throughout the country usually have two different pronunciations, one which they use to one another and one which they use to the educated. This difficulty, however, is chiefly felt when the educated only get into occasional and superficial contact with the people, and, as I am inclined to believe, is considerably lessened through frequent intercourse and sincere attempts to share in their interests. For even if at first they try to speak "more grander like," they will soon fall back on the idiom that is the most convenient to their organs of speech.

PHONOLOGY.

CHAPTER I.

Pronunciation.

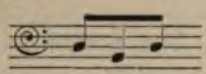
Basis of Articulation; Pitch.

§ 1. For the basis of articulation the retracted position of the tongue is characteristic. Even when in the position of rest the point is kept at some distance from the front teeth. In the pronunciation of the vowels this tendency is determinant for the shape of the tongue. Its base is lowered and its back is strongly arched, the tip touching the bottom of the mouth, in the case of back and low front vowels. On the other hand, its front part is contracted so as to make the edge appear very thick and bulbous, and show some of its bottom part in the case of high and mid front vowels. It must therefore be borne in mind during the following description that the vowels of the dialect have a duller sound and a lower pitch than the Continental sounds with which they are nearest to be compared. Another peculiarity is the exceedingly characteristic inclination for cerebral (point-rise) positions caused through the influence of an *r* now almost disappeared, at least as a consonant sound. The point is turned upwards towards the arch-rim or some place immediately behind it, and thus a series of quite new vowels is formed, which are distinguished from each other through the different degrees of point-height and tongue-retraction.

For the common pronunciation of isolated words, the beginning and the end of the word are marked by a higher tone than the middle of it. The musical accent is accordingly falling-rising. Thus one says:

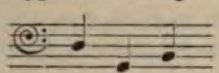
baold /, \ *al* /, \ *breek* /, \ *jiæ* /,

or more exactly expressed[1]:



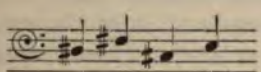
jɨ - ɨ - ɯ, year.

In sentences, a common type for a tranquil statement is:



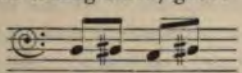
ɔ̊i nevœ, I never.
ɔ̊i zidən, I saw it.

And for questions:



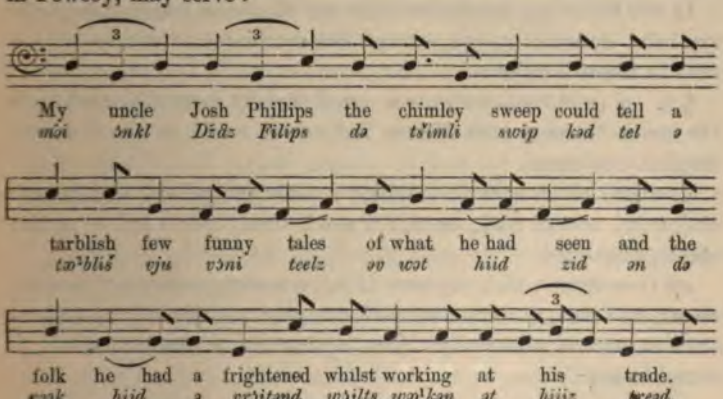
stii zii ? do you see?

'So long' = goodbye, in taking leave, goes:



zɑ̊ løg.

As a specimen of the melody in continuous narration a piece out of Slow's tale "Tha Caird Pearty an tha Chimley Sweep," in "Humorous West Countrie Tales," as it was recited to me in Pewsey, may serve:



[1] Although the notes only signify the highest and lowest tones between which the voice is gliding, and the rhythm of the speech can only be given roughly with notes, yet a musical transcription is the most exact way of expressing modulations of the voice. The above specimens may therefore give a general idea of some of the commonest inflections of the dialect.

The Vowels.

§ 2. The Pewsey dialect contains the following vowel sounds:—

Short vowels: *æ*, *e*, *i*, *ɔ*, *ɔ̈*, *u*, *ɤ*, and *ə*.

Long vowels: *ææ*, *ä*, *ä̈*, *ee*, *ïi*, *ɔɔ*, *å̈*, *o*, *uu*, *ɤ*¹, and *ɤ*².

Diphthongs: *æo*, *æe*, *æi*, *ao*, *eə*, *ɔi*, *ɔ̈i*, *oə*, *æɤ*, *äɤ*, *eɤ*, *iɤ*, *å̈ɤ*, *uɤ*.

§ 3. Thus vowel-length is denoted partly with two letters (*ææ*, *ee*, *ïi*, *ɔɔ*, and *uu*), partly with one (*ä*, *ä̈*, *å̈*, and *o*), or one and a figure (*ɤ*¹ and *ɤ*²). Two letters stand to denote vowel-length when long and short vowels of about the same quality are used in the dialect, one letter or letter and figure when this is not the case. But it must be noticed that in the first case there is often a slight difference of quality, too, between the long and the corresponding short sounds. That *ɤ*, *ɤ*¹, and *ɤ*² are all written with the same letter, a turned up *ɤ*, simply denotes that etymologically they have the same origin (an *r* or vowel + *r*). In quality they are all different, and besides *ɤ* is short and *ɤ*¹, *ɤ*² long.

The diphthongs have the stress on their first elements, and although the first element is long or half long, as is almost always the case, it is written with a single symbol. Thus *eə*, *iɤ*, for instance, has practically the value of *ee* + *ə* and *ïi* + *ɤ*.

In the following description they are all found under their head symbols: *æo* under *æ*, etc., except the combinations with *ɤ*, which will be treated under *ɤ*.

§ 4. *æ* (mid-back-wide) is a sound slightly more advanced than the north German *a* in **Mann**, but not so much as the standard English *a* in **man**:

kæn can, *æksənz* bans of marriage, *bæmz* rough gaiters, *skæg* to tear obliquely, *krænki* mad, *swænki* a small beer, *tælət* a loft over the stable, *tšæp* chap.

ææ (low-front-wide), representing the corresponding long sound, seems, however, to have a somewhat higher position of the tongue than *æ*, and is practically a long equivalent to the open Swedish sound in **ärr**:[1]

[1] The difference I have observed between *æ* and *ææ* is smaller still than that between *a* (German **Mann**) and *æ*, and I therefore write the sound of Pewsey **talk** as long of that in Pewsey **man**, rather than changing this into *a*. Besides, my conception of the two sounds *æ* and *ææ* is confirmed by Sweet's description of the close connection existing between mid back and low front vowels, Sweet (*Handbook of Phonetics*, § 66).

ææs arse, *tšææk* chalk, *džæænt* jaunt, *læændɔn* lean (properly **lantern**), *rææfti* rancid, *šæænti* hovel, *tææk* talk.

æo = *æ* + *o*; the second element of this diphthong is to its acoustic qualities the same as German *o* in **so** and the French sound in **beau**, but the effect is caused more by tongue-retraction than by the rounding of the lips:

bræo brow, *bæons* bounce, haughtiness, *dæon* down, *əðæot* without, *græonz* grounds, *klæot* clout, *pæond* pound, *šæodɔ* shoulder, *zæo* a sow.

When followed by a vowel belonging to the same word or the same stress-group the second element contains a *w*, as in *æwɔ* (properly *æowɔ*) our, *kæwəl* (or *kæwo*) cowl, *pæwɔ* power, *hæwədðiðen?* how old are you then?

æe = *æ* + a sound of the same quality as *ee* in **name**, but shorter and without any glide to *i*:

æeþ eighth, *kæe* key, *næe* neigh, *næebɔ* neighbour, *skæen* a ball of thread, *spræen* sprain, *tæel* tail, *ðæe* they.

æi = *æ* + *i*. When this diphthong stands before a *š*-sound, its second element, the *i*-sound, seems to form part of *š*, as it were, and therefore has not the same sound value as in other diphthongs ending in *i*. It is like an attempt to pronounce *i* and *š* simultaneously:

mæiš mash, *næiš* proper name Nash, *ræiš* eruption, *ræišɔ* a thin slice of broiled ham, *smæiš* smash, *wæiš* wash.

Before other consonants *i* has its proper sound, as in:

næis noise, *æil* oil, *æistɔ* oyster, *sæil* soil, *swæip* clear (*swæip dæon ðə teebl*, clear the table quickly), *væis* voice.

§ 5. *ao*; the first element of this diphthong is the sound of *a* in literary English **father, alms**. It does not occur in our dialect except in this combination. The second element is the same as in *æo*:

flaod flown, *faold* fold, *kaold* cold, *klaoz* clothes, *maold* knead, *sao* to sow, *snao* snow, *trao* trough.

There is a change between *ao* and *ɑ̃* in stressed and unstressed positions, as in: *ði naoz wɔnənii zedit, bət ði duənɑ̃ witšən ənii twɔ*, I know one of you said it, but I don't know which (one) of you it was; *ði duənɑ̃ huuzntis*, I do not know whose (one) it is.

§ 6. *a* is not a very common sound, but seems to be characteristic for Pewsey, as Ellis writes *æɑ* or *EE*[1] for the other three varieties

[1] Ellis's *æɑ* and *EE* come nearest to my *æa* and *ā*.

of Wiltshire (*On Early English Pronunciation*, v, pp. 49, 55, and 59, word-list numbers 335–338). This *a* has the same position of the lips as *æ*, but a little lower and more retracted position of the tongue. It often impressed me as the lengthened and widened mid-back-narrow vowel which only occurs short, as in lit. English **come**. *a* appears before *l* only :[1]

al (often heard as *æəl*, too) all, *al* awl, *dral* drawl, *alm* elm, *gal* gall, *kral* crawl, *mal* maul or mall, *nɔitəngal* nightingale, *salɔri* celery, *smal* small, *spral* sprawl, *stal* stall, *tal* tall.

§ 7. *ä* (a low mid-front-narrow) is pronounced like Swedish *ä* in **äta** and the French sound in **bête**, but more back like all the Pewsey vowels. I have therefore not always been able to distinguish *ä* from *æ* :

bäsbruum besom, *brɔäkäst* to sow, *džäd* jawed, *däft* daft, *käzn* canst not, *päm* palm, *päsən* parson, *ränt* tear (vb.), *säs ət* sauce at, *šäv tə* shall have to, *smäm* to bedaub (W.W. **smarm**).

§ 8. *e* (mid-front-wide) is the sound in lit. English **bed** :

eykl ankle, *endžiz* hinges, *eyglən* England, *dred* thread, *hebm* heaven, *flek* lard, *med* might (vb.), *klef ə hæe* a wisp of hay, *ement* empty (vb.), *sebm* seven, *sens* since, *spet* spit (vb.), *tšep* cheap, *tšet* cheated.

ee (mid-front-narrow) is a pure monophthong, but duller than French *é* in **été**, and has no glide like the lit. English *ee* (*ei*) in **name** :

dreem dream, *eepɔt* halfpennyworth, *eedž* edge, *eevət* eft, *feevɔ* fever, *heet* heat, *kleen* clean, *meet* meat, *pee* pea, *seet* seat, *sneez* sneeze, *teel* tale, *wee !* stop ! *ween* wean.

eə = *ee* + *ə*. The value of *ə* varies between mid-front-wide and mid-mixed-wide :

beəm beam, *beən* bean, *breəð* breathe, *əgeət* busy, *feək* trick, *leəd* lead, *leəst* least, *meəd* meadow, *reək* rake, *sneəd* pole of a scythe.

§ 9. *i* (high-front-wide), the lit. English *i* in **bit** :

bidi biddy, *blid* bleed, *biloziz* bellows, *ðin* thin, *dif* deaf, *vist* fist, *gid* gave, given, *zid* saw, seen, *zim* seem, *tšidlənz* chitterlings.

ii (high-front-narrow) is never diphthonged like the lit. English long *i* in **see** (*sij*), but is sometimes liable to be mistaken for *ee* :

drii three, *vlii* to fly, *griidi* greedy, *gii* give, *hiil ɔp* heal, *iivnən* evening, *iizən* Easton Royal, *kliiv* cleeve, *wiid* weed.

[1] After consultation with Professor Jespersen in Copenhagen, who had the kindness to listen to my Wiltshire sounds, I found that my *a* resembled the dull *a*-sound in Danish *Emma*. See Jespersen, *Fonetik*, § 352.

iə = *ii* + *ə*:

siəm seam, *tiəm* team, *tšiəz* cheese, *viət* feet.

§ 10. *ɔ* (low-back-wide-round) is the sound of the short vowels in lit. English **not, what**:

bɔdiɔs body-horse, *hɔd* p.p. of hide, *mipmɔps* also called swinging-gate, *mɔsl* morsel, *ɔpen* (both syllables equally accentuated) rising (said about the sun; I do not know its origin), *rɔp* wrap, *smɔk* shirt, *wɔnt* mole, *wɔiš*[1] a sort of liquid food for pigs, *wɔdi* wade, *ðɔŋ* thong.

ɔɔ (low-back-narrow-round), the long broad vowel heard in lit. English **talk, fall**:

brɔɔk broken, *bɔɔledid* bald-headed, *brɔɔþ* broth, *drɔɔv* driven, *frɔɔþ* froth, *klɔɔvɷ* clover, *kɔɔl* coal, *mɔɔþ* moth, *ɔɔpm* open, *stɔɔl* stolen, *ðɔɔt* thought.

§ 11. *å* (low-back-narrow-round but with one degree higher lip-rounding). The rounding is somewhat closer than that of *ɔɔ*. The tongue-position is the same or perhaps even a little lower. It is the sound in Pewsey **oak**, which (Ellis, v, p. 55) in Chippenham is *aa* (low-back-wide), and not distinguished from the sound in Ch. **cough, knowed**, the words being put down as *aa*K, k*aaf*, N*aa*D, whereas in Pewsey they sound *åk*, *kɔɔf*, *naod*:

blåk fellow, *dråv* a farmer's road, *fål-šuɷd* W.W. fold-shore, *jåk* yolk and yoke, *nås* nose, *åfm* often, *pål-ring* pole-ring, *råd* written, *råp* rope, *sål* sole, *wå* woe, *trål ə hup* play at a hoop.

From an initial lip consonant, and occasionally from other consonants too, there is a glide on to the following *å*, so as to give a rising diphthong *uå*, as in *puåsi* nosegay, *puåst* post, *tuåst* toast.

§ 12. *o* (mid-back-narrow-round), like the French **eau** in **beau**, and not diphthonged as in lit. English **no**. It is the long or half-long sound assumed by the vocalised Pewsey *l*: *dribo* dribble, *trimbo* tremble, *wivo* W.W. wivel, *šrio* shrill.

It also occurs in the diphthongs *oə* and *oɔ*:

boən bone, *boət* boat, *boəð* both, *moən* moan, *stoən* stone; **most** is heard as *moəst* and *moɔst*.

In slow pronunciation a glide may be produced between an initial lip consonant and the following vowel, which then shows a tendency to open into *å*:

buoən or *buån*, bone.

The treatment of *l* is a most characteristic feature of the Pewsey dialect, and not only of Pewsey but also of the surrounding villages of the 'Vale' which I have visited.

[1] For the *i* before *š* here see *æi* (§ 4).

I often found that the children did not sound the *l* in **football**, which was *ʌutbɔɔ*, and other words where *l* was final. Some of the schoolmasters had noticed it, and had much trouble in teaching them to say *l*.

J. Cripps was finally able to sound every vowel or consonant isolated, and to protract it too, if wanted. But when he was told to pronounce **help** and stop before the *p*,[1] his tongue remained depressed the whole time till he closed his lips for *p*. It was just the same with **will** and **sell**. While he was thinking he sounded an *l* in such words, his tongue sometimes approached the gums, but not nearer than 6–7 millimeters. Only when he was expressly informed that he did not say *l* yet, the tongue with a sudden flap used to fly into the *l* position and back again. Before vowels, however, *l* was formed without difficulty.

It is owing to this nature of *l* that it is often—

1. Dropped, or after becoming an *o* assimilated with a preceding *ɔɔ* or *å*, before consonants, as in: *ɔɔbəd* all but, *ɔvaorənəm* all four of them, *å bidi* old Biddy, *åduməɲ* old woman, *åmæn* old man, *kw¹påvelɔ* sharp old fellow, *åkin džw¹dž* old king George, *å ruum!* hold room! *ɔɔ men* all men, *ɔɔ ðə tɔim* all the time, *ɔɔ ðw¹t ðeəz viŋgɔ* right over (**all athwart**) this finger, *ə dismå dæe* a dismal day.

2. Transformed into an *o* after *a*, *u* and palatal vowels:

(*a*) Before consonants: *aotən* Alton, *tuoz* tools, *bækən* balken, *beoz* bells, *heoþ* health, *hiot* sow pig, *jeod* yelled, *miseof* myself. In unstressed position it may then absorb the preceding vowel, as in *fitoz* victuals, *ju naod zwoz ɔi ðəwɔ¹dn fit* you knew as well as I they were not fit; or together with it become reduced into *ə*, as in *gå ən əpəm kɔt ðæt gräs* go and help them cut that grass, *wiiə zun du ðæt* we will soon do that, *ðii ʃət* thou shalt.

(*b*) Before a pause: *letəm ä wɔtə wuo* let them have what they wish, *ɔi wio, al rɔit* I will, all right, *ɔi ʃæo* I shall, *hi wɔ tuk io* he was taken ill, *zet sæo* set sail.

3. Interchanging with *o* in the same word so that *o* occurs before a consonant or a pause, and *l* before vowels:

kio, or more exactly *kiẽo*, kill.	*kilə fɔks*, kill a fox.
seo or *seäo*, sell.	*gwæən tə seləm*, going to sell them.
fɔmbo, fumble.	*fɔmlən ənt əbæot*, fumbling about on it.

[1] This was my usual way of making him protract a sound. Thus, if I wanted him to keep the *s* in *vist*, I said: "Say *vist*, but don't sound the *t* until I tell you."

mɔ̀mbo, mumble.	*mɔ̀mlən ənt*, mumbling (on) it.
ræmbo, ramble.	*ræmlən əbæot*, rambling about.
zbin ə hæd ə tɔ̀mbo? hast thou fallen?	*duənt gɑ̂ ə tɔ̀mlən ənt al ɑ̂vɔ*, do not upset it all.
medo, meddle.	*duənt gɑ̂ ə medlən wi ðæt*, do not meddle with that.
wivo, whiffle.	*wivəl əbæot*, whiffle about (said of dust).
šrivod ɔ̀p tə nɔ̀þən, shrivelled up to nothing (about beans).	*šrivəlɔ̀p*, shrivel up.
drɪbo, dribble.	*drɪblən bɪb*, dribbling bib.
wizo, whistle.	*wizlən ziŋ*, whistle and sing.
hɔ wɑ̂ tšætɔ, she will chatter.	*ɔ̀i wul ä hii*, I will have it.

In the same way *ə* and *l* interchange in unstressed positions:

ɔ̀tii, šəwii, šəju? shalt thou, shall we, you?	*šlɔ̀i šlii?* shall I, he?

The form *šlðæe*, shall they, seems to contradict the rule. But *l* is here a means to distinguish **shall they** from **should they**, which is *šəðæe*, and its preservation may therefore be due to an intellectual influence.

Hybrid forms as *hii solz*, he sells, for *hi seoz*, are not rare.

The enclitic form of M.E. **hine** is in Pewsey either *-n* or *-ən*, and *l* is accordingly treated differently in *tə puon æot* and *tə pulən æot*, to pull it out.

l is dropped after *n* in **only**, as in *ənɪ̀ ši lets hɔ tɔ̀ŋ rɔ̀n e litl tə mɔ̀tš*, but she lets her tongue run a little too much.

When *l* is preceded by an *ɔ*-vowel or *r*, an *o* is produced either before or after the *l*. Thus the regular pronunciation of **girl** is *gɔ̀ˈlo, gəlo, gɔ̀lo*, or even *grəlo*, **pearl** is *pɔ̀ˈlo*, **world** is *wɔ̀ˈlod, wɔ̀lod, wɔ̀lold*, besides *wɔ̀ˈdl*, **harl**, *hærol*.

A dental often seems to have a preserving effect on the *l*, as in *bədl* bottle, *litl, lidl* little, *skæældɔ* scalder, *baolt* bolt. Such is also the influence of a preceding *ə*, see §§ 6; 69, 3; 101, 4; 102, 3.

§ 13. *ɔ̀* (low-back-narrow), the sound of the Pewsey dialect in **cut, young**. The sound is distinguished from *ə* chiefly through its smaller degree of openness of the lips and teeth, and not so much by absence of rounding. In fact, the rounding, even in such words as

tɔ̈ɔ̈k talk, *tɔgəri* toggery, *å̈k* oak, and *boət* boat, is hard to notice. Not even the corners of the mouth are closed, and it is only through making the person for experiment alternately pronounce front unrounded and back round vowels that one is able to discern a small contraction of the lower lip as a muscular vibration in its thickest parts. And in passing from the open mouth position of rest to the pronunciation of a word beginning with *ɔɔ*, *ɔ*, or *å̈*, no lip contraction is to be seen. So it is no wonder that the impression upon the ear of Pewsey *ɔ̈*, in spite of the absence of lip rounding, is very similar to that of the vowel in Swedish **kom**, German **kommt**. But the tongue is more convex and more drawn back than it is in the Swedish sound:

bɔ̈rə borough (but *bərə* borrow), *bɔ̈ntš* bunch, *blɔ̈bœ* cry, *bɔ̈ts* bottom end of a sheaf, *dɔ̈mbldœ* humble-bee, *drɔ̈ndž* a narrow passage between a house and a wall or a hedge, *drɔ̈st* thrust, *ənhɔ̈d* to take off the husks of beans, *vɔ̈st* first, *jɔ̈ŋ* young, *ðɔ̈m* thumb.

ɔ̈i = *ɔ̈* + *i*: *bɔ̈id* bide, *brɔ̈in* brine, *vɔ̈iv* five, *vɔ̈iœ* fire, *vɔ̈inz* in *teetivɔ̈inz* the germ or eye of potatoes, *fɔ̈id* if I had, *hɔ̈it* height, *kɔ̈it* kite, *mɔ̈in* mind, *rɔ̈iən* rind, skin of bacon, *rɔ̈iz* rise, *stɔ̈i* sty, *zɔ̈if* scythe.[1]

§ 14. *u* (high-back-wide-round), like the lit. English sound in **full, good**.

The rounding is perspicuous, although only the lower lip seems to partake in it, the upper one being passive. The lip opening is about the same as in Swedish **ås**, French **beau**:

bruk brook, *bukət* bucket, *hupən-kɔɔf* whooping-cough, *kruk* (old people say *krɔ̈k*) crook, *kwum* comb, *kubi dæon* cower, *kuts* couch-grass, *undœ* wonder, *ut* will you, *umən* woman.

In some words where you expect to find an *u* or *uu* it has often become unrounded and lowered into an *ɔ̈*: *fɔ̈l* full, *pɔ̈lpət* (besides *pulpət* and *pupət*) pulpit, *ɔ̈l* wool, *rɔ̈f* roof, *zɔ̈n* soon.

[1] I am not satisfied with the result of my observations of this diphthong. At different times in the course of my notations I put it down differently as *ɔ̈i*, *ɔi*, *œi*, *ai*, and *ei*. It was difficult to ascertain the quality of the first element. I then settled that in the great majority of cases it was *ɔ̈*, which among the school-children often came very near an *å̈*. Words with M.E. *ih* or with initial *ȝ* at first separated themselves from the others, as I believed, through *ɔi* or *ei*, and on the whole through the shortness of the diphthong; so also **oblige**, especially as it was heard among old people. But when I had people read my *ai*-lists, my observations were not confirmed, the readers giving *ɔ̈i* for all the words, in which way soever I put them together. This certainly may depend on the method of lists, and does not exclude a real distinction of different *ai*-diphthongs. Yet the difficulty of determining their dominions probably arises from the circumstance that the form of this diphthong is subject to personal varieties more than other sounds.

uu (high-back-narrow-round), the long equivalent of *u*. It has no vanish like lit. English *uw* in **moon**. In quality it differs from the short sound by being more rounded:

buun boon, *kuul* cool, *luus* lose, *muud* mood, *ruut* root, *spuun* spoon, *tuul* tool, *tuuþ* tooth.

§ 15. *ɞ*, *ɞ*¹, and *ɞ*², the three point-rise vowels, form the most conspicuous feature of the Pewsey dialect. They are the result of the retracted *r* (see Ellis, v, p. 41), or a vowel + this *r*, which is characteristic for the typical part of the south division.

The tip of the tongue is bent upwards and its outer margin points towards the arch-rim or some place immediately behind it. There are three such vowels, clearly distinguished from each other through the different degrees of point-height and tongue-retraction.

It should be borne in mind that these vowels are very different from the *ɐ*- or *ə*-vowel common in the West Eastern district (Ellis, v, 189) and in literary English (Sweet, *History of English Sounds*, § 962 f.). They are further not to be regarded as *i*, *u*, *æ*, or any other vowel + a retracted or reverted *r*-sound, nor as a kind of diphthong, but as single and quite uniform vowel-sounds. But their character is so peculiar and at first sight so clashing with the usual vowel-systems that even the phonologist may be misled to hear an *r*-consonant, which, however, only exists in the spelling.

It is true that these vowels, from an historical point of view, owe their existence partly to an *r* entirely vocalised and then lost as an independent sound (except in the diphthongs mentioned below), but as the mere idea of an *r* here only serves to conceal the real facts, it has to be entirely done away with in the phonetic transcription of the said vowels.

Of these now *ɞ* is the high vowel. It occurs chiefly in unstressed words and syllables: *lænlɞd* landlord, *miʒɞ* measure, *neetɞ* nature, *pæntɞni* pantry, *pleʒɞ* pleasure, *pɞkjuɞ* procure, *ventɞ* venture, *hi vɞnɞ vraotnd ði* he very nearly frightened me.

*ɞ*¹ is the mid vowel and thus lower than *ɞ*, the tongue pointing to a spot a little behind the arch-rim: *əðɞ*¹*t* athwart, *bɞ*¹*d* bird, *bɞ*¹*þ* berth, *vɞ*¹*rə* furrow, *hɞ*¹*dl* hurdle, *hɞ*¹*t* hurt, *jɞ*¹*lən* yearling, *mɞ*¹*dɞ* murder, *pɞ*¹*m* perambulator, *pɞ*¹*k* W.W. perk, *spɞ*¹*l* spread, *sɞ*¹ sir, *skwɞ*¹ square, pane, *ðɞ*¹*d* third, *tɞ*¹*f* turf, *tɞ*¹*mət* turnips, *wɞ*¹*d* word, *wɞ*¹ wear, *vɞ*¹*mən* vermin.

*ɞ*² is the low vowel. The base of the tongue is pressed low. The turned-up tip, which is broad, just reaches up to the crowns of the upper teeth, touching the second or the third from the corner

tooth: *ɹ²m* arm, *bɹ²dž* barge, *bɹ²nd* born, *kɹ²n* corn, *kɹ²nɹ* corner, *vɹ²k* fork, *hɹ²t* heart, *mɹ²tɹ* mortar, *pɹ²dnɹ* partner, *sɹ²* serve, *stɹ²m* storm, *tɹ²bl* terrible, *tɹ²* tar, *wɹ²p* miscarry (of cows), *vɹ²ti* forty.

It is no wonder that an *ɹ*, on account of the energy with which it lays hold of the tongue, should have a peculiar influence on a preceding vowel. It affects neighbouring consonants too, and may sometimes even swallow up some of the ones that come near it:

dɹəl, it 'were' all.
ɹ¹s, or else.
nə fɹ¹dən, no further than.
tɹ²bliš, tolerablish (?).

If from the three point-rise positions here denoted with *ɹ*, *ɹ¹*, and *ɹ²* the tip of the tongue is let down into its more natural position, we get the sounds *ii* (*ee*), *ä*, and *a* (in **father**). And it sometimes happens that *ɹ*, *ɹ¹*, and *ɹ²* replace other vowels in words where there was no original *r*, probably through sound-substitution, when the dialect borrowed from other dialects or the literary language:

džæændɹz jaundice, *gælɹ* frighten (E.D.D. **gally**), *jelɹ* yellow, *hæykɹtšɹ* handkerchief, *velɹ* fellow, *vɔlɹ* follow, *windɹ* window. This *ɹ* does not only appear after the model of 'idear of' (Jespersen, *Fonetik*, § 326), to prevent hiatus, but also before consonants;

sɹ¹kət, heard for Southcott, though in this case one may also think of the possibility of an influence from *šɹ²kət*, Sharcott, the name of another place near Pewsey;

kɹ²ki khaki.

On the other hand, *ɹ* is not seldom dropped or replaced by an *ə* in unstressed position, the time allowed being too short for its formation:

gɔvənɹ governor;
wəst, varies with *wɹst*, wast;
ətii ætntii, vary with *ɹtii ɹ¹tntii?* art (not) thou?
ritšət Richard;
kəlimeekɹ (collar-maker?) harness-maker;
ətiləri artillery;
wɹdn, varies with *wudn*, was not, e.g. *hii wɹ tuk il, wudnə* (*wɹdnə*) he was taken ill, was not he?
neost, *niaost*, *neaost*, nearest, are forms which etymologically are not clear to me; **nearest** should answer to Pewsey *niɹst*

(or *niərəst*) > *niəst* > *niəst*. For the absorption of an *ə*-vowel by an ordinary vowel in stressed syllables, as in *dəsits* Dorset sheep, *fəs* force, *ain* iron, *pæso* parcel, see §§ 70, 3; 72, 4; 74, 2; 78, 3.

As second element of a diphthong *ə* is subject to small variations according to the quality of the preceding sound. After close sounds it is high, and after open ones it is low; but as this need not necessarily be marked in the transcription, it is always written *ə*:

æə = *ææ* + *ə*:

fæə fair (sb. and adj.), *fæə* fare, *stæəz* stairs.

eə = *ee* + *ə*:

beə bear, *deə* dare, *keə* (also *kiə*) care, *kleə* clear, *meə* mare, *peə* pair, *reə* rear, *smeə* smear.

iə = *ii* + *ə*:

biəd beard, *diə* dear, deer, *fiə* fear, *giədn* garden, *liə* empty, *niə* never, *šiə* shear and share, *smiətiš* smartish, *piət* part.

åə = *å* + *ə*:

əvåə before, *båəd* board, *båə* boar, *gåə* gore, *håəd* to hoard, *måə* more, *swåən* sworn, *šåət* (sometimes for *šə't*) shirt, *tåə* torn p.p. (also = broken), *våətiin* fourteen.

The triphthong *aoə* is found in *vaoə*, four.

uə = *uu* + *ə*:

duə a pig that thrives well, *fluə* floor, *puək* pork, *stuə* (old people for *stə'*) stir, *tšuə* W.W. choor; *tuən*, also pronounced *tə'n*, turn, is unsettled.

Combinations with vowel + *ə* can be modified into *ə* in unstressed positions:

iə > *ə* in *vənə* nearly (properly **very near**).

åə > *ə* in *jə* of *jåə* or *juə* your, *fə* of *fåə* for, *nənit* ≈ *nåə eət* nor yet, e.g. *it duənt stəp ət sævənek nənit ət redən*, it does not stop at Savernake nor at Reading.

æə > *ə*, as in *əvåə ði naod wə ə wə ən wət ði wə dæə våə*, before I knew where I was (dial. were) and what I was there for.

æoə > *ə*, as in *lets ä ə nəntš næo*, let us have our lunch now.

I am not in the position to tell for how great a part of Wilts my description and classification of the *ə*-vowels holds good, but I have noticed the same sounds with people from different parts of the Pewsey Vale, and from the description given by Ellis (v, 41 f. and

830 f.) it is probable that the sound he alludes to cannot be very different from mine.

§ 16. *ə* signifies the unaccentuated and indistinct vowel used in *əə*, *oə*, and in unstressed words and syllables, as a reduction of almost any other vowel:

beəm beam, *leəst* least, *koət* (sometimes *kwət*, especially in **to shed the coat**, said about horses), *ðɨ hædn ə pæed ən hiz mɔ̀ni hiid ə suud mə* if I had not paid him his money he would have sued me; for *æ*, as in *edlənz*, headlands; for *æo*, as in *wəɨ̀əs*, washhouse; for *å*, in *kæeəl* (or *kæal*), keyhole; for *uu*, in *tɔ̀təþs*, two-tooths (said of lambs).

The Consonants.

§ 17. The Pewsey dialect contains the following consonants: *b*, *d*, *f*, *ɸ*, *g*, *h*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *z*, *š*, *ž*, *t*, *þ*, *đ*, *v*, and *w*.

§ 18. *b* (lip-stop-voice). It occurs in the same positions as in lit. English except in the combination *mbl* when *l* is followed by a vowel:

bɔ̀it bite, *blɔ̀bæ* cry, *gæb* mouth, *gæbl* chatter, *rubæb* rhubarb; *trimbo* tremble, but *trimlən* trembling. For more examples see § 12, 3.

§ 19. *d* (gum-stop-voice), like lit. English *d*. It occurs in all positions:

dif deaf, *dž̀æ²l* W.W. jarl, *drå* through, *drɔ̀st* thrust, *ɔ̀dæ* udder, *rɔ̀idæ* crossbar of a harrow, *skæældæ* a sort of bread, *šæ²d* a gap in a hedge, *twæ¹dn* it was not, *kudn* could not.

d disappears—

1. After *n* in unstressed syllables: *ɔ̀ilən* island, *edlən* headland.

2. After *n* in stressed syllables: *zbin ə spen əwæe evri væ²dən* has spent (dial. probably spend) every farthing, *mɔ̀in wət bis æktən ən* mind what you do, *zbin ə væonən* has found it, *ɔ̀i kudn ɔ̀ndæstæn nɔ̀þən ðæe did sæe* I could not understand anything of what they said, *ɔ̀i duənt vil* (short for *viild*) *mɔ̀tš ənklɔ̀in væt næo* I do not feel much inclined for it now.

3. Before *s* + a consonant: *ðii mezn* (to *ɔ̀i medn*) thou mightst not, *ustnii?* (or *uzntii?*) wouldst not thou? *kustii?* couldst thou?

4. Before *v*: *ɔ̀i šəv stæ²vd*, I should have starved, etc.

5. Sometimes after *l*: *ðəəlos* the old horse, *bəəledid* bald-headed.

6. Initial in *ənəmætæ witš*, if it is = does not matter which.

As is not seldom the case with sounds that are often dropped, *d* appears in words where it is unorganic: *viild viod* feel, *dræond* drown, *faold šuɔd* fold shore (N.E.D.).

The usual form for **was not, were not** is *wɔ¹dn*. *d* and *n* are formed with the same tongue-position, and thus in this word a *d* may be easily produced before the *n* the moment the tongue reaches the gums if the soft palate does not fall at this very moment, but some fraction of a second later.

§ 20. *f* (lip-teeth-open-breath). The lower lip is brought pretty high up against the upper teeth, the muscles of the chin partaking with energy:

fækt fact, *in fâg* in vogue, *fænt* faint, *finiš* finish, *fitɔz* victuals, *græmfɔ* grandfather, *prɔfət* profit, *skæfəld* scaffold, *trɔifo* trifle, *seef* safe, *tšæf* chaff, *stɔf* stuff, *ənɔf* enough.

§ 21. *ɸ* (lip-open-breath) is the sound produced in blowing out a candle. It is common when an unstressed *if* meets with a following *w*:

wii udn ə dɔnt lɔik diz ɸii əd ənaod it we would not have done it like this if we had known it, *ɸii hædn ə wɔ¹k fɔrən hiid ə bin stɔ²vd* if we had not worked for him he would have been starved.

§ 22. *g* (back-stop-voice). It occurs in all positions:

gii give, *gidiedid* giddy-headed, *guus* goose, *greev* grave, *greez* graze, *fægət* faggot, *mægət* maggot, *skæg* tear, *viŋgɔ* finger.

§ 23. *h*. My collections do not lead to a positive rule as to the misuse of this sound, but tend to confirm the observations mentioned W.W., p. 72, that "formerly it was the rarest thing in the world to hear a true Wiltshire rustic drop his *h*-es." I rarely heard old people do so, whereas the youngest generation not only dropped it where it should be pronounced, but scrupulously put it in the wrong place. It is probable that there are local and personal varieties in the treatment of *h*.

I have noticed a married old couple of whom the husband, from the west part of the county, used it right, but the wife, from the east, used it wrongly. The following are some specimens from the language of J. Cripps:

hin hen, *hindɔ* hinder, *hio* heal, *hɔi* high, *hɔiɔ* hire, *hɔiv* hive, *hæro* W.W. harl, *heeðən* heathen, *heet* heat, *hɔlidee* holiday, *hâɔd* hoard, *əhɔŋ* hanged, *huu* who, *hɔnt* hunt, *hɔzbən* husband, *hizn* his, *ɔi šânt hä hi* I don't believe that; but *æve?* has he? *iz* his, as weak forms, *eed* heed, *eepɔt* halfpennyworth, *gidiedid* giddy-headed, *ɔŋgɔ* hunger, *ɔni* honey; *hio* eel, *hɔgli* ugly, *hɔis* ice.

When a word with initial *h* was said quickly many times, *h* was only heard the first time.

§ 24. *j* (front-open-voice), like lit. English *y* in **you**. It only occurs initially:

jām W.W. yelm, *jelɷ* yellow, *jirərɔ̈it* hereright, *jed* head, *jɷ²m* arm, *bjeent* (not *bient*) is not.

§ 25. *k* (back-stop-breath), like lit. English *k*. It occurs in all positions:

kitš catch, *kiɷd* card, *kɷ¹f* truss of hay, *keək* cake, *kleen* clean, *peekɔk* peacock, *pikid* to make pointed, *ɯikɷ* to neigh, *streek* a round stick used in corn-measuring, *stink?* doest thee think? *spik* split hazel rod used in thatching.

§ 26. *l* (point-side-voice). The tip of the tongue is brought against the gums immediately behind the teeth:

lɷ²k lark, *loop* to lop trees, *gluum* gloom, *klɔ̈b* club, *slɔ̈iɷ* to look askance, *stɷ²lən* starling, *puɷli* poorly, *bul* bull, *pul* pull, *drɑl* drawl, *pal* chum.

l forms a syllable with a preceding *d* or *t*: *bɔtl* bottle, *kædl* confusion, *litl* little, *skidædl* be off.

For real vocalisation of *l* see § 12.

§ 27. *m* (lip-nasal-voice), like lit. English *m*. It occurs in all positions:

mɑ̊ɷn mourn, *muɷn* morn, *mä* maw, *muud* mood, *smuuð* smooth, *mɔ̈mɷ* mummer, *umən* women, *əlm* elm, *duum* doom, *hɷ²m* harm, *leem* lame.

m often forms a syllable: *ələbm* eleven, *hebm* heaven, *sebm* seven, *iivm* even, *hɔ̈pebm* Upavon, *reevm* raven, *ɔɔpm* open.

§ 28. *n* (gum-nasal-voice), like lit. English *n*. It occurs in all positions:

nætərəl natural, *næis* noise, *nɔvis* novice, *nɷ²n* none, *njumætik* pneumatic, *bɔni* fine, *ventɷ* venture, *prentis* apprentice, *epɷn* apron, *rens* wash, *skæflən* scaffolding.

n forms a syllable as in *udn* would not, *utn* wilt not, *fezn* pheasant.

In *hævn* = have it, the *n* is simply a nasalised *v*. The tongue articulation for *n* is not performed. This *v* + nasalised *v* is a preliminary stage of the development shown in *ələbm*, etc., § 27.

§ 29. *ŋ* (back-nasal-voice) represents the sound spelt with **ng**, and also with **n** before **g** and **k** in lit. English:

eŋglən England, *əmeŋ* among, *lɔŋwindid* slow to pay, *slɔ̈ŋk* slunk (pt.), *sɯeŋ* swing, *siŋən* singing.

The sound *ŋ* is not much liked; it becomes *n* in **ing**, the ending of the present participle as in *hɔɔən* hawing, *kɔ̈mən* coming, and also in other cases as *kinəm* kingdom, *lenþ* length, *sprinən* springing.

§ 30. *p* (lip-stop-breath) occurs in all positions:

pəmi jelly, *plæŋk* plank, *prætə* prattle, *hɔpə* maggot, *ɔ̈mpɔ̈iə* umpire, *skup* to scoop, *kreep* creep, *sup* a small drink.

§ 31. *r* (point-open). The tip of the tongue is raised as if it were intended to trill against the arch-rim, but stiffened so that it can not do so. The articulation is open, so that if we try to breathe an *r*, no hiss is produced more than in case of *o* and *æ*; besides, it is almost always voiced in all positions. That makes *r* a very vocalic sound, and when it is medial in such words as *glâri*, the three last sounds might as well be written as a triphthong *âəi*. *r* initial and in the combinations *fr*, *gr*, *pr*, *kr* does not differ from the medial *r*. Its vocalic character in such words as **from**, **great**, **pretty**, **pram** (perambulator), **apron**, and **secret** is clearly shown by its tendency to pass over into an *ə*, thus giving the forms: *fəm*, *gə¹t*, *pə¹ti*, *pə¹m*, *epən*, and *seekət*.[1] Such forms in the living dialect give us an idea of the transitionary forms which may have led to the real transpositions of *r* common in all periods of the English language. See Sievers, *Angelsächsische Grammatik*, § 179, and Ten Brink, *Chaucer's Sprache und Verskunst*, § 116.

In the combination *tr* *t* is a lenis, so that it transfers very little or no breath at all to the following *r*. Also in this connection *r* is therefore partly or wholly voiced, and, because of its open articulation, is or contains an *ə*.

We are thus justified in saying that whenever there is an *r* there is at the same time an *ə*, but not the reverse. What makes the difference is the possibility that in the pronunciation of *r* before a vowel the tongue may be brought into contact with the palate during the transition from one sound to the other, so as, if only for a moment, to shut the oral passage. One single touch, or beat, or flap, or what we call it, may then come in as an on- or off-glide of the *ə*, which forms the principal part of the degenerate *r*-sound.

In order not to surcharge the sound notation, simply *r* is usually written when it stands before a vowel:

rɔ̈də sieve, *räðə* rather, *räftə* rafter, *rikbə²kn* rickyard, *bred* bread, *dretn* threaten, *drii* three, *prɔ̈id* pride, *trɔtə* trotter, *krædi*

[1] Even when emphasised the word **pretty** kept its *ə* on one occasion, when I heard some one exclaim: *wɔtəm pə¹ə¹ə¹tii flæəəz!* what pretty flowers!

a kind of apple turnover, *vraotn* frighten, *sərə* sorrow, *jirərɔit* hereright, *ɔvaorənəm* all four of them, *tɷ¹rəfɔi* terrify, tease, *bɷ²rənes* a cow not in calf.

§ 32. *s* (blade-open-breath) is formed by the blade of the tongue. The point is higher than in the Swedish *s*, and the hiss also seems thinner. It occurs in all positions :

sebm (also *sem*) seven, *sens* since, *setl* long bench with a high back, *spek* speck, *smɔ̈ðɷ* smother, *stɔŋ* stung (pt.), *wɔsɷ* worse, *fɔ̈stɷ* foster, *fɔs* fuss, *grees* grace, *kɔs* curse.

§ 33. *z* (blade-open-voice), the sound in lit. English **breeze**. When initial it is peculiar to most Southern dialects. It occurs initially, medially, and finally :

zæo sow (sb.), *zɔ̈if* scythe, *zɔŋ* song, *zid* saw, *zed* said, *zɔ̈k* suck, *zætɷdii* Saturday, *zɔndii* Sunday, *zuɷ* (or *zoɷ*) sore, *zilɔp* seedlip, *ɔnizɔko* honeysuckle, *mizo* mizzle, *wizo* whistle, *brizoz* bristles, *seezn* season, *greez* graze, *sneez* sneeze, *bleez* blaze, *brænz* brains, *vigz* figs, *plänz* plains, *nåz* nose, *råz* rose.

§ 34. *š* (blade-point-open-breath), the sound in lit. English **she**. The point is raised to the roots of the upper teeth. The friction channel probably goes from the *i*-position and forwards, as may be concluded from the fact that *š* is very often accompanied by an *i*-sound. This *i*, however, as already observed (§ 4), does not make the same impression on the ear as the common *i*, because it is so closely connected with the *š*, as in :

æištrii ash-tree, *dreišo* threshold, *šiep* sheep, *šiɔp* shop, *šiɔn* shun, *wæiš* wash, *wɔiš* a sort of liquid food for pigs.

Other examples with *š* : *šimboən* shin-bone, *šrio* shrill, *šæɷz* limbers, *bušo* bushel, *tšɔiəd* child, *butšɷ* butcher, *kutš* couch-grass, *kæotš* sofa.

A *š*-sound is not seldom produced when *j* follows a *t*, as in : *ðætšeənt ðɔin* from *ðæt jeənt* that is not thine, *tšeənt ɔzðå wɔn wɷ gwæen ðɷ ðɷseovz* it is not as if one were going there oneself, *duənt pɔtšɷself æotəðə wæe fɷt* do not trouble yourself about it, *zetə tšɷ eez* sit at your ease. A *š* is formed by *st* + *j* in *ðiišiɷ šɔkən bæd* thou dost hear ('jear') shocking badly.

§ 35. *ž* (blade-point-open-voice) is the lit. English sound in **vision**. It occurs initially, medially, and finally :

žuɷ sure, *džæm* the side-post of a door or chimney-piece, *džɔzo* jostle, *džɔli* jolly, *indžən* engine, *pidžən* pigeon, *saodžɷ* soldier, *mižɷ* measure, *pležɷ* pleasure, *mæændž* mange, *bådž* bulge, *rædžiziz* radishes, *əblɔidž* oblige, *wedž* fasten.

A *ž* is formed out of *z* + *j* sometimes, as is *ðəižə mɔ̀ni*, there is your money.

§ 36. *t* (point-stop-breath). This sound is formed with the point and part of the blade of the tongue against the alveols ('inner position,' Sweet, *New English Grammar*, § 707). It occurs in all positions:

tɔ̀idtɔ̀im tide-time, *tɔ̀təþs* two-tooths, *tɔ̀it* tight, *twɔ̀in* thread, *tɔ̀k* diminish, *stɔ̀tə* stutter, *wɔətə* water, *botl* bottle, *väst* fast, *äþt ɔ̀p* earthed up, *drentš* drench, *vret* fret.

t is mostly unaspirated and lenis. It is therefore often suppressed, especially when final after breath consonants: *əmåəs* almost, *insek* insect, *res* rest, *səf* soft; but also after vowels: *gå* gout, *nɔ̀i* knight, *nɔ̀i* night, *ræbi* rabbit, *sɔ̀i* sight, *wə* what. There is, however, reason to believe that in such words there often really is a beginning *t*-articulation, which is not, however, audibly released.[1]

t preceded by the hiss *s* and followed by an *n* is dropped not only in words, as in *väsn* fasten (Sweet, H.E.S., § 929), *weezn ənt* wasting it, but also in sentences, as in *ðii biznə gwæen æv al ðæt* thou bist not going to have all that, *ðiiznaod* thou hast known.

Hence the change in the following sentences: *ðii dəzn kɔ̀m ædə hii, dust?* thou dost not come after him, dost thou? *ðii uzn krɔ̀i lɔ̀ik ðæt, ust?* thou wouldst not cry like that, wouldst thou? *ðii kæzn kə²t ðæt, kæst?* thou canst not cart that, canst thou? *ðii kuzn elp it, kust?* thou couldst not help it, couldst thou?

t disappears after *n*. The commonest instances are in *nt* for **not** and in *gwæen(t)* going to:

1. Before a vowel: *duənizii, luk?* don't you see, look? *eənii əf?* is not he going fast? *ðæe kudn elp it, kudəm?* they could not help it, could they? *äənii?* have you not? *ðə du sæe wim gwæen ä wə²* they do say we are going to have war, *huuz əs zii gwæen ä tə vetš əm wi?* whose horse is he going to have to fetch them with? *änt wii*

[1] My best Wiltshire man, J. Cripps, gradually acquired a certain amount of linguistic self-knowledge, and then used to stick to what he had once said, even if it should turn out to be something he had never thought of himself (as, for instance, when he occasionally used *tšəs* for *sitš*, such). But at first he would not admit that he dropped his *t* in some cases, and it was not until I had imitated his pronunciation of the word in question and compared it with others where he pronounced the *t*, that he argued me into his opinion when he said that he was thinking of a *t* although he did not sound it. This is one of the steps leading to the perfect disappearance of a sound when the ear loses its power of deciding whether the sound has been pronounced or not, the auditory sensation thus being replaced by and confounded with that of the muscular activity.

gwæen ä nɤ²n ɔnt ðen? are not we going to have any of it then? *ɔn ðə pɔin ə gwæen* on the point of going.

2. Before a consonant:

(*a*) When another consonant precedes the *n*: *ðii utn bi eebl* thou wilt not be able, *ðii kæazn muv it* thou canst not move it, *ɯ¹ kudn kɤ²t it* she could not cart it. Note, however, that the *t* is often sounded when the verb to which *nt* is attached is accented, as in *ðii ɨætnt hɤ¹t hii* thou shalt not hurt him.

t is often assimilated with a following ð into *d*:

kuzndii? couldst not thou?
kæazndii? canst not thou?
utndii? wilt not thou?

(*b*) When a vowel precedes the *n* in *wii bjenə gwæen bi tuk in lɔik ðæt* we are not going to be taken in like that, *bjenii gwæen wet ɔn?* are you not going to have a drink over it? *stink wi ɯɔ gwæen du ðæt ðen?* dost thou think we were going to do that? *medlən zɔndi* mid-Lent Sunday.

In this case, vowel + *nt* + a consonant, the disappearance of *t* is limited by three circumstances:

(*a*) Assimilation with a following dental:

t + ð = *d*:

wɤzəndii? was not thou?
ætəndii? art not thou?

t + ð = *t*:

äntæe? are not they?
eəntə? are not they?

t + *t* = *t*:

eənt, int? is not it?

(*β*) Accentedness of the verb-form to which *nt* is attached or of a following subject pronoun, or of both.

hɤ šânt hɤ¹t ɨi, she shall not hurt you.
wɔnt wii? won't we? (but *wɑ̀ənti?* won't he?).
kânt wii? can't we?
kânt ju? can't you?
kânt wii ä səm tùu ðen? cannot we have some too?

(*γ*) Voicelessness of a following consonant:

ɔi bjent so šuɯ, I am not so sure.

hɤ¹ jeənt šuɯ əbæot it she is not sure about it (I have also heard from old people from Cannings: *ɔi benə žuɯ*), *wii duənt kɔm ädɯ hi, dúəs?* we do not come after him, do we?

ðæe känt kɑ²t, kænəm? they cannot cart, can they?

Also in other cases *t* is dropped before a voiced sound, as in *vlinz* flints, *råsbif* roast beef, *ə mæen þrifti sɑ²vumən* a very thrifty sort of a woman, *ðæe məsä ðə best ənt* they must have the best of it, *fõi hæd ə vetš ən* if I had fetched him.

§ 37. *þ* (teeth-open-breath), like lit. English **th** in **think**. It occurs initially and finally, being in the former position encroached upon by *d* before *r* in genuine dialect words, and by *đ* in both positions (see §§ 19 and 38):

þiiv thief, *þrifti* thrifty, *þrəiv* thrive, *þrəb* throb, *þrån* throne, *þrəŋ* throng, *brɔɔþ* broth, *deþ* death, *frɔɔþ* froth, *lenþ* length.

This *þ*, however, is gradually breathed after a long vowel at the end and gradually voiced in the beginning of a word. Thus, *šiiþ* sheath is properly *šiiðþ* and *þiiv þðiiv*.

§ 38. *ð* (teeth-open-voice), like lit. English **th** in **breathe**. It occurs in all positions:

ðəi thigh, *ðenk* think, *ðin* thin, *ðɑ¹d* third, *ðɑ¹st* thirst, *ðizə* thistle, *ðəŋ* thong, *ðɔɔt* thought, *veðɑ* feather, *geðɑ* gather, *əðɑ¹t* athwart, *əðæot* without, *vɑ²ðən* farthing, *breə* breathe, *buuð* booth, *bäð* bath.

§ 39. *v* (lip-teeth-open-voice). It occurs in all positions:

vel fallen, *vreš* fresh, *vlitɑz* flitters, *vɑ²ti* forty, *våɑtiin* fourteen, *vaɑ* four, *vəin* find, *vɔst* first, *vil* fill, *vipəns* fivepence, *sevmf* seventh, *eevət* newt, *leev* leave, *muuv* move.

§ 40. *w* (lip-back-open-voice), like lit. English **w** in **we**. It occurs initially and medially:

wepm weapon, *wet* wet, *wəšəs* washhouse, *wətrik* oatrick, *weest* waste, *skwuɑ* square, *swədlən* swaddling, *swio* swill, *əwæe* away.

A *w*, or at least the lip-articulation of a *w* together with the tongue-articulation of an *r*, is very common in: *wrəŋ* wrong, *wreso* wrestle, *wrəit* write, *wrəp* wrap, and others. In these words the *w* of the written language disappeared from the pronunciation in early modern English.

In Pewsey, however, lip-rounding is attached not only to an *r* originally preceded by a *w*, but also to others, as: *wræbit* rabbit, *wrees* race, *wræen* rain, *wreək* rake, *wråp* rope, *wrəb* rub, *twrəi* try, *ɥeekwrət* secret, *sɑwri* sorry.

Ellis (v, pp. 543 and 641) also mentions *r*'s with lip-articulations and (p. 226 f.) a replacement of *r* through *w*, which seems to be a widespread phenomenon.

Now if the lip-rounding of Pewsey *r* is not to be explained as

a survival or an influence from early modern *wr*-forms, we may think of the common inclination of letting sounds, which are getting loose and indistinct, or at least less transparent and perceptible than they used to be, in their articulations, make up for the loss by adding a motion of the lips.

We have witnessed the same with Pewsey *l*, which after getting the lip-rounding of an *o* in certain positions has been entirely replaced by this vowel.

CHAPTER II.

THE MIDDLE AND OLD ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS OF THE PEWSEY VOWELS IN ACCENTED SYLLABLES.

Short Vowels.

æ.

§ 41. Pewsey *æ* corresponds to—

1. M.E. *a* (§ 69, 1):
   (*a*) = O.E. *æ* (*a*) and *o* before nasals: *æspən* aspen, *bæk* back, *krænki* mad, *tæn* then.
   (*b*) = O.E. *ǽ*: *blædə* bladder, *fæt* fat.
   (*c*) = O.E. (or M.E.) *ea* after palatals: *šænk* shank, *tšætə* chatter.
   (*d*) = O.E. *éa*, in *læðə* lather and *tšæp* chap.
2. M.E. *al*, *aul* = O.E. *eal* (§ 69, 6), has become *æ* in *æm* haulm.

e.

§ 42. Pewsey *e* corresponds to—

1. Rarely M.E. *a* = O.E. *a* (*o*) (§ 69, 8), as in *eŋkl* ankle, *geðə* gather.
2. M.E. *ę* in the great majority of cases (§ 71, 1):
   (*a*) = O.E., O.N. *e*, the *i*-umlaut of *a*: *beli* belly, *bend* bend, *endžiz* hinges.
   (*b*) = O.E. *ë*: *help* help, *swel* swel, *spek* speck.
   (*c*) = O.E. *eo*: *hebm* heaven, *sebm* seven.
   (*d*) = O.E. *íe*: *bekn* beckon, *nekst* next.
   (*e*) = O.E. *é*: *enti* empty, *helþ* health.
   (*f*) = O.E. *y*, in *vledžd* fledge.
   (*g*) = O.E. *é*: *seldm*, seldom.
   (*h*) = O.E. *éo*: *fel* fell, *stepfäðə* stepfather.
   (*i*) = O.E. *éa* from earlier **é*: *šephə'd* shepherd.
3. M.E. *ę̄* (§ 82, 2):
   (*a*) = O.E. *e* in open syllables: *rekn* reckon, *tred* tread, *vret* fret.
   (*b*) = O.E. *éa*: *bred* bread, *dretn* threaten.

4. M.E. ē̤ (ę̄) (§ 84, 2):
   (*a*) = not umlauted O.E. *ǽ*: ***dred*** thread, ***let*** let.
   (*b*) = umlauted O.E. *ǽ*: ***wet*** wet.
   (*c*) = O.E. *ǽ*, the *i*-umlaut of *á*: ***eredi*** already, ***ew*** ever, ***len*** lend.
5. M.E. ē̤ = O.E. *éo*, *ie*, through shortening (§ 86, 4): ***brest*** breast, ***frend*** friend, ***ten*** ten.

i.

§ 43. Pewsey *i* corresponds to—
1. M.E. *i*, which generally has remained (§ 73, 1):
   (*a*) = O.E., O.N. *i*: ***bid*** bid, ***bitə*** bitter, ***briŋ*** bring, ***fidl*** fiddle.
   (*b*) = O.E., O.N. *y*: ***bizi*** busy, ***brim*** brim, ***hip*** hip, ***kitʃən*** kitchen.
   (*c*) = O.E. *i*: ***linən*** linen, ***wizdəm*** wisdom.
   (*d*) = O.E. *ý*: ***filþ*** filth, ***wiš*** wish.
   (*e*) = O.E. *éo*, in ***siknes*** sickness.
   (*f*) = O.E. *io*, *eo* and its umlaut *ie*, *i*: ***miok*** milk, ***siks*** six.
2. M.E. ę (§ 71, 2):
   (*a*) = O.E. *e*, the *i*-umlaut of *a*: ***bilə̂ziz*** bellows, ***hin*** hen, ***kitl*** kettle.
   (*b*) = O.E. *ē*, *eo*: ***istədəe*** yesterday.
3. M.E. ę̄ (§ 82, 4):
   (*a*) = O.E. *e-* (open syllable), in ***bedstid*** bedstead, ***enstid*** instead.
   (*b*) = O.E. *éa*: ***dif*** deaf, ***ridiš*** reddish.
4. M.E. ē̤ (ę̄) (§ 84, 4):
   (*a*) = umlauted O.E. *ǽ*: ***ridl*** riddle, ***sili*** silly.
   (*b*) = not uml. O.E. *ǽ*: ***slip*** sleep, ***strit*** street.
5. M.E. ę̄, which has been shortened (§ 86, 2):
   (*a*) = O.E. *é*, the *i*-umlaut of *ó*: ***blidən*** bleeding, ***brid*** breed, ***kip*** keep.
   (*b*) = O.E. *éa*: ***lik*** leek, ***nid*** need.
   (*c*) = O.E. *e*: ***bizm*** besom.
6. M.E. ī = O.E. *éo* (§ 88, 2): ***sik***, sick.

ɔ.

§ 44. Pewsey *ɔ* corresponds to—
1. M.E. ǫ (§ 75, 1):
   (*a*) In closed syllables = O.E. *o*: *drɔtl* throttle, *frɔg* frog, *hɔlə* hollow.

(*b*) = O.N. *o* : *ɔd* odd, *mɔs* moss.
(*c*) In open syllables where the M.E. lengthening was prohibited by a following *er*, *en*, or *y* : *bɔdi* body, *kɔpɔ* copper, *rɔt* rot.
(*d*) Shortened from O.E. *ó*, in *blɔsɔm* blossom, *fɔstɔ* foster, *sɔft* soft.
(*e*) = O.E. *a*, *o* before *nd* and *ng* : *lɔŋ* long, *rɔŋ* wrong, *sɔŋ* song.
(*f*) = O.E. *wo* (*wa*), only in *ðɔŋ* thong.
2. M.E. *o̤r* = O.E. *or* (§ 76, 3) : *hɔs* horse.

ɔ̣.

§ 45. Pewsey *ɔ̣* corresponds to—
1. M.E. *u* (§ 77) :
(*a*) = old *u* : *blɔ̣bɔ* cry, *bɔ̣k* buck, *bɔ̣zl* bustle.
(*b*) Shortened from O.E. *ú* : *dɔ̣st* dust, *fɔ̣s* fuss, *ɔ̣dɔ* udder, *ðɔ̣m* thumb.
(*c*) = O.E. *y* : *blɔ̣š* blush, *bɔ̣ndl* bundle.
(*d*) = O.E. *ý* (?), in *drɔ̣st* thrust, *rɔ̣š* rush (sb.).
2. M.E. *o̤* = O.E. *o* through outer grammatical influence (§ 75, 5), in *hɔ̣ŋ* (pt.) and *əhɔ̣ŋ* (p.p.) hung.
3. M.E. *o̤r* = O.E. *or* (§ 76, 2), in *smɔ̣ðɔ* smother.
4. M.E. *ur* + consonant (§ 78, 4) :
(*a*) = O.E. *ur* + cons. (from *eor* after *w*), in *wɔ̣lɔd* world.
(*b*) = O.E. *úr* + *s*, in *kɔ̣s* curse.
(*c*) = O·E. *yr* + *s*, in *wɔ̣s* worse.
5. M.E. *ō̤* = O.E. *ó* (§ 92, 3) : *blɔ̣d* blood, *brɔ̣ðɔ* brother, *krɔ̣k* crook, *rɔ̣f* roof.
6. M.E. *ū* from earlier *ou* = O.E. final *óh* (§ 94, 2), in *ənɔ̣f* enough.
7. M.E. *ir* = O.E. *yr* (§ 74, 2) : *vɔ̣st* first.

wɔ̣.

Pewsey *wɔ̣* corresponds to—
M.E. *ō̤* = O.E. *á* (§ 90, 5), in *wɔ̣ts* oats, *wɔ̣m* home.

u.

§ 46. Pewsey *u* corresponds to—
1. M.E. *ō̤* = O.E. *ó* (§ 92, 2) : *buk* book, *bruk* brook, *buzm* bosom.

2. M.E. *wu*, *u* chiefly before *l* (§ 77, 2):
   (*a*) = O.E., O.N. *u*, *wu*: *bul* bull, *ul* wool.
   (*b*) = O.E. *ú*, in *rum* room, *sup* small drink.
   (*c*) In *umən* woman.
3. M.E. *wul* = O.E. *wil*, *wol* (§ 77, 2), in *ut* wilt, *ud* would.
4. M.E. *i* = O.E. *y* (§ 73, 3), in the broad pronunciation of *brudž* bridge.
5. M.E. *ū* = O.E. *ú* (§ 94, 4), in *uevɔ* however.
6. M.E. *ēu* = O.E. *éow* (§ 99, 4): *truþ* truth.

wu.

Pewsey *wu* corresponds to—
M.E. (*w*) *ō* = O.E. (*w*) *á* (§ 90, 6), in *kwum* comb, *wum* womb.

Long Vowels.

ææ.

§ 47. Pewsey *æ* corresponds to—
1. M.E. *al* = O.E. *al*, *eal* before *k* when no lip consonant begins the word (§ 69, 5): *tšæk* chalk, *tæk* talk.
2. Rarely M.E. *a* = O.E. *a* (§ 69, 7): *gændɔ* gander.
3. M.E. *ar* = O.E. *ear* before *s* (§ 70, 3), in *æs* arse.

A.

§ 48. Pewsey *a* corresponds to—
1. M.E. *a* = O.E. *ea*, *a*, *æ* before final *l* (§ 69, 3): *al* all, *kal* call, *smal* small.
2. M.E. *e* = O.E. *e* (§ 71, 6), in *alm* elm.

ä.

§ 49. Pewsey *ä* corresponds to—
1. M.E. *a* (*ă*) (§ 69, 2):
   (*a*) = O.E. *a*, *æ* (*é*), *ea* before *f*, *s*, their combinations with other consonants and before *þ* (*đ*): *äftɔ* after, *bäθ* bath, *brɔ̈käst* sow (vb.).
   (*b*) = O.E. *a* before *n*(*đ*)*s*, *nt*, in *änsɔ* answer, *känt* cannot.
   (*c*) In *ä* have.
2. M.E. *a* + *l* = O.E. *a*, *á*, *ea* + *l* before lip consonants and *n*: *häf* half, *päm* palm, *šäv* shall have.

3. M.E. *ę* = O.E. *ë* (§ 71, 5), in *rænt* tear.
4. M.E. *ęr* = O.E. *eor* (§ 72, 4), in *æþt ɔp* earthed up.
5. M.E. *ā* = O.E. *a* in open syllable (§ 79, 2), in *gæp* yawn.
6. M.E. *au* (?) (§ 97, 1):
   (*a*) = O.E. *æɣ*, in *drä* draw.
   (*b*) = O.E. *aɣ*: *lä* law, *mä* maw, *nä* gnaw.
   (*c*) = O.E. *a*, *ea*, *e* before *h*-combinations: *dräft* draught, *läftɔ* laughter, *dätɔ* daughter.

ee (eə, je).

§ 50. Pewsey *ee* (*eə*, *je*) corresponds to—

1. M.E. *a* = O.E. *æ* (§ 69, 9), when the following syllable has a radical *er* in the word *jekɔ*, which is common beside *eəkɔ*, acre.
2. M.E. *e* (§ 71, 3):
   (*a*) = O.E. *e*: *eedž* edge, *kreəs* cress.
   (*b*) = O.E. *é*: *feevɔ* fever, *eət* yet.
3. M.E. *i* (?) = O.E. *i* (?) (§ 73, 2): only in *streeks* graining.
4. M.E. *ā* (§ 79, 1):
   (*a*) = O.E. *a*, *æ*, *o*, O.N. *a* (*á*), in open syllables when not followed by a radical *er*: *beək* bake, *biheev* behave, *fleek* flake.
   (*b*) = O.E. *ea*: *eel* ale, *geət* gate, *šeed* shade.
   (*c*) After which a *k* or *f* has disappeared: *meed* made, *leedi* lady.
5. M.E. *ę̄* (§ 82, 1):
   (*a*) = O.E. *e*: *eet* eat, *meet* meat.
   (*b*) = O.E. *éa*: *beən* bean, *dreem* dream.
6. M.E. *ī* (*ę́*) (§ 84, 1):
   (*a*) = umlauted O.E. *ǽ*: *leetš* leech, *reetš* vomit.
   (*b*) = not uml. O.E. *ǽ*: *meəd* meadow, *reed* read.
   (*c*) = O.E. *ǽ*, the *i*-umlaut of *á*: *breeð* breathe, *heeðn* heathen, *heet* heat, *kleen* clean.
7. M.E. *ę̄* (§ 86, 3):
   (*a*) = O.E. *é*, the *i*-umlaut of *ó*: *meet* meet, *seek* seek.
   (*b*) = O.E. *éo*: *dreeri* dreary, *kreep* creep, *preest* priest.
8. M.E. *ai* (§ 96, 2):
   (*a*) = O.E. *æɣ*: *deezi* daisy, *əgeən* again.
   (*b*) = O.N. *ei*: *steək* steak, *swee* sway.

ii (iə).

§ 51. 1. M.E. ē = O.E. *éa* (§ 82, 3): *biət* beat, *flii* flea, *hiip* heap.

2. M.E. ē̆ (ē) (§ 84, 3):

(*a*) = umlauted O.E. *ǽ*: *siid* seed.

(*b*) = not uml. O.E. *ǽ*: *hiil* eel, *miil* meal.

(*c*) = O.E. *æ*, the *i*-uml. of *á*: *bliitš* bleach, *hiil* heal, *šiiþ* sheath.

3. M.E. ē̆ (§ 86, 1):

(*a*) = O.E. *é* from Teut. *ĕ*: *hii* he, *ii* ye, *mii* me.

(*b*) = O.E. *é*, the *i*-umlaut of *ó*: *fiid* feed, *fiild* feel, *giis* geese.

(*c*) = O.E. *é* (*íe*, *ý*): *bəliiv* believe, *šiit* sheet.

(*d*) = O.E. *éo*: *bii* bee, *diip* deep, *drii* three, *flii* fly.

ɔɔ.

§ 52. Pewsey *ɔɔ* corresponds to—

1. M.E. *a* = O.E. *ea* before *l*, especially when the word begins with a lip- or a lip-back-consonant (§ 69, 4): *mɔɔlt* malt, *wɔɔl* wall.

2. M.E. ǭ (§ 75, 2):

(*a*) From O.E. *o*, especially before *s*, *f*, and their combinations: *frɔɔst* frost, *lɔɔft* loft.

(*b*) = O.E. *eo*, in *jɔɔn* yon, *jɔɔndæ* yonder.

3. M.E. *ǫl* = O.E. *ol* (§ 75, 2), in *vɔɔk* folk.

4. M.E. ǭ (§ 90, 2):

(*a*) = O.E. *á*: *drɔɔv* driven, *gɔɔn* gone, *grɔɔn* groan.

(*b*) = O.E. *o* in open syllables: *brɔɔk* broken, *drɔɔt* throat.

5. M.E. *au* = O.E. *á*, *ea* before *ht*: *fɔɔt* fought, *slɔɔtæ* slaughter.

6. M.E. *ouȝ* from *oȝ* = O.E. *ohh* (§ 98, 4) has become *ɔɔ* + *f* in *kɔɔf* cough.

7. M.E. *ou* = O.E. *o* or shortened *ó* before *ht* (§ 98, 6): *bɔɔt* bought, *brɔɔt* brought.

å.

§ 53. Pewsey *å* corresponds to—

1. M.E. ǭ (§ 90, 1):

(*a*) = O.E. *á*: *då* doe, *drâv* a farmer's road, *gâd* goad, *hâl* whole.

(*b*) = O.E. *o* in open syllables: *fât* float, *nâz* nose, *râz* rose.

(*c*) = O.E. *eo*, in *jȧ̊k* yoke.
(*d*) = a Celtic *o*, in *pȧ̊ni* pony.
2. M.E. *o̤l* = O.E. *eol* (§ 75, 3), in *jȧ̊k* yolk.
3. M.E. ? in *drȧ̊* through, *drȧ̊t* dry time (§ 94, 2).

oə, o.

§ 54. Pewsey *oə* corresponds to—
M.E. *o̤* = O.E. *á* (§ 90, 4): *boən* bone, *boəϑ* both, *moən* moan, *moəst* most.
Pewsey *o* has developed out of a modern *l*, see § 12.

uu.

§ 55. Pewsey *uu* corresponds to—
1. M.E. *o̤* = O.E., O.N. *ó* (§ 92, 1): *buun* boon, *buuϑ* booth, *bluum* bloom, *bruud* brood, *duu* do.
2. M.E. *ū* (*o̤u*?) = O.E. *eoȝ* (§ 99, 3): *juuþ* youth.
3. M.E. *e̤u* = O.E. *éow* after *r* (§ 99, 1): *ruu* rue, *bruu* brew.

juu.

Pewsey *juu* corresponds to—
1. M.E. *e̤u* = O.E. *éow* (§ 99, 1): *juu* yew, *njuu* new.
2. M.E. *e̤u* = O.E. *éaw* (§ 99, 2): *djuu* dew.

ɐə¹.

§ 56. Pewsey *ɐ*¹ corresponds to—
1. M.E. *e̤r* (§ 72, 2):
(*a*) = O.E. *er*, in *fɐ¹k* firk.
(*b*) = O.E. *eor* after *w*: *wɐ¹k* work.
(*c*) M.E. *e̤r* (*ir*) = O.E. *yr*, **yr*: *kɐ¹nəl* kernel, *šɐ¹t* shirt.
2. M.E. *ur* (*ir*) (§ 78, 1):
(*a*) = O.N. *úr*, in *þɐ¹sdee* Thursday.
(*b*) = O.E., O.N. *ur*: *skɐ¹f* scurf, *tɐ¹f* turf, *wɐ¹þ* worth.
(*c*) = O.E. *yr*: *bɐ¹þ* birth, *hɐ¹dl* hurdle, *þɐ¹st* thirst.
3. M.E. *ēr* = O.E. *éor* (§ 87, 1): *ɐ¹nəst* earnest, *lɐ¹n* learn.
4. M.E. *ir* (*ri*) = O.E. *ir*, *yr*, O.N. *ri* (§ 74, 1): *bɐ¹tš* birch, *bɐ¹d* bird, *dɐ¹t* dirt.
5. M.E. *īr* shortened into *ir* = O.E. *iȝr* (§ 89, 2): *stɐ¹ep* stirrup.
6. M.E. *our* = O.E. *éower* (§ 98, 3), in *vɐ¹ti* forty.

ɐo².

§ 57. Pewsey *ɐ²* corresponds to—

1. M.E. *ar* before a following consonant (§ 70, 1):
   (*a*) = O.E. *ear*: *ɐ²m* arm, *hɐ²d* hard, *wɐ²m* warm.
   (*b*) = O.N. *ar*: *bɐ²k* rind.
   (*c*) Shortened from O.E. *áwer*, in *lɐ²k* lark.
2. M.E. *ɐr* (§ 72, 1):
   (*a*) = O.E. *eor*: *bɐ²m* barm, *bɐ²k* bark (vb.).
   (*b*) = O.E. *œr*, in *stɐ²lən* starling.
   (*c*) In the early loan-word *wɐ²* war.
3. M.E. *ɐr* = O.E. *or* (§ 76, 1): *bɐ²nd* born, *hɐ²n* horn.
4. M.E. *ur*, *ir* = O.E. *yr* (§ 78, 2): only in *tšɐ²m* chirm, probably on the analogy of **charm**.

Diphthongs.

ɐɐo.

§ 58. Pewsey *œo* corresponds to—

1. M.E. *ū* (§§ 94, 1, and 95, 1):
   (*a*) = O.E. *ú*: *brœo* brow, *dœon* down, *fœol* foul.
   (*b*) = O.E. *u* before *nd*: *bœon* bound, *grœonz* sediment, *pœond* pound.
   (*c*) = O.E. *u* before vocalised ȝ: *bœo* bow (vb.), *kœol* cowl, *fœol* fowl.
   (*d*) From *au* = O.E. *óȝ*, *óh*: *bœo* bough, *plœo* plough.
2. M.E. *ul* = O.E. *ul* (§ 77, 3), in *šœodɐ* shoulder.

ɐɐe.

§ 59. Pewsey *œe* corresponds to—

M.E. *ai* (§ 96, 1):
   (*a*) = O.E. *æȝ*: *brœenz* brains, *dœe* day.
   (*b*) = O.E. *ǽȝ*: *grœe* gray, *kœe* key.
   (*c*) = O.E. *eȝ*, *ecȝ*: *hœe* hay, *sœe* say.
   (*d*) = O.N. *ei*: *bœet* bait, *ðœe* they.
   (*e*) = O.E. *eah*, *éah*: *œeþ* eighth, *hœfɐ* heifer.

ɐɐi.

§ 60*a*. Pewsey *œi* corresponds to—

M.E. *a* = O.E. *a*, *æ* before a *š*-sound (§ 69, 6): *œištrïi* ash-tree, *mœiš* mash.

ei.

§ 60*b*. Pewsey *ei*, whose *i* depends on the peculiar influence of a following *š*, corresponds to—

M.E. ę (§ 71, 4):

(*a*) = O.E. *ë*: *dreiš* thrash, *dreišo* threshold.

(*b*) = O.E. *ǽ*, in *fleiš* flesh.

ao.

§ 61. Pewsey *ao* corresponds to—

1. M.E. ǫ = O.E. *o* before *l*-combinations (§ 75, 4): *baolt* bolt, *baol* bowl, *baolstə* bolster.
2. M.E. ǭ before *ld* (§ 90, 3):
   (*a*) = O.E. *á*: *baold* bold, *faold* fold, *haold* hold.
   (*b*) = O.E. *o*, in *gaold* gold.
3. M.E. *ou* (§§ 94, 2, and 98, 1):
   (*a*) = O.E. *oɣ*, in *trao* trough.
   (*b*) = O.E. *ów*: *flao* flow, *glao* glow.
   (*c*) = O.E., O.N. *oɣ*: *tao* tow, *bao* bow.
   (*d*) = O.E. *áw*: *blao* blow, *drao* throw, *krao* crow.
   (*e*) = O.E. *áɣ*: *ao* owe, *dao* dough, *lao* low.
   (*f*) = O.E. *éow*: *vaoə* four, *tšao* chew.

ɔi.

§ 62. Pewsey *ɔi* corresponds to—

1. M.E. ī (§§ 88, 1, and 89):
   (*a*) = O.E., O.N. *i*: *bɔid* bide, *bɔit* bite, *vɔiv* five.
   (*b*) = O.E. *i* before *ld*, *nd*: *blɔind* blind, *hɔind* hind.
   (*c*) = O.E., O.N., O.Du. *ý*: *brɔid* bride, *hɔid* hide, *kɔit* kite, *skɔi* sky.
   (*d*) = O.E. *i*, *i* + dropped or vocalised ɣ, *h*: *brɔidl* bridle, *vrɔidee* Friday, *zɔiv* scythe.
   (*e*) Monophthonged of ę̄*i* from O.E. *éaɣ*, *éah*: *dɔi* dye, *ɔi* eye, *hɔi* high.
   (*f*) Monophthonged of ēi from O.E. *éoɣ*: *lɔi* tell a lie, *ϸɔi* thigh.

   M.E. ī + *r* has become *ɔiə* (§ 89, 1): *vɔiə* fire.
2. M.E. *i* = O.E. *eo*, *éo*, *ea* and their umlauts before *ht* (§ 73, 4): *brɔit* bright, *vɔit* fight, *nɔit* night.

æɐ.

§ 63*a*. Pewsey *äɐ* corresponds to—

1. M.E. *ār* = O.E. *ær*, *ar* (§ 80, 3), in *bäɐ* bare, *fäɐ* fare.
2. M.E. *ę̄r* = O.E. *er* (§ 83, 3): *swäɐ* swear, *wäɐ* wear.

æɐ.

§ 63*b*. Corresponds to—

M.E. *air* = O.E. *æger*, *ægər* (§ 96, 1, *f*): *fæɐ* fair, *stæɐz* stairs.

eɐ.

§ 64. Pewsey *eɐ* corresponds to—

1. M.E. *ar* = O.E. *ear* (§ 70, 2), in *deɐ* dare.
2. M.E. *ār* = O.E. *ar*, *ær* (§ 80, 1): *heɐ* hare, *speɐ* spare.
3. M.E. *ę̄r* = O.E. *er* (§ 83, 1): *beɐ* bear, *peɐz* pears.
4. M.E. *ę̄r* (*ęr*) = O.E. *ér* with *i*-uml. of *á* (§ 85, 1): *reɐ* rear (vb.).

iɐ.

§ 65. Pewsey *iɐ* corresponds to—

1. M.E. *ęr* = O.E. *eor* (§ 72, 5), in *smiɐtiš* smartish.
2. M.E. *ār* = O.E. *ar* (*ear*) (§ 80, 2): *kiɐ* care, *shiɐ* share.
3. M.E. *ę̄r* (§ 83, 2):
   (*a*) = O.E. *er*: *šiɐ* shear, *spiɐ* spear.
   (*b*) = O.E. *éar*: *biɐd* beard, *niɐ* near.
4. M.E. *ę̄r* (*ęr*) = O.E. *é* not umlauted (§ 85, 2): *fiɐ* fear, *jiɐ* year.
5. M.E. *ę̄r* = O.E. *éor* (§ 87, 2): *diɐ* dear, deer, *stiɐ* steer.

åɐ.

§ 66. Pewsey *åɐ* corresponds to—

1. M.E. *ǭr* (§ 91, 1):
   (*a*) = O.E. *ár*: *båɐ* boar, *håɐs* hoarse, *såɐ* sore.
   (*b*) = O.E. *or*: *əvåɐ* before, *båɐd* board, *håɐd* hoard, *tåɐ* torn (p.p.).
2. M.E. *ǭr* (§ 93), in *dåɐ* door, *tåɐdz* towards.
3. M.E. *ūr* = O.E. *ur* (§ 95, 2): *båɐn* river, *måɐn* mourn, *såɐd* sword.
4. M.E. *our* = O.E. *éower* (§ 98, 2), in *våɐtiin* fourteen.

uɐo.

§ 67. Pewsey *uɐ* corresponds to—

1. M.E. *ęr* = O.E. *yr* (§ 72, 3), in *tšuɐ* go out working.
2. M.E. *ǫ̇r* = O.E. *ór* (§ 93): *duɐ* a pig that thrives well, *fluɐ* floor.

CHAPTER III.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEWSEY SOUNDS.

THE VOWELS OF ACCENTED SYLLABLES.

§ 68. To give a continuous description of this development their Middle English and Old English equivalents have been taken into consideration. The vowel-system that has been chosen for a representative of the M.E. period is that of Chaucer described in Ten Brink's *Chaucer's Sprache und Verskunst*. For O.E. Sievers, *Angelsächsische Grammatik*[2], has formed the point of departure. The M.E. vowel-system is of a simpler structure than that of O.E., and therefore it was found convenient in the following description to start from the M.E. sound, unnecessary repetitions thus being avoided. The material collected, which is now given complete, has therefore been arranged in this way: the M.E. sounds are put as headings, in the main divisions (1, 2, 3 . . .) of each M.E. sound are stated its equivalents in the dialect, and as subdivisions (*a*, *b*, *c* . . .) are given its O.E. equivalents in each special case.

The vowels of the French element will be treated separately.

The Short Vowels.

a.

§ 69. 1. The normal development of M.E. short *a* is in Pewsey *æ*.

(*a*) M.E. *a* = O.E. *æ* (*a*), and *o* before nasals: *ænþm* anthem, *ænvl* anvil, *ærə* arrow, *æspən* aspen, *bæk* back, *bænk* bank, *blæk* black, *fæðm* (Chaucer *fadme* pl.), *gæd* to gossip, *gælə* frighten, *hænd* hand, *hændi* close, *hæps* hasp, *hætš* hatch, *kæn* can, *kændl* candle, *kæsə* castle, *kræbd* crabbed, *krænki* mad, *mæni* many, *næt* gnat, *prænk* prank, *ræm* ram (vb.), *rænsæk* ransack, *ræsə* wrestle, *sæk* sack, *zætədii* Saturday, *slæk* slack, *swænki* a small beer, *tælə* tallow, *tæn* then, especially in the expression *næə ən tæn* now and then, *tæn* tan, *træp* trap, *ðætš* thatch, *wægə* waggle (sb.), *wæk* whack, e.g. *wiiw ad æəə wæk* we have had our whack, said when a storm is just over.

Words in which M.E. *a* and *ā* were interchangeable (see Kluge, *Paul's Grundriss*, i, p. 876) sometimes show long vowels in Pewsey. To the above-mentioned group, however, belong *sædl* saddle, *spærə* sparrow, *tækl* tackle, stuff (in a depreciating sense), *tætə* tatter.

Other quantities as well as sounds are found in *jekɔ* (by-form of *jekɔ*) acre, *fäðɔ* father, *räðɔ* rather, and *wɔ̣ɔtɔ* water, short vowels in *geðɔ* gather, *wɔ̣tl* wattle. See § 79.

(*b*) M.E. *a* = O.E. *á*: *blædɔ* bladder, *fæt* fat, *lædɔ* ladder, *mæd* mad, and probably *bæd* bad.

(*c*) M.E. *a* = O.E. (or M.E.) *ea* after palatals: *šædɔ* shadow, *šækoz* shackles, *šænk* shank, used in *šænks'iz pǎniz* Shanks's ponies, *tšætɔ* chatter.

(*d*) M.E. *a* = O.E. *éa*, in *læðɔ* lather, *tšæp* (short for **chapman**) chap.

Unclassed on account of uncertain or unknown etymology are *bæmz* rough gaiters, *dæp* run (known only from the seventeenth century, N.E.D.), *ɔstrædo* a straddle, for the etymology of which may be compared Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*, on **straggle**, *flægz* (M.E. **flagge** and **flegge**, N.E.D.) reeds, *gæb* (variety of **gob**, possibly from Irish **gob** = beak, N.E.D.) mouth, *gæbl* to talk volubly, *kædl* confusion, *mægɔt* (Welsh?) maggot, *skæg* tear, *tælɔt* hay-loft over the stable.

2. M.E. *a* (*ă*) corresponds to Pewsey *ä* in the following words:—

(*a*) M.E. *a* (*ă*) = O.E. *a*, *æ* (*ǽ*), *ea* before *f*, *s*, their combinations with other consonants, and before þ (ð): *äftɔ* (also *ädɔ*, *ätɔ*) after, *bäð* bath, *bäð* bathe, *blästid* blasted, *bräs* brass, *brɔɔkäst* sow (vb.), *käst* cast, *käsnðii* canst thou not, *kräft* craft, *tšäf* chaff, *däft* daft, *fäðɔ* father (from M.E. *ā*, see Koeppel, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, 104, 57), *fäst* fast, *fäsn* fasten, *gräs* grass, *läst* last (vb.), *läð* lath, *päþ* path, *räftɔ* rafter, *räðɔ* (see Koeppel, l.c.) rather, *šävz* limbers, *šäft* shafting, *šuläst* shoe-last, *stäf* staff.

(*b*) M.E. *a* + *l* before lip-consonants and *n* = O.E. *a*, *á*. *ea* + the said consonants: *häf* half, *käf* calf, *päm* palm, *šäv* shall have, *šänt* shall not (cf. Luick, *Anglia*, xvi, p. 489). M.E. *au* in **laughter** and similar words shows the same result, see § 97.

(*c*) M.E. *a* = O.E. *a* before *n*(*d*)*s*, *nt*, in *änsɔ* answer, *känt* can't (cf. Luick, l.c.).

(*d*) In *á* have.

3. M.E. *a* = O.E. *ea*, *a*, *æ* has become *a* before final *l*: *al* all; *al*, awl, goes back to O.E. **æl** or **eal**, for which forms with **al** are recorded through all periods (N.E.D.), and not to the by-form O.E. **awul**, the origin of lit. English **awl**; *alɔz* always, *bikal* abuse, *fal* fall, *gal* gall, *kal* call, *nɔitəngal* (also pronounced *nɔitən gəlo*, probably on the analogy of *galo* girl) nightingale, *smal* small, *stal* stall, *tal* tall; and in *alɔks alɔki* by Ellis, v, p. 50, word-list number 558, explained as 'ah! look ye!'

The words *kral* crawl (M.E. **craule**, O.N. **krafla** ?) and *sprəl* sprawl (M.E. **spraulen**, O.E. **spréawlian**) originally had a labial before *l*. This seems to have been dropped before or absorbed by the *l*, whereafter *a* had its normal development before *l*.

Of uncertain origin are *bəl* bawl (only recorded since the fifteenth century, and probably adopted from mid Lat. **baulare**, N.E.D.), *dral* drawl (perhaps introduced from Du. or L.G. at the end of the sixteenth century, N.E.D.), *pal* chum (supposed to be borrowed from Gipsy).

An exception to the general rule is *ɔɔbəd* all but, where *ɔɔ* may be due to influence from received pronunciation; and in *əmoəst* almost, the stress falls on the second syllable, which accounts for the reduction of *a* to *ə*.

4. Especially when the word begins with a lip- or a lip-back-consonant, M.E. *a* before *l* has become Pewsey *ɔɔ*.

M.E. *a* = O.E. *ea*: *mɔɔlt* malt, *sɔɔlt* salt, *wɔɔl* wall, *wɔɔk* (where *ɔɔ* answers to *a* + *l*) walk.

In *wɔɔtɷ* (Chaucer **wăter**, O.E. *wæter*) water, *ɔɔ* varies with *ɑ* in the dialect pronunciation (cf. Koeppel, *Archiv f. d. Stud. d. neu. Spr.*, 104, p. 57). *wədi*, wade, has *ə* and preserves O.E. short vowel.

Of unknown source and history is *bɔɔld* bald, *bɔɔledid* bald-headed.

5. M.E. *al* before *k* has become *ææ*, when no lip-consonant begins the word.

M.E. *al* = O.E. *al*, *eal*: *tææk* (this *ææ* often goes towards *a*) talk, *tšææk* chalk.

We also have the long sound in *ææks* (and *äs* to 2 *a*) ask, but the short one in *æksənz* banns of marriage. For the M.E. and O.E. basis see Kluge, *Grundriss*, i, 876, and Anm. 1. The long vowel is again found in *gæændɷ* gander (O.E. **gan(d)ra**, M.E. **gandre**, 16th c. **gaundre**).

Of obscure origin are *džæænt* jaunt, *rææfti* rancid, *šæænti* hovel.

6. M.E. *al*, *aul* = O.E. *eal* corresponds to Pewsey *æ* in *teetiæm* potato haulm. As to the irregular pronunciation of lit. English *həəm*, see Luick, *Anglia*, xvi, p. 471.

7. M.E. *a* has become *æi* before a *š*-sound. M.E. *a* = O.E., O.N. *a* (*æ*): *æištrii* ash-tree, *mæiš* mash, *ræišɷ* (Skeat derives from O.N. **rask**), also pronounced *räišɷ*, a thin slice of broiled bacon, *smæiš* smash, *splæiš* splash, *wæiš* wash.

8. M.E. *a* from O.E. *a* (*o*) answers to Pewsey *e* in *eykl* ankle, *geðɷ* gather.

9. M.E. *a* from O.E. *æ* answers to Pewsey *je* in *jekɷ*, by-form of

eəkɷ, acre, if *jekɷ* is to be regarded as a contamination between two doublets, (1) M.E. **āker** > Pewsey *eekɷ* and *eəkɷ* > **jeekɷ*, and (2) M.E. inflected form: **akre** > Pewsey **ækɷ*. The result would then be **jækɷ* > (through influence from *j*) *jekɷ* with a vowel that had its quantity and quality from (2) and its *j* from (1). Cf. Koeppel about **father** in *Archiv f. d. Stud. d. neu. Spr.*, 104, p. 58.

ar.

§ 70. On account of the peculiar influence exercised by an *r* on the preceding vowel, especially when the *r* was final or before consonants, the M.E. vowel + *r*-combinations are dealt with separately.

1. M.E. *ar* has in Pewsey generally become *ɷ²*.

(*a*) M.E. *ar* = O.E. *ear*: *ɷ²m* arm, *hɷ²d* hard, *hɷ²dən* harden, *devlɷ²dənd* hardy, *hɷ²m* harm, *hɷ²p* harp, *šɷ²p* sharp, *spɷ²* spar, split hazel-rods for thatching, *spɷ²k* spark, *spɷ²kt* mottled, *swɷ²m* swarm, *wɷ²d* ward, *wɷ²m* warm, *wɷ²miš* warmish, *wɷ²t* wart.

bɷ²kn in *rikbɷ²kn*, rickyard, is of uncertain origin.

(*b*) M.E. *ar* = O.N. *ar* in *wɷ²p* warp, *ǫr* in *bɷ²k* rind.

(*c*) M.E. *ar* is shortened from O.E. *áwer* in *lɷ²k* lark.

2. M.E. *ar* from O.E. *ear* corresponds to Pewsey *ɷ* (*ee* + *ɷ*) in *dɷ* dare (cf. § 80, 1).

3. M.E. *ar* = O.E. *ear* has become *ææ* before *s*: *ææs* arse, used in the expression *ææsəvɷ ed* arse over head. It has also become *æ* in *æt* art, as in *ætntii* art not thou.

4. A strong contraction has taken place in *zaɷnun*, this afternoon.

Of uncertain derivation are *hɷ²l* and *hærol* harl, used in the phrase *al in ə hærol* all mixed together, *džɷ²l* jarl.

A late adoption is *kɷ²ki* from Pers. **khaki** dusty (N.E.D.).

ę.

§ 71. 1. M.E. *ę* is Pewsey mostly *e*.

(*a*) M.E. *ę* in closed syllables = O.E. or O.N. *e*, the *i*-umlaut of *a*: *belɷ* bellow, *belt* belt, *bentš* bench, *bend* bend, *drentš* drench, give medicine, *endžiz* hinges, *eŋglən* England, *vetš* fetch, *hedž* hedge, *hel* hell, *hem* hem, *leg* leg, *lenþ* length, loan, *men* men, *nek* neck, *net* net, *rest* rest, *zend* send, *sendž* singe, *zet* set, *spend* spend, *step* step, *stiŋnedl* sting-nettle, *streŋ* string, *streŋþ* strength, *stretš* stretch, *stretšɷ* ambulance litter, *tel* tell, *ðenk* think, *wedž* wedge, *welp* whelp, *retš* wretch.

Wensdee is from an umlauted by-form of O.E. **Wódnes-dæg**.

M.E. *ę* in open syllables (cf. Luick, *Anglia*, xx, p. 340; Koeppel, *Archiv f. d. Stud. d. neu. Spr.*, 104, p. 58) = O.E. *e*: *beli* belly, *hevi* heavy, *peni* penny.

(*b*) M.E. *ę* in closed syllables = O.E. *ë*: *beoz* bells, *vreš* fresh, *help* help, *jelp* yelp (sb. and vb.), *stem* stem, *swel* swell, *spek* speck.

M.E. *ę* in open syllables (cf. Koeppel, l.c., 55–56) = O.E. *ë*: *veðɷ* feather, *leðɷ* leather, *setl* a long bench with a high back.

(*c*) M.E. *ę* in closed syllable = O.E. *eo*: *jelɷ* yellow.

M.E. *ę* in open syllables = O.E. *eo*: *əlebm* eleven, *hebm* heaven, *sevmf* seventh, *sebm*, *sem* seven.

(*d*) M.E. *ę*? = O.E. *y*: *vledžd* fledge.

(*e*) M.E. *ę* = O.E. *ie*: *bekn* beckon, *depþ* depth, *nekst* next.

(*f*) M.E. *ę* = O.E. *æ*: *emti* (*enti*) empty, *helþ* health, *slept* slept, *weng* wing (O.N. *æ*).

(*g*) M.E. *ę* = O.E. *é*: *seldm* seldom.

(*h*) M.E. *ę* = O.E. *éo*: *fel* fel (pt.), *stepfäðɷ* stepfather.

(*i*) *šepheu'd* shepherd with M.E. *ę*, O.E. West Saxon **scéap-** from ***scǽp-**, late West Saxon **scép-**.

2. M.E. *ę* corresponds to Pewsey *i*.

(*a*) M.E. *ę* in closed syllables = O.E. *e*, the *i*-umlaut of *a*: *bilăziz* bellows, *hin* hen, *liŋgɷ* linger, *nibl* nibble, *rid* rid.

The same M.E. *ę* in open syllable: *kitl* kettle.

(*b*) M.E. *ę* = O.E. *eo*: *istədee* yesterday.

3. M.E. *ę* answers to Pewsey *ee* (*eə*).

(*a*) M.E. *ę* = O.E. *e*: *eedž* edge, *seedž* sedge, *kreəs* cress (**kreeses** in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, N.E.D.).

(*b*) M.E. *ę* = O.E. *é*: *feevɷ* fever, *eət* yet.

4. M.E. *e* answers to Pewsey *ei*, the *i* being due to the peculiar influence from *a* following *š*.

(*a*) M.E. *ę* = O.E. *ë*: *dreiš* thrash, *dreišo* threshold.

(*b*) M.E. *ę* = O.E. *æ*: *fleiš* flesh.

5. M.E. *ę* from O.E. *ë* answers to *ä* in *ränt* tear.

6. M.E. *ę* from O.E. *e* is *a* in *alm* elm.

7. In *bæg* beg we have *æ*, which suggests an influence from the substantive **bag**. Whether this influence is of a late date I am unable to decide. For the supposed etymology of the word see N.E.D., s.v., note.

ęr.

§ 72. 1. M.E. *ęr* corresponds to Pewsey *æ²*.

(*a*) M.E. *ęr* = O.E. *eor*: *bæ²m* barm, *bæ²k* bark (vb.), *kæ²v* carve, *dæ²k* dark, *dwæ²f* dwarf, *dæ²lən* darling, *fæ²ðən* farthing, *hæ²þ* hearth, *hæ²t* heart, *smæ²t* smart, *stæ²* star, *stæ²v* starve, *stæ²t* start, *tæ²* tar.

dæ²n, mend stockings, has perhaps also its place here (cf. Skeat, *Transactions of the Phil. Soc.*, 1899–1901, Part I, p. 267).

(*b*) M.E. *ęr* = O.E. *ær*, in *stæ²lən* starling.

(*c*) In the early loan-word *wæ²* war (Chaucer **werre**, O.Fr. **werre**).

2. M.E. *ęr* has become *æ¹*.

(*a*) M.E. *ęr* = O.N. *verr*, in *əðæ¹t* athwart (O.N. **þverr**), and = O.E. *er* in *fæ¹k* firk.

(*b*) M.E. *ęr* = O.E. *eor* after *w*: *wæ¹k* work, *wæ¹kədee* workday. Perhaps more likely M.E. *ur* written *or*.

(*c*) M.E. *ęr* (*ir*) = O.E. *yr*, **yr*: *kæ¹nəl* kernel, *šæ¹t* (also pronounced *šuæt* and *šɑ̊æt*) shirt.

3. M.E. *ęr* answering to O.E. *yr* has become *uæ* in *tšuæ* go out working (Kluge-Lutz, *Engl. Etym.*, **char**).

4. M.E. *ęr* from O.E. *eor*, *er* has become *ä* in *äþt ôp* earthed up, and *smäm* smear is O.E. **smerwan** (Sievers, *Ags. Gr.*, § 408, Anm. 5), M.E. ***smermen**(?), *päsən* parson, M.E. **persoun**, Lat. **persona**.

5. *iæ*, in *smiætliš* smartish.

After absorption of the medial *ð* in M.E. **whether** (O.E. **hwæðer**) the vowel was modified by the following *r* into *æ¹*, **whether** thus becoming *wæ¹*.

i.

§ 73. 1. M.E. *i* has generally remained as *i*.

(*a*) M.E. *i* = O.E., O.N. *i*: *bid* bid, *bit* bit (p.p.), *bitæ* bitter, *bitš* bitch, *briŋ* bring, *dwindl əwæe* dwindle away, *fidl* fiddle, *fiklməindid* fickle-minded, *vin* fin, *vipəns* fivepence, *flik* flitch, *flikæ* flicker, *glitæ* glitter, *grip* grip, *grizo* gristle, *hindæ* hinder, *kliŋ* cling, *krisp* crisp, *lid* lid, *lik* lick, *lim* tear to pieces, *lim* limb, *lip* lip, *miks* mix, *mist* mist, *mizltɑ̊* mistletoe, *midwɔ̊if* midwife, *miodjuu* mildew, *mis* miss, *midl* middle, *nimbo* nimble, *nit* nit, *piþ* pith, *prik* plant, *rib* rib, *rim* rim, *riŋko* wrinkle, *šift* shift, *šilən* shilling, *šinboən* shin-bone, *šrivo* shrivel, *sindæ* cinder, *sistæ* sister, *skin* skin, *slid* slid (p.p.), *slit* slit (p.p.), *spio* spill, *spindl* spindle, *spindli* weak, *split* split, *stitš* stitch, *swio* swill, *ðizo* thistle, *dilæ* the shaft-horse of a team, *ðiŋ* thing, *þrift* thrift, *þrifti* thrifty, *twiŋko* twinkle, *widə* widow, *widþ* width,

wio (*wā*, *wul*) will, *wiŋk* wink, *wizənd* wizen (adj.), *wispɐ* whisper, *wizo* whistle, *witš* which. In some words *i* can be lowered into *e*, as in *klem* climb, *šrenk* shrink, or to a sound that in spite of its shortness has the quality of *ee*, as in *bet* bit (pt. of bite).

To this group, M.E. *i* = O.E. *i*, probably also belong: *wikɐ* neigh (O.H.G. *wihón*), *wifo* whiffle (Swed. *vifta*), W.W. wivel.

(*b*) M.E. *i* = O.E., O.N. *y*: *bizi* busy, *biznes* business, *brim* brim, *brikhio* brick-kiln, *brizoz* bristles, *din* din, *dip* dip, *dizi* dizzy, *vil* fil, *gidi* giddy, *hio* hill, *hip* hip, *intš* inch, *kio* (O.E. ***cyllan**) kill, *kin* kin, *kis* kiss, *kitšən* kitchen, *kripo* cripple, *klip* clip, *kæoslip* cowslip, *lɔimkio* limekiln, *lizn* listen, *lift* lift, *mint* mint, *nit* knit, *pilə* pillow, *pit* pit, *ridžən* ridge of a house, *rist* wrist, *slip* slip, *stint* stint, *ðik* this, *ðik* thick, *ðin* thin, *trim* trim, *tšikən* chicken, *wilə* willow.

(*c*) M.E. *i* = O.E. *i*: *linən* linen, *linsiid* linseed, *stif* stiff, *wimən* women, *wizdəm* wisdom.

(*d*) M.E. *i* = O.E. *ý*: *filþ* filth, *vist* fist, *litl* little, *ðimbo* thimble, *wiš* wish.

(*e*) M.E. *i* = O.E. *io*, *eo* and its umlaut *ie*, *i*: *twiks* betwixt, *miok* milk, *siok* silk, *siks* six.

(*f*) M.E. *i* = O.E. *éo*, in *siknes* sickness.

2. M.E. *i* (?) from O.E. *i* (?) answers to *ee* in *streeks* graining in painting (Kluge-Lutz, *Engl. Etym.*, O.E. **strica**, M.E. **strike**).

3. M.E. *i* = O.E. *y* answers to *u* in the broad pronunciation of *bridž* as *brudž* bridge.

4. M.E. *i* + χ corresponds to Pewsey *ɔi* when M.E. *i* = O.E. *eo*, *éo*, *ea*, and their palatal umlauts *ie*, *i*, *ie*, *i* stood before *ht*: *brɔit* bright, *vɔit* fight, *vlɔit* flight, *vrɔit* fright, *lɔit* light (adj.), *lɔit* light (sb.), *nɔit* night, *rɔit* right, *slɔit* (O.E. ***sliht**) slight, *tɔit* tight, drunk (Kluge-Lutz, *Engl. Etym.*, loan from Scand. **þéttr**).

As unclassed remain: *big* big, first known in the end of the thirteenth century (N.E.D.); *bidi* (*ə vɔni ɑ bidi*, once uttered about an old woman) is an appellative use of the proper name **Biddy** for **Bridget**, or the appellative **biddy**, chicken, fowl, see N.E.D., Biddy [1] and [2]; *blɔiti* blighty, said about the weather, as in *ə blɔiti dæe* a dull day; *fliŋ* fling, apparently closely related to O.N. **flengja** (N.E.D.); *kid* kid, would be regarded as an adoption from O.N. but for the final *e* (N.E.D.); *nik* pinch, steal (cf. Swed. dial. *knycka* in the same sense); *šrio* shrill (Chaucer **shrille** in pl.); *spik*, split hazel-rods of this shape ⅄ used to fasten

down the bundles of straw in thatching, perhaps the same as **spike**; *tik* cover of the feathers in a pillow, *twig* look at, *twitɐ* twitter, *tšidlənz* chitterlings.

ir.

§ 74. 1. M.E. *ir* (*ri*) = O.E. *ir*, *yr*, O.N. *ri*, has become Pewsey *ɐ*^{1}: *bɐ*^{1}*tš* birch, *bɐ*^{1}*d* bird, *dɐ*^{1}*t* (also *duɐt*) dirt, *ðɐ*^{1}*d* third, *tšɐ*^{1}*n* milkcan, *tšɐ*^{1}*m* to work something in pressing it down with the hands and mixing it well, probably also *tšɐ*^{1}*p* chirp (a late word, N.E.D.).

2. M.E. *ir* = O.E. *yr* has become *ə* in *vəst* first.

ǫ.

§ 75. 1. The normal development of M.E. *ǫ* is in Pewsey *ɔ*.

(*a*) M.E. *ǫ* in closed syllables = O.E. *o*: *drɔtl* throttle (vb.), *frɔg* frog, *fɔlɐ* follow, *flɔk* flock, *hɔlɐ* hollow, *hɔpɐ* (Chaucer **hopper**), *klɔtid* clotted, *kɔk* (see below, 2) cock, *kɔd* cod, *lɔt* lot, *lɔst* (more common is *luust*) lost, *lɔk* lock, *nɔk* knock, *sɔk* sock, *smɔk* shirt, *šɔt* shot, *tɔpl ðvɐ* fall.

(*b*) M.E. *ǫ* = O.N. *o*: *ɔd* odd, *mɔs* moss, *slɔpi* loose (about garments).

(*c*) M.E. *ǫ* in open syllables, when the following syllable contained an *er*, *en*, *m*, or *y* (Ten Brink, §§ 18, 35) = O.E. *o*: *bɔdi* body, *bɔdiɔs* body-horse, *bɔtm* bottom, *kɔpɐ* (Chaucer **coper**) copper, *rɔt* rot.

klɔg clog, whose O.E. form is unknown, probably also belongs to one of the above-mentioned groups. The origin of *hɔb*, a part of the grate, is obscure.

(*d*) M.E. *ǫ* is a shortening of O.E. *ó* in *blɔsəm* blossom, *fɔstɐ* foster, *sɔft* soft.

(*e*) M.E. *ǫ* = O.E. *a*, *o* before *nd* and *ng*: *əlɔŋ* along, *fɔnd* fond, *lɔŋ* long, *rɔŋ* wrong, *sɔŋ* song, *strɔŋ* strong. Of the strong preterites of the third class *zɔŋ* sung with certainty has *ɔ*, probably in assimilation with the substantive **song**.

(*f*) M.E. *ǫ* = O.E. *wo* (*wa*), in *ðɔŋ* thong.

Chaucer's *ǫ* before *nd* in words where modern English has *æ*, as in **hond** hand, or *æo*, as in **fond** found, corresponds to Pewsey *æ* resp. *æo*.

2. M.E. *ǫ* = O.E. *o* has been lengthened into *ɔɔ*, especially—

(*a*) Before *s*, *f*, and their combinations: *brɔɔþ* broth, *frɔɔst* frost, *hitšɔɔftəim* time to release the horses from work, *hɔɔp* hop, *krɔɔs* cross, *lɔɔft* loft, *ɔɔfm* often, *ɔɔfo* offal, *ɔɔks* ox.

In some of the words mentioned under 1*a* and *b*, *ǫ* has often become long or half long. The lengthened vowel appears in substantives, and may be due to an influence from their M.E. inflected forms which had in *ǭ* open syllable: *kɔ̄ɔk* cock, *kɔ̄ɔd* cod, *lɔ̄ɔt* lot, *mɔ̄ɔs* moss.

(*b*) M.E. *ǫ* = O.E. *eo* (cf. Kluge, *Paul's Grundriss*, i, 903), in *jɔ̄ɔn* yon, *jɔ̄ɔndæ* yonder.

(*c*) M.E. *ǫ* + *l* = O.E. *o* + *l*, in *vɔ̄ɔk* folk.

3. M.E. *ǫl* (*eol*, *el*) = O.E. *eol* has become Pewsey *ê* in *jêk* yolk.

4. M.E. *ǫ* (?) = O.E. *o* has become Pewsey *ao* before *lt*, *ll*, *lst*: *baolt* bolt, *baol* bowl, *baolstæ* bolster, *kaolt* colt, *taol* toll.

5. M.E. *ǫ* from O.E. *o* has become Pewsey *ɔ̄* in *hɔ̄ŋ* hung (pt.), and *əhɔ̄ŋ* hung (p.p.), through influence from the p.p. of **sing**.

ǫr.

§ 76. 1. M.E. *ǫr* = O.E. *or*, *eor*, when not followed by a vowel has become *æ²*: *bæ²nd* born, *fæ²k* fork, *hæ²n* horn, *kæ²n* corn, *mæ²nən* morning, *næ²þ* north, *šæ²t* short, *stæ²m* storm, *þæ²n* thorn.

2. M.E. *ǫr* = O.E. *or* has become *ɔ̄* in *smɔ̄ðæ* smother.

3. M.E. *ǫr* = O.E. *or* has become *ə* before *s* in *həs* horse.

u.

§ 77. M.E. *u* generally corresponds to Pewsey *ɔ̄* and to *u* when preceded by *w* or followed by *l*.

1. M.E. *u* has become *ɔ̄*.

(*a*) M.E. *u* = old *u*: *bigɔ̄n* begun, *blɔ̄bæ* cry, *bɔ̄bl* bubble, *bɔ̄k* buck, *bɔ̄tæ* butter, *bɔ̄lk* bulk, *bɔ̄sl* bustle, *drɔ̄ŋk* drunk, *dɔ̄m* dumb, *dɔ̄ŋ* manure, *flɔ̄tæ* flutter, *fɔ̄rə* furrow, *grɔ̄nt* grunt, *gɔ̄ts* guts, *hɔ̄ndəd* hundred, *hɔ̄nt* hunt, *jɔ̄ŋ* young, *kɔ̄d* (O.E. **cudu**, Luick, *Untersuchungen zur Englischen Lautgeschichte*, § 537), *kɔ̄dl* embrace, *kɔ̄md* come (p.p.), *kɔ̄ffs* cuffs, *kɔ̄f* cuff (on the ear), *kɔ̄p* cup, *krɔ̄mbl ɔ̄p* crumble, *krɔ̄m* crumb, *kɔ̄nən* cunning, *lɔ̄g* drag, carry, *lɔ̄ŋ* lung, *lɔ̄v* love, *mɔ̄ŋgæ* monger, *mɔ̄ðəri* mothery, *nɔ̄m*, *nɔ̄md* numb, *nɔ̄t* nut, *ɔ̄gli* ugly, *ɔ̄ndæ* under, *ɔ̄ŋgæ* hunger, *ɔ̄ni* honey, *rɔ̄di*, *rɔ̄dl* reddish, *rɔ̄n* run (Sweet, *New English Grammar*, § 1382), *rɔ̄ŋ* rung and rang, *slɔ̄mbæ* slumber (derivation from O.E. **slúma**), *slɔ̄ŋk* slunk, *zɔ̄n* son, *zɔ̄n* (sb. and vb.) sun, bask, *zɔ̄ndee* Sunday, *šɔ̄n* shun, *šɔ̄dæ* shudder, *sɔ̄ŋk* sunk, *šrɔ̄ŋk* shrunk, *sprɔ̄ŋ* sprung, *stɔ̄mp* stump, *stɔ̄n* stun, *stɔ̄ŋ* stung, *stɔ̄ŋk* (not common) stunk, *stɔ̄tæ* stutter, *swɔ̄ŋ* swung, *swɔ̄m* swum, *tɔ̄b* tub, *tɔ̄mbl* tumble, *tɔ̄n* tun, *tɔ̄ŋ* tongue, *tɔ̄sk* tusk, *tɔ̄kl* chuckle, *ðɔ̄ndæ* thunder, *þrɔ̄š* thrush (a disease among horses), *tɔ̄k* diminish.

ɔ̀, pointing to M.E. *u*, occurs in some words where lit. English has *ə*: *klɔ̀t* (O.E. **clot**, M.E. **clote** and **clute**, N.E.D.), clot, used in the expression *al in ə klɔ̀t*, all mixed together; *snɔ̀t* (Kluge-Lutz, *Engl. Etym.*: O.E. **gesnot**, M.E. **snot**), snot, also points to an earlier *u*-form; *mioksɔ̀ps* (Stratmann-Bradley, M.E. **milksoppe**, derived from **sûpan**), milksops.

(*b*) M.E. *u* = O.E. *ú*, supposed to have been shortened at an early period. As for *dɔ̀v* dove and *dɔ̀k* duck, from O.E. *dufe, **duce**, with a weak stage of the root-vowel, see Luick, *Untersuchungen zur Engl. Lautgeschichte*, §§ 552, 553, N.E.D., s.vv., and *Archiv f. d. Stud. d. neu. Spr.*, 103, p. 62, where Luick treats the material of N.E.D. for these words. Other words belonging to this group are: *dɔ̀st* dust (by Ellis put down with the diphthong *Iu* for Marlborough and Chippenham), *fɔ̀s* fuss, *fɔ̀si* fussy, *hɔ̀zbən* husband, *ɔ̀dɔ* udder, *plɔ̀m* plum, *rɔ̀st* rust, *šɔ̀v* shove, *zɔ̀k* suck, *θɔ̀m* thumb.

(*c*) M.E. *u* = O.E. *y*: *blɔ̀š* blush, *bɔ̀ndl* bundle, *krɔ̀tš* crutch, *mɔ̀tš* much, *mɔ̀k* muck, *stɔ̀bid* stubbed, *stɔ̀bl* stubble, *šɔ̀t* shut, *šɔ̀tl* shuttle. The two last words are also heard with a higher sound, somewhat similar to *e* or a slightly rounded *e*. Higher still is the position of the vowel in **such**, which is pronounced *sitš*.

(*d*) M.E. *u* = O.E. *ý* (?): *drɔ̀st* thrust, *rɔ̀š* rush (sb.).

2. M.E. *wu*, *u*, chiefly before *l*, correspond to Pewsey *u*.

(*a*) M.E. *u*, *wu* = O.E., O.N. *u*, *wu*: *bul* bull, *bulək* bullock, *vɔ̀ixhud* firewood, *kutš* (see Luick, *Untersuchungen zur Engl. Lautgeschichte*, § 536) couch-grass, *pul* pull, *ul* (also *ɔ̀l*) wool, *undɔ* wonder.

(*b*) M.E. *wu* + *l* = O.E. *wi*, *wo* + *l*: *ut* wilt, formed through influence from the weak form in which *w* rounded the *i* and then disappeared as well as the *l* (Chaucer has **wolt**), *ud* would.

(*c*) *umən* woman, M.E. **wumman** and **wimman**, O.E. **wîfman**.

(*d*) M.E. *u* = O.E. *ú*, in *rum* room, *sup* a small drink.

3. M.E. *ul* = O.E. *ul* corresponds to Pewsey *æo* in *šæodɔ* shoulder (cf. Koeppel, *Quellen und Forschungen*, 89, p. 62).

As words of uncertain etymology remain, with *ɔ̀*: *bɔ̀ntš* bunch, *bɔ̀ri* burrow, *hɔ̀d* hud, *ənhɔ̀d* to remove the husk from beans, *drɔ̀ndž* a small passage between a house and a hedge or wall, *kɔ̀t* cut, *rɔ̀mpəs* noise, *rɔ̀dɔ* the commonest word for **sieve** (M.E. and O.E. have **hridder**); with *u*: *kubi dæon* to cower.

ur.

§ 78. 1. M.E. *ur* has become *ɐ*[1].

(*a*) M.E. *ur* = O.E., ON. *ur* when followed by a consonant: *skɐ[1]f* scurf, *tɐ[1]f* turf, *wɐ[1]þ* worth, *wɐ[1]dl* world.

(*b*) M.E. *ur* = O.N. *úr*, in *þɐ[1]s dee* Thursday.

(*c*) M.E. *ur* (*ir*) = O.E. *yr* when followed by a consonant: *bɐ[1]þ* birth, berth, *hɐ[1]dl* hurdle, *mɐ[1]dɐ* murder, *þɐ[1]st* thirst.

2. M.E. *ur*, *ir* = O.E. *yr* before a consonant, has become *ɐ*[2] in *tšɐ[2]m* chirm, probably in analogy with *tšɐ[2]m* charm.

3. M.E. *ur* + consonant has in Pewsey given *ɔ* + consonant in the following words:—

(*a*) M.E. *ur* = O.E. *úr* : *kɔ̀s* curse.

(*b*) M.E. *ur* = O.E. *ur*, from *eor* after *w*, in *wɔ̀lod*, a by-form of *wɐ[1]dl* world, and explained through M.E. parallel forms (cf. *Grundriss*, i, p. 894); *kɔ̀d*, from M.E. **crudde** curd (Kluge-Lutz, s.v.), is of Celtic origin.

(*c*) M.E. *ur* = O.E. *yr*, in *wɔ̀s* (unaccented form *wəs*) worse, sometimes in *wɔ̀þ* worth (cf. § 74, 2).

Long Vowels and Diphthongs.

ā.

§ 79. In the phase of the Wiltshire form represented by Pewsey, ME. *ā* (O.E. chiefly *a*, *æ*, *ea* in open syllables) has remained *ee*, *eə*, and not gone so far as in the three other phases (Ellis, v, pp. 49–60), where it has become *ii* and *iə*. In *gäp* it seems to be preserved on the earlier stage of *ä* (see 2). The first element of the diphthong *eə* is the same close sound as in *ee*. Although they do not interchange arbitrarily in the same word as a rule, *ee* and *eə* do not seem to be regulated by an influence from a following consonant, except that *eə* is more common than *ee* before *k*.

1. M.E. *ā* has become Pewsey *ee*, *eə*.

(*a*) M.E. *ā* = O.E. *a*, *æ*, O.N. *a* (*á*) in open syllables in which the M.E. lengthening was not prevented by a radical *er* (see Ten Brink, §§ 18, 35 *β* 2): *eekɐn* acorn, *eəkɐ* acre (cf. § 69, 9), *eetš* itch, probably **ache** < M.E. **ache** and **eche**, O.E. **ace** (N.E.D.), *beək* bake, *biheev* behave, *bleəd* blade, *bleez* blaze, *dreək* drake, *fleek* flake, *greev* grave, *greez* graze, *heet* hate, *keek* cake, *kreedl* cradle, *kreev* crave, *leedl* ladle, *leem* lame, *leən* lane, *leet* late, *meen* mane, *neekid* naked, *neem* name, *reək* rake, *seek* sake, *seəl* sale, *seem* same, *skeelz* scales, *skreəp* scrape, *sneək* snake, *speəd* spade, *steək* stake, *steepl* staple,

steevz staves, *teəl* tale (but *tæel* tail), *teəm* tame, *weəl* whale, *weən* wane, *weev* wave (sb.) (derived from the weak vb. M.E. **wāve**, O.E. **wăfian**, Kluge-Lutz, *Engl. Etym.*).

streədz strides (pl.), as a measure, points to a M.E. ***strāde**.

(*b*) M.E. *ā* = O.E. *ea*: *eel* ale, *geət* gate, *əgeət* busy, *šeed* shade, *šeek* shake, *šeəm* shame, *šeep* shape.

(*c*) M.E. *ā* after which a *k* has disappeared: *meed* made.

(*d*) M.E. *ā* for earlier *a* after which an *f* has disappeared, in *leedi* lady (Chaucer **lādy**, earlier M.E. **lafdi**, O.E. **hlǽfdiȝe**).

2. M.E. *ā* from O.N., O.E. *a*, *á* in open syllable corresponds to Pewsey *ä* in *gäp* gape, yawn, *gäni* W.W. gawney = fool, *jän* yawn.

ār.

§ 80. 1. M.E. *ār* from O.E. *ar*, *ær* has become Pewsey *eə*: *heə* hare, *keə* care (also *kiə*), *speə* spare, *steə* stare, and probably also *nɔitmeə* nightmare.

2. M.E. *ār* from O.E. *ar* (*ear*) is *iə*, in *kiə* (see 1) care and *šiə* share (vb.), *plœošiə* ploughshare.

3. M.E. *ār* from O.E. *ær*, *ar* is *äə*, in *bäə* bare, *fäə* fare (but *fæer* fair, adj., see § 96, 1, *f*).

ē̤.

§ 81. To make the survey of the development of this sound easier its treatment will be divided into two parts. The first part contains words with M.E. long open ē̤ from O.E. *ĕ* (*ĕ*) in open syllables or from O.E. *éa*, because in this case, with few exceptions, we have the open sound in M.E. (Kluge, *Grundriss*, i, p. 880, § 98). The second part deals with words in which O.E. had *ǽ* and *é*. In O.E. West Teut. *á* became in West Saxon *ǽ*, in Anglian *é*, and in the same way *ǽ*, the *i*-umlaut of *á* (Teut. *ai*), became in Anglian in part *é*. The normal continuations of these O.E. *ǽ* and *é* were in M.E. ē̤ and ę̄. At first ē̤ and ę̄ undoubtedly kept their own territories, but then gradually encroached upon each other's dominions, so that later on both probably appeared in the same place.

§ 82. A. M.E. ē̤ from O.E. *e-* (= *e* in open syllable), *ĕ-* or from O.E. *éa*.

1. This M.E. ē̤ has in Pewsey become *ee*, *eə*.

(*a*) M.E. ē̤ = O.E. *e-*: *breek* break, *eet* (*eət*) eat, *need* knead, *leek* leak (vb.), *meet* meat, *speek* speak, *steel* steal, *ween* wean, *weev* weave.

(*b*) M.E. ē̤ = O.E. *éa*: *beəm* beam, *beən* bean, *dreem* dream, *kreep* crept (pt.), *peekɔk* peacock.

2. It has become Pewsey *e*.

(*a*) M.E. ę̄ = O.E. *e-*: *rekn* (Chaucer has **rękene** and **rękne**, so the short *e* of the dialect is probably due to a syncopated form) reckon, *tred* tread, *vret* fret.

(*b*) M.E. ę̄ = O.E. *éa*: *bred* bread, *dretn* threaten, *def* (also heard as *dif*) deaf, *deþ* death, *hed* head, *led* lead (sb.), *red* red, *tšep* cheap.

3. It has further become Pewsey *ii*, *iə*.

(*a*) M.E. ę̄ = O.E. *e-*, see below under ę̄*r*.

(*b*) M.E. ę̄ = *éa*: *biəm* (*beəm*, see 1, *b*), *biət* (also *bjeet* with long *e*) beat, *flii* flea, *hiip* heap, *iist* (also *eest*) east, *liif* leaf, *liip* leap, *šiif* sheaf, *siəm* seam, *stiip* steep, *stiəm* steam, *striəm* stream, *tiəm* team.

Pewsey *tšiik* cheek, M.E. **chēke** is from West Saxon **céace** for ***cæce**. In the sense of impudence it sounds *tšeək*: *hiiz gət plenti ə tšeək* he has got plenty of cheek, so also *tšeeki* saucy.

4. It has finally become *i*.

(*a*) M.E. ę̄ = O.E. *e-*: *bedstid* bedstead, *ənstid* instead, *wizo* weasel.

(*b*) M.E. ę̄ = O.E. *éa*: *dif* (old people for *def*) deaf, *ridiš* reddish.

ę̄r.

§ 83. 1. M.E. ę̄*r* = O.E. *er* has become *eə* in *beə* bear, *peəz* pears, *smeə* smear (vb.), and the M.E. **smęre** seem to point to a not strictly West Saxon **smerian** (cf. Sievers, *Ags. Gr.*², § 408, Anm. 1 and 5).

2. M.E. ę̄*r* has become *iə*.

(*a*) M.E. ę̄*r* = O.E. *er*: *šiə* shear, *spiə* spear.

(*b*) M.E. ę̄*r* = O.E. *éar*: *biəd* beard, *niə* near.

3. M.E. ę̄*r* from O.E. *er* is Pewsey *äə*, in *swäə* swear, *wäə* wear, which, however, also sound *suə* and *wə*[1].

ę̄ (ē̜).

§ 84. B. In this paragraph I give the dialect words the vowels of which are the representatives of M.E. ę̄ (ē̜) from O.E. *ǽ* (*é*). Now as this M.E. ę̄ (ē̜) is chiefly represented by Pewsey *ee*, but also by *e*, *ii*, and *i*, and as O.E. *ǽ* (*é*) may come from West Teutonic *ā* or be the *i*-umlaut of *á* from Teut. *ai* (Sievers, *Ags. Gr.*², § 90), and the former *ǽ* may be umlauted or not umlauted (Sievers, l.c., §§ 57, 91), we get—

1. M.E. ę̄ (ē̜) = Pewsey *ee* (*eə*).

(*a*) M.E. ę̄ (ē̜) = umlauted O.E. *ǽ* (W. Teut. *á*): *leetš* leech (the same word as **leech** physician), *reetš* vomit, *seet* seat, *speetš* speech.

(*b*) M.E. ē̤ (ę̄) = not umlauted O.E. *ǣ* (W. Teut. *á*): *meəd* meadow, *reed* read.

(*c*) M.E. ē̤ (ę̄) = O.E. *ǽ*, the *i*-umlaut of *á* (Teut. *ai*): *breed* (Teut. base?) breathe, *heeđn* heathen, *heet* heat, *kleen* clean, *leəd* lead, *leədə* leader (a sinew), *leen* lean (vb.), *leen* thin, *leəst* least, *leev gâ* let go, *meen* mean, *reetš* (and *retš*) attain, pull out, *see* sea, *reeþ* wreath, *teetš* teach, *teez* tease, *week* weak (cf. Björkman, *Zur dialectischen Provenienz der nordischen Lehnwörter im Engl.*, p. 11), *weet* wheat. Here may perhaps also be added *sneəd*, W.W. snead.

2. M.E. ē̤ (ę̄) = Pewsey *e*.

(*a*) M.E. ē̤ (ę̄) = umlauted O.E. *ǽ* (W. Teut. *á*) : *wet*, wet.

(*b*) M.E. ē̤ (ę̄) = not umlauted O.E. *ǣ* (W. Teut. *á*): *dred* thread, *let* let, *medə* meadow, *wepm* weapon.

(*c*) M.E. ē̤ (ę̄) = O.E. *ǽ*, the *i*-umlaut of *á* (Teut. *ai*): *əredi* already, *evə* ever, *hedə* heather, *len* lend, *spred* spread, *swet* sweat.

3. M.E. ē̤ (ę̄) = Pewsey *ii*.

(*a*) M.E. ē̤ (ę̄) = umlauted O.E. *é́* (W. Teut. *á*): *siid* seed.

(*b*) M.E. ē̤ (ę̄) = not umlauted O.E. *é̄* (W. Teut. *á*): *hiil* eel, *iivnən* evening, *miil* meal.

(*c*) M.E. ē̤ (ę̄) = O.E. *é́*, the *i*-umlaut of *á* (Teut. *ai*) : *bliitš* bleach, *hiil* heal, *šiiþ* sheath.

4. M.E. ē̤ (ę̄) = Pewsey *i*.

(*a*) M.E. ē̤ (ę̄) = umlauted O.E. *é́* (W. Teut. *á*): *ridl* riddle, *sili* silly.

(*b*) M.E. ē̤ (ę̄) = not umlauted O.E. *é̄* (W. Teut. *á*): *slip* sleep, *strit* (beside *streət*) street.

An isolated *i* occurs in Pewsey *nid* need. For the M.E. ē̤ (ę̄), O.E. *éa* and *é*, *ý*, see Kluge, *Grundriss*, i, p. 881, § 99, 3.

ē̤r (ę̄r).

§ 85. 1. M.E. ē̤r (ę̄r), O.E. (see § 84, 1, *c*) has become Pewsey *eə* in *reə* rear (vb.).

2. M.E. ē̤r (ę̄r), O.E. (see § 84, 3, *b*) has become Pewsey *iə* (*ə*[1]) in *fiə* fear, *jiə* (also *jə*[1]) year.

ē̤.

§ 86. 1. M.E. ē̤ has in most cases become *ii* in Pewsey.

(*a*) M.E. ē̤ = O.E. *é* lengthened from Teut. *ĕ* when final in accented monosyllabic words (Sievers, *Ags. Gr.*, § 121): *hii* he, *ii* ye, *mii* me, *đii* thee, *wii* we.

(*b*) M.E. ē = O.E. *é*, the *i*-umlaut of *ó*: *fiid* feed, *fiild* feel, *fiit* (*fiət*) feet, *giis* geese, *griin* green, *griit* greet, *hiid* (also *eed*) heed, *hiil* heel, *kiin* keen, *kwiin* queen, *wiipən wilə* weeping willow, *wiiri* weary.

(*c*) ME. ē = O.E. *é* when this was the umlaut of *éa* (Teut. *au*). The strictly West Saxon form of this umlaut is according to Sievers (*Ags. Gr.*, § 97) chiefly *ie*, *ý*. On account of the M.E. ē and its development in originally West Saxon districts, however, Luick (*Untersuchungen zur Englischen Lautgeschichte*, §§ 186, 187) is inclined to assume an *é* as the umlaut of *éa* in West Saxon to some greater extent than Sievers (l.c., Anm.): *bəliiv* believe, *šiit* sheet, *sliiv* sleeve, *stiipl* steeple; or of *éa* (from Teut. **aha**), *stiil* steel.

(*d*) M.E. ē = O.E. *éo* from *eu*, or contractions of *i*, *e* with deeper vowels: *bii* be, *bii* bee, *bətwiin* between, *diip* deep, *drii* three, *vlii* fly (from O.E. **fleon**, not **flēogan**, the two verbs being confounded already at an early period, cf. Sievers, *Ags. Gr.*, § 384, Anm. 2), *fliis* fleece, *frii* free, *vriiz* freeze, *glii* (not a very common word) glee, *nii* knee, *riil* reel, *sii* see, *trii* tree, *þiif* thief, *wiid* weed, *wiil* wheel.

Unknown to me is the etymology of *spriidd*, said about the skin of the hands when rough with cold (Stratmann-Bradley has M.E. '*sprēþ(e)*, adj., ? = Germ. **spröde**').

2. M.E. ē = O.E. *é* (the umlaut of *ó*), *éa*, and *e*, has in some words become shortened to *i*.

(*a*) M.E. ē = O.E. *é*, the umlaut of *ó*: *blidən* bleeding, *brid* breed, *britšiz* breeches, *kip* keep.

(*b*) M.E. ē = O.E. *éa*: *lik* leek (see Kluge, *Grundriss*, i, 880, § 98), *nid* need (see § 84, 4).

(*c*) M.E. ē = O.E. *e*: *bizm* besom.

3. M.E. ē leads to Pewsey *ee*.

(*a*) M.E. ē = O.E. *é*, the *i*-umlaut of *ó*: *meet* meet, *seek* seek, *eed* heed (see 1, *a*).

(*b*) M.E. ē = O.E. *éo*: *dreeri* dreary, *kreep* creep, *preest* priest, *sneez* sneeze, *ðeəz* this.

4. M.E. ē = O.E. *éo* (*ie* for *ten*) has been shortened in *brest* breast, *vrend* friend, *ten* ten.

ēr.

§ 87. M.E. ēr has become *æ*[1] or *iə* when it stood or came to stand in closed syllables.

1. M.E. ēr = O.E. *éor* has thus become æ¹ in æ¹*nəst* earnest, *læ¹n* learn.

2. M.E. ēr = O.E. *éor* has become *iæ* in *diæ* dear, *diæ* deer, *stiæ* steer.

3. M.E. ēr = O.E. *ér*: *hiæ* and *jiæ* here.

ī.

§ 88. 1. The normal development of M.E. ī is in Pewsey *ɔi*.

(*a*) M.E. ī = O.E., O.N. *í*: *bɔid* bide, *bɔit* bite, *dɔik* not common for *ditš* ditch, *drɔiv* drive, *ɔidl* idle, *ɔis* ice, *ɔivi* ivy, *vɔio* file, *vɔiv* five, *glɔid* glide, *grɔip* gripe, *krɔist* Christ, *lɔif* life, *lɔik* like, *lɔim* lime, *lɔin* line, *mɔio* mile, *mɔit* (a loan from O.Du. *mijte* a small coin, Kluge-Lutz, s.v.) mite, *nɔif* knife, *pɔik* pike, *pɔin* pine, *pɔip* pipe, *rɔid* ride, *rɔidæ* crossbar of a harrow, *rɔim*, *rɔimi vrɔst* hoar frost, *rɔip* ripe, *rɔis* rise, *sɔid* side, *šɔin* shine, *šɔit* cacare, *slɔid* slide, *slɔim* slime, *smɔit* smite, *snɔip* snipe, *strɔid* stride, *strɔik* strike, *tɔidi* tidy, *tɔid tɔim* tide-time, *tɔim* time, *twɔin* twine, *þrɔiv* thrive, *wɔid* wide, *wɔif* wife, *wɔio* while, *wɔin* wine, *wɔip* wipe, *wɔis* wise, *wɔit* white.

grɔim soot (a modern word, N.E.D. compares it with mod. Flemish **grijm**).

The ī depends on O.E. lengthening before *-ld* and *-nd*: *bɔind* (**tie up** is the common word) bind, *blɔind* blind, *bihɔind* behind, *grɔind* grind, *hɔind* hind, *mɔild* mild, *mɔind* remember, *rɔiən* rind, skin of bacon, *tšɔild* (*tšɔiəd*) child, *wɔind* wind (sb.), *wɔild* wild.

(*b*) M.E. ī = O.E., O.N., O.Du. *ý*: *brɔid* bride, *brɔin* brine, *dɔiv* dive, *drɔi* (late O.E. *ig*, Sievers, *Ags. Gr.*, § 31, Anm.) dry, *vɔiæ* fire, *hɔiæ* hire, *hɔiv* hive, *hɔid* hide, *kɔit* kite, *lɔis* lice, *mɔiæ* mire, *mɔis* mice, *prɔid* pride, *skɔi* sky. For *u* in *buɔitl* beetle (O.E. **býtel**, 17th cent. **boytle**, N.E.D.) compare § 90, 4, 5.

(*c*) M.E. ī = O.E. *i*, *í* + a dropped or vocalised palatal, *g*, *h*: *brɔidl* bridle, *vrɔidee* Friday, *plɔit* plight, *zɔif* (also *zɔiv*) scythe, *sɔi* (Kluge-Lutz, ***sīhhían**, s.v.) sigh, *stɔi* sty, *stɔio* stile, *tɔi* tie, *tɔio* tile, *twɔis* twice.

(*d*) M.E. ī monophthongised of ēi from O.E. *éag*, *éah* (see Luick, *Untersuchungen*, § 154, on the districts of M.E. ī and ē in these words): *dɔi* dye, *ɔi* eye, *hɔi* high, *nɔi* nigh.

dɔi die, early M.E. **deȝen**. For the question of its Scandinavian origin and the literature on the subject, see E. Björkman, *Zur dialectischen Provenienz der nordischen Lehnwörter im Engl.*, p. 12 f.

(*e*) M.E. ī monophthongised of ēi from O.E. *éoȝ*: *lɔ̄i* tell a lie, *đɔ̄i* thigh.

2. M.E. ī is *i* in *zik* sick, O.E. **séoc**, Chaucer has *sik* as well as the more common *seek* (Ten Brink, § 21, *e*), *dripens* threepence, *vipens* fivepence.

īr.

§ 89. 1. M.E. *īr* = O.E. *ýr*, *ir* has become Pewsey *ɔ̄iɷ*: *vɔ̄iɷ* fire, *mɔ̄iɷ* mire, *tɔ̄iɷ* tire, *wɔ̄iɷ* fence, and probably also *slɔ̄iɷ* look askance.

2. M.E. *īr* shortened into *ir* = O.E. *iȝr stɷ'rəp* stirrup.

ǭ.

§ 90. The M.E. long open ǭ-sound proceeds especially from two sources, O.E. *á* and O.E. *o* in open syllables. In South York and South Lancashire, however, the O.E. sounds have given an $\bar{o}^1$ and an $\bar{o}^2$ (Luick, *Anglia Beiblatt*, iv, p. 164), still maintained as *uə* and *oi* (Wright, *A Grammar of the Dialect of Windhill*, §§ 122, 109).

In spite of the great variety of sounds which in the southern dialects correspond to O.E. *á* and *o*- (for a roughly made estimate out of Ellis's word-lists see Luick, *Untersuchungen zur Engl. Lautgesch.*, §§ 41, 56), no such difference seems to exist, the M.E. continuation of O.E. *á*, *o*- being only ǭ.

In Pewsey where M.E. ǭ has become *å̄*, *ɔə*, *ao*, and *oə* (*wɔ̄*, *wu*), it may derive from an *á* as well as an *o*-, except in the case of *oə* (*wɔ̄*, *wu*), which only arises from the ǭ originating in O.E. *á*.

The words with *ɔə* are eleven or twelve in number, and they differ in other phonetic qualities too from those with ǭ from O.E. *o*-, but are not so strictly limited from those which have ǭ from *á*.

1. M.E. ǭ generally corresponds to Pewsey *å̄*.

(*a*) M.E. ǭ = O.E. *á*: *då̄* doe, *drå̄v* a farmer's road, *gå̄* go, *gå̄d* goad, *gå̄st* (also *gå̄əst*) ghost, *gå̄t* (*å̄ə*) goat, *grå̄p* grope, *hå̄l* whole, *hå̄li* holy, *lå̄f* loaf, *lå̄n* loan, *lå̄þ* loath, *nå̄* no, *å̄k* oak, *å̄þ* oath, *på̄l* pole, *på̄lriŋ* W.W. pole-ring, *rå̄d* rode, ridden, *rå̄d* wrote, written, *rå̄d* (*å̄ə*) road, *rå̄p* rope, *rå̄z* rose (vb.), *så̄p* (*å̄ə*) soap, *strå̄k* stroke (vb.), *tå̄z* toes, *tå̄kən* token, *wå̄* woe.

(*b*) M.E. ō = O.E. *o* in open syllables: *flå̄t* float, *få̄l* foal, *nå̄z* nose, *å̄bm* (the pronunciation of old people for *ɔ̄bm*) oven, *rå̄z* rose (sb.), *så̄l* sole, *så̄k* soak, *tšå̄z* chosen (p.p.).

(*c*) M.E. ǭ = O.E. *eo* in *jå̄k* yoke, where the oblique cases of M.E. (Chaucer) **yok** have ǭ (Kluge-Lutz, *Engl. Etym.*, s.v.).

(*d*) A Celtic *o* corresponds to *å* in *på̊ni* pony.

2. M.E. *ō* has become *oə* in the dialect.

(*a*) M.E. *o̥* = O.E. *á*: *brəəd* broad, *drəəv* driven, *gəən* gone, *grəən* groan, *kləəvə* clover, *kləəþ* cloth, *kləəd* clothe, *kləəz* (or *klaoz*) clothes, *əəmkjuəd* home-cured.

(*b*) M.E. *o̥* = O.E. *o* in open syllables: *brəək* broken, *drəət* throat, *frəəþ* froth, *həəl* (pronounced just the same as **hall**) hole, *əəpm* open, *stəəl* stolen, *smək* smoke; *tsək* choke (Kluge-Lutz, *Engl. Etym.*, M.E. **chōke**) is perhaps also to be placed here.

3. M.E. *o̥* has become Pewsey *ao* before *-ld*.

(*a*) M.E. *o̥* = O.E. *á*: *baold* bold, *faold* fold, *haold* hold, *kaold* cold, *aold* old, *saold* sold (pt.), and sometimes in *klaoz* clothes.

This diphthong very likely owes its existence to the vocalic character which *l* has in our dialect. The second element *o* has then developed from an *u*-glide between *o̥* and *l* when followed by a consonant. The first element *o̥* was then gradually broadened into *a*.

Note.—In some dissyllabic forms it became *å*: *å̊dən* old one, *åmən* old man, *vålšuəd* W.W. fold-shore.

(*b*) M.E. *o̥* = O.E. *o* in *gaold* gold. For the same diphthong from M.E. short *o* when followed by other *l*-combinations see *o* (§ 75, 4).

4. M.E. *o̥* = O.E. *á* has become *oə* in Pewsey under circumstances that phonetically are not quite perspicuous. Yet this *oə* seems to have been favoured by preceding lip- (*b*, *m*, *p*) and following point- or blade-consonants (*d*, *d̥*, *t*, *st*): *boən* bone, *boəd* both, *boət* boat, *əloən* alone, *loənli* lonely, *moən* moan, *moəst* (also *moəst*) most, *poəst* post, *stoən* stone, *toəd* (and *twɔ̝d*) toad.

The etymology of *bloək* bloke, a slang word which occurs in the dialect, is unknown.

Now this *oə*, like the other Pewsey diphthongs, is a falling one, with the stress on the first element. But on account of the closeness of this element it was exposed to an interesting change. The second element, *ə*, which was produced between *o* and the following consonant, opened and gradually worked into an *ɔ̝*, while at the same time the first became closer, approaching an *u* or *w*. The second element, as the more pronounceable, then got the stress, and thus a rising diphthong of the form *wɔ̝* arose. That is the sound of the following group 5. A transitionary stage, where both diphthongs are preserved, is represented by the alternative forms *toəd* and *twɔ̝d* toad.

5. M.E. ǭ = O.E. *á* has become Pewsey *wɔ̇* in *wɔ̇n* one, *wɔ̇ns* once, *wɔ̇ts* oats, *wɔ̇trik* oatrick, *wɔ̇m* home, *twɔ̇d* toad.

gwɔ̇ən, a common form for **going**, has *wɔ̇* varying with *wæ* in spite of the initial back-consonant.

Of uncertain origin is *kwɔ̇dl* (N.E.D. **coddle** and **quoddle**) used in *al in ə kwɔ̇dl* = all flat down, said about the grass when beaten down by a heavy rain.

6. M.E. ǭ, *wǭ* = O.E. *á*, *wá* (Kluge, *Grundriss*, i, p. 866) has become *wu* in *kwum* comb, *wum* womb.

ǭr.

§ 91. 1. M.E. ǭr has become Pewsey *åɔ̇*.

(*a*) M.E. ōr = O.E. *ár*: *båɔ̇* boar, *gåɔ̇* a three-cornered piece, *håɔ̇s* (O.E. **hás**, Kluge-Lutz, *Engl. Etym.*, s.v.) hoarse, *måɔ̇* more, *åɔ̇* oar, *råɔ̇* roar, *såɔ̇* sore. The *å* of this diphthong often approaches *o* especially in *såɔ̇*, which might as well be written *soɔ̇*.

(*b*) M.E. ǭr = O.E. *or*: *əfåɔ̇d* afford, *əvåɔ̇* before, *båɔ̇d* board, *håɔ̇d* hoard, *swåɔ̇n* sworn, *tåɔ̇d* stercus, *tåɔ̇* torn (p.p.).

2. M.E. ǭr = late O.E. *ár* is *ɔ̇* in **or** on account of its unaccentedness.

ǭ.

§ 92. The reproduction of the M.E. long close ǭ-sound (O.E. *ó*) is *uu* or a sound proceeding from it (Luick, *Untersuchungen zur Engl. Lautgesch.*, § 118).

1. M.E. ǭ = O.E., O.N. *ó* generally corresponds to Pewsey *uu*: *buun* boon, *buud* booth, *bluum* bloom, *bruud* brood, *bruum* broom, *duu* do, *fuud* food, *guus* goose, *gluum* gloom, *kuul* cool, *luum* loam, *luus* loos, *muud* mood, *muun* (*uə*) moon, *nuun* (*uə*) noon, *pruuv* prove, *ruud* rood, *ruuf* roof, *ruut* root, *skuul* school, *smuud* smooth, *spuun* spoon, *stuul* (*stuo*) stool, *šuuz* shoes, *tuul* (*tuo*) tool, *tuuþ* tooth.

2. M.E. ō = O.E., O.N. *ó* has become Pewsey *u*: *buk* book, *buzm* bosom, *bruk* brook, *vut* foot, *gud* good, *huk* hook, *hud* hood, *hupən kəf* whooping-cough, *kuk* cook, *luk* look, *nuk* nook, *ruk* rook, *zun* soon, *zut* soot, *zuti* sooty, *šuk* shook, *stud* stood, *skup* scoop (vb.), *tuk* took.

The ō instead of *u* from *ú*, M.E. *ů*, in *əwåk* awoke, is probably due to the influence from **rose**, etc. (Sweet, *A New Engl. Gram.*, § 1429).

3. M.E. ǭ = O.E. *ó* has become *ɔ̇* in *blɔ̇d* blood, *brɔ̇ðɔ̇* brother, *dɔ̇n* done, *flɔ̇d* flood, *gɔ̇m* gum, *əlɔ̇ks* (beside *aləks*, § 69, 3) look here,

mɔ̀st must, *mɔ̀ðɷ* mother, *tɔ̀ðɷ* other, and besides in *krɔ̀k* crook, *rɔ̀f* roof, *zɔ̀n* soon, formerly used more than now (see 2).

ō̤r.

§ 93. M.E. *ō̤r* has become *uɷ* in *duɷ* (**doer**) a pig that thrives well, *fluɷ* floor.

It has become *dɑ̊ɷ* in *dɑ̊ɷ* door. The development of this word with O.E. *u* (*o* from the oblique cases), M.E. *ō̤* (*ǭ̤*) has been exhaustively treated by Luick in *Anglia*, xvi, p. 459, *Untersuchungen zur Engl. Lautgesch.*, see index s.v., and further in *Archiv f. d. Stud. d. neu. Spr.*, 103, p. 68. A similar development is shown by *tɑ̊ɷdz* towards, M.E. **tōwardes** > **tō̤rds** > mod. E. **tûrds** > (18th cent.) **tō̤rds** > (19th cent.) **tɑ̊ɷdz**, lit. English *tɔədz*.

ū.

§ 94. 1. The normal development of M.E. *ū* is in Pewsey *æo*.

(*a*) M.E. *ū* = O.E. *ú*: *bræo* brow, *dæon* down, *fæol* foul, *hæoz* house, *hæo* how, *kæo* cow, *klæod* cloud, *klæot* clout, *kræod* crowd, *læos* louse, *næo* now, *æol* (and *æwo*) owl, *æot* out, *præod* proud, *sæoþ* south, *spræot* sprout, *šræod* shroud, *tæon* town, *ðæozən* thousand, *ɯðæot* without.

dræozi drowsy has no correspondent M.E. or O.E. forms, probably related to O.E. **drûsian** (N.E.D.).

(*b*) M.E. *ū* = O.E. *u* before *nd*: *bæon tə* bound to, *græond* ground, *græonz* sediment, *hæond* hound, *pæond* pound, *sæond* sound.

bæons, impudent, self-asserting, is of obscure origin.

(*c*) M.E. *ū* = O.E. *u* before a vocalised ȝ: *bæo* bow (vb.), *fæol* fowl, *kæol* cowl, *zæo* sow (sb.) (distinct from *sao* to sow seed).

dræond drown, M.E. **drūnen** < ***druȝnen** (Björkman, *Archiv f. d. Stud. d. neu. Spr.*, 101, p. 394), may also be put here.

(*d*) M.E. *ū* of earlier *ou* from O.E. final *óȝ*, *óh*: *bæo* bough, *plæo* plough.

2. M.E. *ū* from earlier *ou*, O.E. final *óh*, has become *ɔ̀f* in *ɯnɔ̀f* enough.

The word **trough**, Chaucer **trogh** and **trough**, O.E. **troȝ**, is in Pewsey *trao*, and therefore cannot go back to M.E. *ú*-forms, which would have given *træo* (Ten Brink, § 46, Anm.). Its sound-form, however, agrees with the Pewsey reproduction of M.E. *ou*. The

development of M.E. *ou* in *trao* is in part different from lit. Engl. *trǫf*. Yet both forms proceed from the same M.E. diphthong, and find their explanation in Luick's analysis, *Anglia*, xvi, p. 490 f.

3. M.E. *ū* has become *å̊* in *drå̊t* drought, *drå̊* through.

The word **through**, Chaucer **through**, shows the Pewsey equivalent of M.E. *ǭ*, and sounds *drå̊* when it is accented. Now the preservation of M.E. *ū* in lit. Engl. **through** is due to its unaccented forms (*Anglia*, xvi, p. 492), but the accented form would have had the *au*-diphthong, as is really the case in Tilshead, whereas Chippenham, like Pewsey, has an *o*-sound (Ellis, v, pp. 56, 59, word number 634). The succession *ū* > *å̊* is obscure. If it were not for the word *drå̊t* (O.E. **drūgoð -að**, M.E. **drought**), lit. Engl. *dræut*, to which we have to apply the same standard as to *drå̊*, I should have been inclined, for the accented form, to assume a special development into a fuller sound from the more common unaccented form *dru*, and seen an intermediate sound in the Chippenham *dro*. For the present I can give no satisfactory explanation of the two words.

4. M.E. *ū* from O.E. *ú* has become *u*, and this is due to the unaccentedness of the first syllable in *uevə* however.

ūr.

§ 95. 1. M.E. *ūr* = O.E. *úr* has become *æoə* (*æoiwə*) in *æoə* our, *sæoə* sour, *ʃæoə* shower.

2. M.E. *ūr*, the result of a lengthening before *r* + consonant (Luick, *Anglia*, xvi, p. 460), has become *å̊ə* in *bå̊ən* bourn, river, *må̊ən* mourn, *så̊əd* sword.

3. Pewsey *jiən*, yours, has probably been influenced by the nominative **ye**, just as **your** owes its *ū* to the influence from the oblique cases (Ten Brink, § 33, *e*). The common pronoun of address beside *ði̯i*, thee, is *i̯i* (M.E. O.E. *ȝē*), which is used in all positions.

ai.

§ 96. The M.E. (Chaucer's) *ai*-diphthong is partly early M.E. *ai*, partly older *ei* (Ten Brink, § 40). The dialect treats these diphthongs alike, and they are therefore both here treated under *ai*. For a survey, based chiefly on Ellis's material, of the various modern dialect reproductions of the M.E. *ai*-diphthong,

see Luick, *Untersuchungen zur Engl. Lautgeschichte*, §§ 215, 225, and 228.

1. M.E. *ai* has in Pewsey usually become *æe*.

(*a*) M.E. *ai* = O.E. *æg*: *brǽenz* brains, *dǽe* day, *fǽeriš* fairish, fairly, *hǽel* hail, *nǽel* nail, *snǽel* snail; and = O.N. *á*, **ah* in *wǽet* (Kluge-Lutz, *Engl. Etym.*, s.v.) weight.

(*b*) M.E. *ai* = O.E. *ág*: *grǽe* gray, *kǽe* key, *klǽe* clay, *nǽe* neigh.

(*c*) M.E. *ai* = O.E. *eg*, *ecg*: *flǽel* flail, *hǽe* hay, *plǽe* play, *rǽen* rain, *rǽenbao* rainbow, *sǽel* sail, *wǽe* way, *awǽe* away; *strǽet* (M.E. **strezt**, p.p. of **strecchen**, Stratmann-Bradley, s.v.), the unstressed form is *stred* as in *stredawǽe* straight away; *lǽe* lay, *sǽe* say, *mədsǽe* nay.

(*d*) M.E. *ai* = O.N. *ei*: *bǽet* bait, *ðǽe* they; perhaps *swǽip*, to clear quickly, also has its place here (cf. M.E. **swaiven**, go quickly, in Stratmann-Bradley).

(*e*) M.E. *ai* = O.E. *eah*, *éah*: *æeþ* eighth, *hǽefə* heifer, *nǽebə* neighbour.

(*f*) In M.E. *air* the *i* has been absorbed by the *ə*-vowel, O.E. *ægər*, *ágər*: *fǽə* fair, *stǽəz* stairs.

2. M.E. *ai* has become *ee*, *eə*.

(*a*) M.E. *ai* = O.E. *æg*, in *deezi* daisy, *hɔlidee* holiday; *əgeən* again, has probably M.E. *ē* from O.E. *éa* (N.E.D.), O.E. **agéan**, M.E. **ageen** (Luick, *Untersuchungen*, § 338 and elsewhere).

(*b*) M.E. *ai* = O.N. *ei*: *feək* trick (cf. *Archiv f. d. Stud. d. neu. Spr.*, 107, p. 327), *steək* steak, *swee* sway.

3. M.E. *ai* has become *əi* in *əiðə* either, *nəiðə* neither, which, however, may have been borrowed, as the common dialect expressions for **either** and **neither** are: *wən ə tðə* (*nən*) *ənəm* one or the other (none) of them.

au.

§ 97. Words which in Chaucer show *au* from O.E. *ag*, *éaw*, or *a*, *ea*, *e* before *h*-combinations have in modern English generally *ɔɔ*, as in **law**, **claw**. In Pewsey they have *ä*.

Words with M.E. *au* from O.E. *á*, *ea* before *ht* have in Pewsey *ɔɔ* or *ä*.

1. M.E. *au* (?) corresponds to Pewsey *ä*.

(*a*) M.E. *au* = O.E. *ag*: *lä* law, *mäbæg* maw, *nä* gnaw, *sä* saw (sb.).

(*b*) M.E. *au* (*ai*?) = O.E. *æg*, in *drä* draw, *dräd* drew, where *ä* may derive from O.E. umlauted forms **drægst**, **drægþ**, to which we have the M.E. by-forms **dreih—drei—drey—drai** (N.E.D.).

The above-mentioned *nä*, gnaw, may be explained in the same way (cf. Sievers, *Ags. Gr.*, 214, 3, and 371, Anm. 1–3).

(*c*) M.E. *au* (*ɛ̄* ?) = O.E. *éaw*: *klä* claw, *rä* raw, *strä* straw.

It seems as if *au*, late M.E. or early mod. E., could become *ä*. In *klä*, *rä*, and *strä*, however, we may also think of the possibility O.E. *éa* > M.E. *ɛ̄*. In Chaucer by-forms exist with this vowel for *au* (Ten Brink, § 44, Anm.), to which the corresponding O.E. forms then would be the original nominatives without *w* (see Sievers, *Ags. Gr.*, § 110, Anm. 2, and § 111, 1).

(*d*) M.E. *au* = O.E. *a*, *ea*, *e* before *h*-combinations: *dätɔ* daughter, *dräft* draught, *läftɔ* laughter, *läf* laugh.

(*e*) M.E. *au* = O.E. *aƀu*, in *häk* hawk.

As uncertain remain *hɔ̈mä*, to be undecided, in lit. Engl. spelt **humhaw**, and *džäd* jawed, see N.E.D. **jaw**.

2. M.E. *au* = Pewsey *ɔɔ*.

M.E. *au* = O.E. *á*, *ea* before *ht*, in *fɔɔd* fought (as *bɔɔd* bought), *tɔɔt* taught (is not common), *slɔɔtɔ* slaughter.

hɔɔl, awl, is a by-form of *al*, see § 69, 3.

As unexplained remains *skɔɔt*, to strain with the foot in pushing, M.E. **scauten**, cf. O.N. **skota**, push, thrust (Stratmann-Bradley, s.v.).

For M.E. *au* before *l* in **crawl** and **sprawl**, see § 69, 3.

ou.

§ 98. Luick (*Anglia*, xvi, pp. 377, 452 f.) has proved that there was only one *ou*-diphthong in M.E. in the cases where Ten Brink (§§ 45, 46) assumed two, *o̯u* and *ou*. With quotations from the mod. English phonetic authorities he shows that the different modern continuations *ɔɔ* and *o*, as in **bought** and **know**, are due to a later development.

In lit. English M.E. *ou* has mostly been merged into M.E. *ō̯*, words like **owe** and **loaf** showing the same vowel sound. In Pewsey the two M.E. sounds are mostly still distinguishable: *ou* has become *ao*, and *ō̯* has become *aᵒ*, *ɔɔ*, etc. (§ 90). The succession *ou* > *ao* seems to be characteristic to Pewsey, as the other Wiltshire phases have a monophthong or sometimes a diphthong, which is the same as the regular continuation of M.E. *ū* (cf. Ellis, v, pp. 44–60, the word numbers 78, 79, 90–100, 108, 109, 136, 137, and 520; for a general survey of the English dialect reproductions of *ou* see Luick, *Untersuchungen zur Engl.*

Lautgesch., § 51 f.). The M.E. *ū*, however, has in Pewsey become *æo*, which is clearly distinguished from *ao*. Is this to be regarded as a direct continuation of M.E. *ou*? The circumstance that the dialect has regularly preserved the M.E. *ai*-diphthong (§ 96), and that it has no diphthonging of *o* or *a* like the Eastern dialects, is in favour of that supposition.

1. M.E. *ou* in open syllables has in Pewsey regularly given *ao*.

(*a*) M.E. *ou* = O.E. *ów*: *flao* flow, *glao* glow, *grao* grow, *stao* stow (vb.).

(*b*) M.E. *ou* = O.N., O.E. *oɣ*: *tao* tow (M.E. **toȝen**, O.N. **toga**, Stratmann-Bradley, s.v.), *bao* bow.

(*c*) M.E. *ou* = O.E. *áw*: *blao* blow, *drao* throw, *krao* crow, *mao* mow, *nao* know, *slao* slow, *sao* sow (vb.), *snao* snow, *ðao* thaw.

(*d*) M.E. *ou* = O.E. *áɣ*: *ao* owe, *aon* own, *dao* dough, *lao* low, adj. (O.N. **lágr**).

(*e*) M.E. *ou* = O.E. *éow*, in *vaoɔ* four, *vaoɔþ* fourth, *sao* sew, *tšao* chew.

(*f*) M.E. *ou* = O.E. *éaw* (cf. Ten Brink, § 49, p. 39, and Sweet, H.E.S.[2], § 680), in *šao* show.

2. M.E. *our* = O.E. *éower* has become *ɑ̊ɔ* in *vɑ̊ɔtiin* fourteen, and

3. *ɔ*[1] in *vɔ*[1]*ti* forty, *vɔ*[1]*tnɔ̊it* fortnight.

4. M.E. *ouɣ* from *oɣ*, O.E. *ohh*, has become *ɔɔf* in *kɔɔf* cough.

5. M.E. **though** with *ou* from older *oh* (Kluge-Lutz, *Engl. Etym.*) is *ðɑ̊*.

6. M.E. *ou* = O.E. *o* or shortened *ó*, before *ht* has become *ɔɔ*: *bɔɔd* bought, *brɔɔd* brought, *ðɔɔt* thought, *nɔɔt* nought (sb.), *rɔɔd* wrought; O.E. *áh* in *ɔɔd* ought.

eu.

§ 99. The M.E. *eu*-diphthong is chiefly *e̯u* from older *éou* (Sweet, H.E.S.[2], § 716), O.E. *éow*, then sometimes *e̯u* = O.E. *éaw* (H.E.S.[2], § 718) or *ɐu* = O.E. *eoɣ*.

1. M.E. *e̯u* = O.E. *éow* has in Pewsey become *juu*, and *uu* after *r*: *bruu* brew, *juu* yew, *njuu* new, *ruu* rue, *truu* true.

The preterites on *éow* of the reduplicative class (Sievers, *Ags. Gr.*, § 395, 2), Chaucer *ew* (Ten Brink, § 130), have all weak forms, as *flaod* flew (now used as preterite and past participle of **fly**), *graod* grew, *naod* knew, *draod* threw.

2. M.E. *e̯u* = O.E. *éaw* is also Pewsey *juu*, in *djuu* dew, *hjuu* hew (not common for *kɔ̊t dæon* cut down), *vjuu* few.

3. M.E. *ȩu* = O.E. *eoȝ* after ȝ is *uu* in *juuþ* youth; if *ū* (written *ou*) is not its M.E. sound.

4. M.E. *ēu* = O.E. *éow* before a consonant has become Pewsey *u* in *truþ* truth.

The O.E. **efete** is still preserved in the form *eevət* newt, whereas the lit. form has had an exceptional development through late M.E. *ew* (Sweet, H.E.S.², § 713). The *f* of **efete** was voiced already in O.E. (Sievers, *Ags. Gr.*³, § 192, 2). For the *ee* cf. the succession *e* > *ē* > *ee*, § 82, 1*a*. M.E. has **euete**, but also **auete** (N.E.D.).

CHAPTER IV.

THE FRENCH ELEMENT.

§ 100. The vowels of French origin, which will be treated in this chapter, now all occur in accented syllables. But as many of them in French were unaccented, a distinction is made under each vowel between syllables which were stressed and those which were unstressed in O.Fr.

Short Vowels.

a.

§ 101. In syllables which were stressed in O.Fr.

1. M.E. *a* has become Pewsey *æ*.

(*a*) M.E. *a* = O.Fr. *a*. Where *æi* stands for *æ* the *i* has developed out of a following *š* (see §§ 4, 34): *bæišfo* bashful (from **bash**, aphetic form of **abash**, Anglo-Fr. **abaiss**, N.E.D.), *blæŋk* blank, *dæŋ*, a euphemistic word for 'damn,' *læmp* lamp, *mæp* map, *plæŋk* plank, *ræŋk* rank, *ræiš*: *al in ə ræiš* all in a rash = spotted all over through eruption, said of the skin.

Of uncertain origin is *skæmpl dæon* tread down (said of corn, for instance); *smæk* in the expression *bɔil al intə ə smæk* boil all into a smack, is perhaps of echoic origin; *fækt* fact is adoption from Latin.

(*b*) M.E. *ă* = O.Fr. *au* before nasal in *džæmz* side posts of a door (Luick, *Anglia*, xvi, p. 483).

2. M.E. *a* = O.Fr. *a* has become Pewsey *ä* before *ss* (*Grundriss*, i, p. 814, § 27*d*): *kläs* class (adopted in the 17th cent.), *päs* pass, *päst* past.

3. M.E. *a* = O.Fr. *a* has become *ɔɔ* in *fɔɔls* false (but *fæət* fault, § 141, 1). For the use of an unsteady *l* in these and similar words see *Anglia*, xvi, 476 f.

4. M.E. *a* has become *a* in *mal* maul (vb.).

§ 102. In syllables which were unstressed in O.Fr.

1. M.E. *a* = O.Fr. *a* became Pewsey *æ*: *æktišəli* actually, *æntik* act as a clown, *æv̩ək* havoc, *bæro* barrel, *blæŋkət* blanket, *kærət* carrot,

kæso castle (on the shortness of the vowel see Sturmfels, *Anglia*, viii, p. 215), *tsæpo* chapel, *dæmidž* damage, *drægən* dragon, *fæišən* fashion, *fægit* faggot, *gælən* gallon, *gærət* garret, *græmfɔ* grandfather, *hæbit* habit, *hælɔ* halloo (vb.), *læŋwidž* language, *mænɔ* manner, *mæri* marry, *nætərəl* natural, *pæntɔni* pantry, *rædžiziz* radishes, *sæləd* salad, *skæfəld* scaffold, *skæflən* scaffolding, *væli* valley, *vælju* value, *trækšən indžin* traction engine.

2. M.E. *a* = O.Fr. *a* has become *æ* before *st* in *bæstəd* bastard, *pæstšɔ* pasture.

3. M.E. *ă* = O.Fr. *au* (*Anglia*, xvi, p. 474) has become Pewsey *a*: *almən* almond, *altɔ* alter. A modern adoption is *saləri* celery, in the 18th cent. also written **sallary**, N.E.D.

4. M.E. *ă* = O.Fr. *au* answers to Pewsey *ɔɔ* in *ɔɔmənik* almanac.

5. M.E. *a* = O.Fr. *a* answers to *ɔ* after *w*: *kwɔliti* quality, *kwɔri* place where stones are dug, *wɔlɔp* ill-treat, *wɔrənt* warrant.

ar.

§ 103. 1. M.E. *ar* = O.Fr. *ar* in syllables which in O.Fr. were stressed or unstressed has become *ɑ*^{2}: *əlɑ*^{2}*m* alarm in *gi ðə əlɑ*^{2}*m* give the alarm, but *əlærəm klək* alarm clock, *bɑ*^{2}*bɔ* barber, *bɑ*^{2}*dž* barge, *bɑ*^{2}*gən* bargain, *bɑ*^{2}*rənəs* (with *ɑ*^{2} for *æ* from the syncopated form *bɑ*^{2}*nəs*) a cow not in calf, *kɑ*^{2}*kəs* carcase, *kɑ*^{2}*pəntɔ* (sb. and vb.) carpenter, *tšɑ*^{2}*dž* charge, *gɑ*^{2}*tɔ* garter, *mɑ*^{2}*kət* market, late O.E. **market**, O.Fr. ***market** (Kluge - Lutz), *pɑ*^{2}*dən* pardon, *pɑ*^{2}*dnɔ* partner, *kwɑ*^{2}*t* quart, *skɑ*^{2}*lət* scarlet. Of uncertain etymology is *bɑ*^{2}*ni* disturbance.

2. M.E. *ar* = O.Fr. *ar* is in Pewsey *æ* before *s* in *pæso* parcel.

3. M.E. *ar* = O.Fr. *ar* has become *ææ* after syncopation of the following vowel in *sææsn* sarsen stone. M.E. **sarasene** (Stratm.-Bradley).

4. W.W. **madell**, the game of 'merrils' or 'Nine men's Morris,' is called *mæalz* or *mæoz* in Pewsey. Wright (E.D.D.) derives from O.Fr. **marelle**, French 'jeu de merelles.'

ę.

§ 104. In syllables which were stressed in O.Fr.

1. M.E. *ę* = O.Fr. *e* has become Pewsey *e*: *det* debt, *dəpend* depend, *dres* dress, *eŋk* ink, *letɔ* letter, *medl* meddle, *mend* mend, *pen* pen, *sens* sense, *tet* teat, from M.E. **tette**, O.Fr. **tette** (see

Luick, *Untersuchungen*, p. 294), *direkt* (vb.) direct, from Lat. direct- (N.E.D.).

2. M.E. ę = O.Fr. *a*, *e* answers to Pewsey *i* in *kitš* (a M.E. by-form with ę̄, N.E.D. and Kluge-Lutz) catch, *trimbo* tremble.

§ 105. In syllables which were unstressed in O.Fr.

1. M.E. ę has become Pewsey *e*.

(*a*) M.E. ę = O.Fr. *e*: *dželəs* jealous, *dželii* jelly, *letəs* lettuce, *prentəs* apprentice, *penso* pencil, *redžistœ* register, *spektəkoz* spectacles, *trežuœ* treasure, *ventœ* venture (vb.), *ventœsəm* venturesome.

(*b*) M.E. ę < *ai* = O.Fr. *ai* (*Franz. Stud.*, v, 2, p. 133 f.; *Grundriss*, i, p. 830, § 54): *fęznt* pheasant, *plęznt* pleasant, *pležœ* pleasure, *veso* vessel.

2. M.E. *e* = O.Fr. *e* has become *i* in *šimi* chemise, a new singular, formed through corruption of the old one, which was mistaken for a plural, N.E.D.

ęr.

§ 106. In syllables which were stressed or unstressed in O.Fr.

1. M.E. ęr (ĕr) = O.Fr. *er* has become $œ^1$: $œ^1n$ heron, $pœ^1lo$ pearl, $vœ^1mən$ vermin, has the form $vœ^1mənt$ in *jə jöŋ* $vœ^1mənt$ *!* when said to a naughty boy, for instance.

2. M.E. ęr has become $œ^2$.

(*a*) M.E. ęr (ę̄r) = O.Fr. *er*: $klœ^2k$ clerk, $kənsœ^2n$ concern, $œ^2bz$ herbs, $sœ^2dzənt$ sergeant, $sœ^2mən$ sermon, $sœ^2$ serve, $sœ^2vis$ service, $vœ^2niš$ varnish. These words probably had *ar* in late M.E. and early modern E.

(*b*) French *err* together with a following unaccented *i* in $tœ^2bl$ terrible.

3. M.E. ěr = O.Fr. *er*, *ier* has given *iə* and *e* before *e* in the parallel forms *fiəs* and *fes* fierce.

i.

§ 107. In syllables which were stressed in O.Fr.

1. M.E. *i* of French origin has remained in closed syllables in most other cases than those mentioned § 125.

M.E. *i* = O.Fr. *i*: *vigz* figs, *list* enlist.

i in open syllables have *kənsidœ* (beside *kənsedœ*) consider, *livœ* deliver, *šin* (aphetic form of 'machine') cut corn with machine.

2. M.E. *i* = O.Fr. *i* has become Pewsey *e* in *rens* wash, *seŋgo* single.

§ 108. In syllables which were unstressed in O.Fr.

M.E. *i* = O.Fr. *i* has become Pewsey *i*: *difrəns* difference, *trivət* trivet (in literature earliest 1504, Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*), *fitoz* victuals.

ir.

§ 109. M.E. *ir*, *yr* = O.Fr. **ir*, *uir* is *ɯ*^{1}(*r*) in *vɯ*^{1}(*r*)*ət* ferret.

ǫ.

§ 110. In syllables which were stressed in O.Fr.

M.E. *ǫ* = O.Fr. *o* became *o* before *dž*: *lodž* lodge. Also in *rok* rock (sb.). For *džosə* jostle see § 113, 3.

Of uncertain etymology is *gok* simpleton, see N.E.D., **gawk** and **gowk**, both used in the same sense of 'fool.' The etymology of *todž* is unknown to me. The word is used in the expression *əs tik əs todž*, meaning as thick as a paste.

§ 111. In syllables which were unstressed in O.Fr.

M.E. *ǫ* = O.F. *o* has also become *ə*: *kəlimeekɯ* (= collar-maker) used by old people for harness-maker, *kəntrădi* (both syllables equally stressed) contrary, *kətn* cotton, *vərənɯ* foreigner,[1] *džəb* job, *džəli* jolly, *məti* mark at quoits, *nəvo* novel, *nəvis* novice, *əbstəko* obstacle, *ənɯ* honour, *pəmi* mash (sb.), *prəfət* profit, *pəridž* porridge.

Of uncertain origin is *bəni* nice (N.E.D.).

ǫr.

§ 112. In stressed and unstressed O.Fr. syllables.

1. M.E. *or* = O.Fr. *or* answers to Pewsey *ɯ*^{2}: *kɯ*^{2}*nɯ* corner, *fɯ*^{2}*fət* forfeit, *fɯ*^{2}*dž* forge, *fɯ*^{2}*m* form, *fɯ*^{2}*tšən* fortune, *mɯ*^{2}*tɯ* mortar, *ɯ*^{2}*dɯ* order, *sɯ*^{2}*t* sort.

2. *ɯ*^{2} is a contraction of **oler** in *tɯ*^{2}*bliš* tolerably.

3. ME. *ǫr* = O.Fr. *or* has become *ə* before *s* in *fəs* force, *məsə* morsel.

[1] In "The Mommers," an old Christmas rhyme with dramatic performance (see the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine, vol. vii, 1862), which is still recited and performed in Pewsey at Christmas-time, one of the parts acted is *Färən King*, which is understood as 'Foreign King.' But the form *färən* for *fərən* would be irregular, and is therefore more likely to be the same as **faring**, the participle of **fare** in an adjective use, now obsolete, but formerly used in expressions like "He is a wel faring man," "She thought she sawe neuer a better faringe knyght" (N.E.D.). See also **Farrand** in N.E.D.

4. M.E. *ǫ* is said probably not to have been lengthened before *r* + consonant (Behrens, *Grundriss*, i, p. 819, § 36*d*), but Pewsey *tränspâ̈tid* (with both syllables equally stressed) has a long vowel + the *ə*, so we cannot speak of a lengthening in compensation for *r*, like in 1. Compare *ǭ* before *r* + consonant in § 131.

u.

§ 113. In syllables which were stressed in O.Fr.

1. M.E. *u* answers to Pewsey *ɔ*.

(*a*) M.E. *u* = O.F. *u*: *ə brɔ̀šə* a capital one, *krɔ̀st* crust, *kɔ̀pə* couple, *dɔ̀bə* double, *frɔ̀nt* front, *fɔ̀sti* fusty, *grɔ̀mbə* grumble, *nɔ̀mbə* number, *plɔ̀mə* plumber, *pɔ̀lp* pulp, *sɔ̀fə* suffer, *stɔ̀f* stuff, *trɔ̀bə* trouble, *trɔ̀ŋk* trunk, *trɔ̀s* bundle, *ɔŋko* uncle.

pɔ̀t put is perhaps borrowed in O.E. from O.Fr. **bouter** (Kluge-Lutz, s.v.); *pɔ̀tə əbæot*, to do some small job, is supposed to be a frequentative of **put** (Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*, s. **potter**); other forms with the same sense are *pɔ̀dl*, *pɔ̀də*, and *mɔ̀dl əbæot*.

Of uncertain etymology are *bɔ̀mz* bound-bailiffs, *bɔ̀t* bottom end of sheaves; *bɔ̀lb* is a modern (earliest 1568, N.E.D.) adaptation to Lat. **bulbus**; *tšɔ̀k*, chuck, is of echoic origin. *rɔ̀miš*, queer, is probably derived from the Gypsy word *rum* strange, see Skeat, *Etym Dict.*, s. **rum** (2).

The word *skrɔ̀f* scruff is used in the expression *də skrɔ̀f ə ðə nek* the nape of the neck. *Cent. Dict.* declares it to be a variant (with intrusive *r*) of 'scuff' from 'scuft,' Icel. **skoft**, Goth. **skufts**, hair. The *r* is said to be intrusive, but no similar intrusions of *r* are stated to support this supposition. The word is not a common literary word, and not found in the etymological dictionaries (Skeat, Stratm.-Brad.), nor can I find an equivalent in French dictionaries, except that Godefroy, *Dict. de l'anc. langue franc.*, gives an *escrefe-ofo*, whose sense, however, does not quite agree with 'scruff.' But a M.E. ***scruf*** with the *u* used in western and south-western dialects (*Franz. Stud.*, v, 2, p. 152) for *uc* > *ē̯*, with the same development as in **cover** (l.c., p. 153), from an O.Fr. ***escruef***, leads us naturally to Lat. **scrōbis** (Körting, *Lat.-Roman Wörterbuch*[3], 8530). The sense of this word is 'Grube,' 'Grübchen,' and the original meaning of 'the scruff of the neck' would then be 'the dimple or nape of the neck,' with which we may compare Germ. 'Nackengrübchen,' Swed. 'nackgrop.'

(*b*) M.E *u* = O.Fr. *ui* before *š* (*Anglia*, xiv, 299) in *krɔ̀š* crush.

2. M.E. *u* = O.Fr. *u* has given *i* in *tìtš* touch, cf. § 77, 1, *c*.

3. *džəso* jostle is from **just, joust** + frequentative suffix *-le*, and is in lit. Engl. pronounced with *ə* and *v*.

§ 114. In syllables which were unstressed in O.Fr.

1. M.E. *u* = O.Fr. *u* has become *ɔ̀*: *bɔ̀tən* button, *kɔ̀lɔ* colour, *kɔ̀mfɔt* comfort, *kɔ̀mpni* company, *kɔ̀ntri* country, *kɔ̀zən* cousin, *kɔ̀vɔ* cover, *kɔ̀stəm* custom, *dɔ̀zən* dozen, *glɔ̀tən* glutton, *gɔ̀lət* gullet, *gɔ̀tɔ* gutter (vb.), *gɔ̀vənɔ* governor, *mɔ̀ni* money, *mɔ̀ŋgro* mongrel, *mɔ̀stɔd* mustard, *mɔ̀tən* mutton, *mɔ̀zo* muzzle, *sɔ̀dən* sudden, *sɔ̀mən* summon, *sɔ̀pɔ* supper.

Of uncertain etymology is *bɔ̀kət* bucket (O.Fr. **buket** milkpail, N.E.D.). Of echoic origin is *bɔ̀m* in *bɔ̀mbobii* humble-bee (N.E.D.: **bum** (vb.[2]) + frequentative suffix **-le**).

2. M.E. *u* = O.Fr. *u* has become *u*: *bulət* bullet, *butšɔ* butcher, *pulət* pullet, *puli* pulley, *pulpət*, *pupət* pulpit.

Pewsey *kukumɔ* cucumber goes back to **cucumer** (14th–18th cent.), a form directly adopted from Lat., N.E.D.

ur.

§ 115. In stressed and unstressed O.Fr. syllables.

1. M.E. *ur* = O.Fr. *ur* has become Pewsey *ɔ*[1] in *stɔ[1]b* disturb, *fɔ[1]* sediment, *fɔ[1]niš* furnish, *fɔ[1]nitšɔ* furniture, *gɔ[1]džənz* coarse flour, *hɔ[1]t* hurt, *džɔ[1]ni* journey, *pɔ[1]pəs* purpose, *tɔ[1]mət* turnip.

For the verb **turn** there are two pronunciations, *tuɔn* and *tɔ[1]n*, the former pointing to a M.E. form with a long vowel, the latter to one with a short one. For double forms of this word in M.E. and the quantity of its vowel see *Franz. Stud.*, v, 2, pp. 54 and 114 f., and *Grundriss*, i, p. 820, § 39, *a*. The substantive is *tuɔn* = favour: *wɔn gud tuɔn dizɔ[2]vz ənɔ̀dɔ* one good turn deserves another.

2. M.E. *ur* = O.Fr. *ur*, *ru*, has become *ɔ̀* before *s* in *kɔ̀stəd* custard, *nɔ̀s* nurse, *pɔ̀s* purse.

We have met with the same sound change in words of Teutonic origin, §§ 76, 3; 78, 3.

ŭ.

§ 116. M.E. *ŭ* = O.Fr. *ŭ* before more than one consonant has become—

1. Pewsey *ɔ̀*: *hɔ̀mbo* humble, *džɔ̀dž* judge.

2. Pewsey *i*, not quite like *i* in **bit**, but a little more towards *ə*, in *dzist* just.

Long Vowels and Diphthongs.

ā.

§ 117. In originally stressed syllable.

1. M.E. *ā* from O.Fr. *ă* (cf. Behrens, *Grundriss*, i, p. 813, § 27) has become Pewsey *ee* (*eə*).

(*a*) Before a single consonant which begins a syllable: *beet* abate (with aphetic form already in the 14th century, N.E.D.), *bleem* blame, *deet* date, *feed* fade (vb.), *fleem* flame, *greet* grate (apparently adoption of med. Latin **grata** used in monastic Latin, N.E.D.), *peə* pale, *pleet* plate, *reet* rate; *deevi*, e.g., *ðiv gɔt mi sɔləm deevi ɔn dæt*, I have got my solemn davi on that, is a vulgar shortening of 'affidavit.'

(*b*) Before single final consonant: *kees* (also *käs*) case.

(*c*) Before muta cum liquida which begin an unstressed syllable: *eəbə* able, *seekɔd* sacred, *steəbə* stable, *teebə* table; *treekə* treakle (M.E. **triacle** and also **tracle**, Müller, *Etym. Wb. d. Engl. Spr.*, s.v.).

(*d*) Before *ts*, which after the thirteenth century became *ss*, *s* (cf. Ten Brink, § 109, *γ*): *feəs* face, *grees* grace (vb.), *lees* lace (give a thrashing), *pees* pace, *plees* place.

(*e*) Before *dž*: *keedž* cage, *geedž* (and *ɔngeedž*) engage, *geedžbrik* W.W. gauge-brick, a brick which shows by its change of colour when the oven is hot enough for baking, *peedž* page, *reedž* rage.

(*f*) Before *st*: *peəst* paste, *teəst* taste, *weest* waste.

2. M.E. *ā*, *ai* has become Pewsey *ä*.

(*a*) M.E. *ā*, *ai* = O.Fr. *a*, *ai* before *st* in *mästɔ* (by-form of *meəstɔ*) master, *plästɔ* plaster.

(*b*) M.E. *ā* = O.Fr. *a* in *kɔnträdi* contrary (= of an untoward disposition).

3. M.E. *ā* = O.Fr. *au* before labial has become *eə* in *seəf* safe, *seəv* save, and *e* through shortening of *ee* in *tšembɔ* chamber (Luick, *Anglia*, xvi, p. 483).

§ 118. M.E. *ā* in syllables which in French were unstressed has given *ee* and in one case *e*.

1. M.E. *ā* = O.Fr. *a* has become *ee* in *beekn* bacon, *feevɔ* favour, *meesnɔ* masoner, *neešən* a disguised form of 'damnation' (E.D.D.), *neetɔ* nature.

2. M.E. *ā* = O.Fr. *a* has become *e* in *epən* apron.

ār.

§ 119. M.E. *ār* from O.Fr. *ar* has in Pewsey become—

1. *ɨɔ* in *gɨɔdən* garden, *pɨɔt* part.
2. *eɔ* in *keɔd* card.
3. *äɔ* in *päɔ* peel fruit; M.E. **pāre**, O.Fr. **parer**.
4. *uɔ* in *skwuɔ* square, pane.

ē̆.

§ 120. In syllables which were stressed in O.Fr.

1. M.E. ē̆ is in Pewsey *ee* (*eə*).

(*a*) M.E. ē̆ = O.Fr. *ei* and *ai* which have been monophthonged (*a*) before single consonants, medial and final *s*, *t*, and *v*: *dizeez* disease, *diseet* deceit, *diseev* deceive, *eez* ease, *eezi*(*li*) easily, *feət* feat, *greez* grease, *meəstɔ* master, *pleez* please, *pee* pea (O.Fr. **peis**, M.E. **pēs**), *pees* peace, *riseev* receive (but *risæet* receipt), *treet* treat; to *kənseet*, conceit, there appears to be no corresponding O.Fr. word, so that it would seem that it was formed from **conceive** on the analogy supplied by **deceit** (N.E.D.).

In some of the above-mentioned words the sound in question was also spelt with an *a* in the 14th–16th centuries: **consate, disase, desate, desave.**

(*β*) Before palatal + liquida: *eegə* eagle, *eegɔ* eager.

(*b*) M.E. ē̆ = O.Fr. *e*, *eé*: *beək* (and *biək*) beak, *tšeet* cheat (a variant infinitive is *tšet*, probably from a preterite *tšet*), *veəst* feast, *feebə* feeble, *neet* neat, *preetš* preach, *seez* cease, *veə* veal; the word *reə*, real, is either from O.Fr. **real** or directly from Lat. **realis**.

The word **tea** imported to Europe in the second half of the seventeenth century is in the dialect *tee*.

2. M.E. ē̆ from O.Fr. *e* before *st* (cf. *veəst* above) is *iə* in *biəst* beast.

§ 121. In syllables which were unstressed in O.Fr.

1. M.E. ē̆ is in Pewsey *ee*.

(*a*) M.E. ē̆ = O.Fr. *ei*, *ai*: *feetšɔ* feature, *reezən* reason, *seezən* season.

(*b*) M.E. ē̆ = O.Fr. *e*: *meezəz* measles, *seekət* secret; the word **equal**, a M.E. (?) adaptation of Lat. **æqualis**, is *eekwə*.

2. M.E. ē̆ from O.Fr. *e* is Pewsey *i* in *mižɔ* measure.

ē̤r.

§ 122. M.E. *ē̤r* from O.Fr. *er* has become *ɛə* in *klɛə* clear. For the standard English pronunciation *klɪə* the M.E. base has *ē̤*, Ten Brink, § 67*a*; Behrens, *Grundriss*, i, p. 817.

ē̤.

§ 123. In syllables which were stressed in O.Fr.

1. M.E. *ē̤* has become Pewsey *ii*.

(*a*) M.E. *ē̤* = O.Fr. *ie* in *griif* grief, *piis* piece. An exception is *nees* niece.

(*b*) M.E. final *ē̤* = O.Fr. *e*: *əgrii* agree.

(*c*) M.E. *ē̤* = O.Fr. *e* before single medial consonant: *əpio* appeal, *bredpio* a baker's shovel; *pio*, peel, is (Luick, *Untersuchungen*, § 557) O.E. **pilian**, Lat. **pilare**.

(*d*) M.E. *ē̤* = O.Fr. *œ*: *biif* beef.

gliiniz guinea-fowls is to its origin unknown to me, if it is not the same as 'gleaners' with the sequence M.E. *ē̤* < O.Fr. *e*.

2. M.E. *ē̤* = O.Fr. *ie* appears as *ee* in *nees* niece.

3. M.E. *ē̤* = O.Fr. *ue*: from the 15th cent. this *ē̤* became *ii*, which has given *ɔi* in *kəntrɔiv* contrive, a phonetic change still unexplained (N.E.D.). Another M.E. *ē̤* = O.Fr. *e* has become *ɔi* in *ɔil* aisle, O.Fr. *ele*, M.E. 15th cent. **ille**, **yle**, N.E.D.

ē̤r.

§ 124. M.E. *ē̤r* has been raised into *ir* at an early period in *ɔmpɔiɛ* umpire; see Behrens, *Grundriss*, p. 817, § 33 *b*.

ī.

§ 125. In syllables which were stressed in O.Fr.

M.E. *ī* of French origin has in Pewsey become *ɔi*.

M.E. *ī* was lengthened from O.Fr. *i*.

(*a*) Before a vowel and at the end of a word: *əplɔi* apply, *krɔi* cry, *frɔi* fry, *pɔi* pie, *trɔi* try.

enəmɔi enemy, with stress both on the first and the last syllable.

(*b*) Before French single consonant, medial or final: *ədvɔis* advise, *dəzɔiɛ* desire, *əntɔis* entice, *əksɔizmən* exciseman, apparently borrowed from M.Du. **excijs**, which was probably an adaptation of O.Fr. **acceis**; a Med.L. **accisia** occurred as a variant of **assisa** (N.E.D.);

fɔ̈in fine, *nɔ̈is* nice, *əblɔ̈idž* oblige, *pɔ̈io* pile, *prɔ̈is* price, *rɔ̈is* rice, *sɔ̈iziz* assizes with aphetic forms as early as the 14th cent. (N.E.D.), *slɔ̈is* slice, *strɔ̈iv* strive.

(*c*) Before *n* from *ñ* in *sɔ̈in* sign.

(*d*) Exceptionally also in closed syllables: *pɔ̈int* pint.

(*e*) And before muta cum liquida in *əntɔ̈itl* entitle, *sɔ̈idɔ* cider; *trɔ̈ifo* trifle (M.E. sometimes **trifle** and **trefle** (Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*), but O.Fr. **trufle**; as for M.E. $\bar{e} > \bar{\imath} >$ mod.E. *ɔ̈i*, see § 123, 3). An exception is *kənsidɔ* (or *kənsedɔ*) consider.

§ 126. French unstressed *i* which became stressed in English was also lengthened before a vowel: *kwɔ̈iət* quiet, *rɔ̈iət* riot, *vɔ̈iəlit* violet.

īr.

§ 127. M.E. $\bar{\imath}r < \bar{e}r$ = O.Fr. *er* is *ɔ̈iɔ*: *eykwɔ̈iɔ* inquire.

ǭ.

§ 128. In syllables which were stressed in O.Fr.

1. M.E. $\bar{o} = $ O.Fr. *o* has become Pewsey *å* (*åə*, *uå*).

(*a*) Before single, medial, or final consonant: *klåk* cloak, *klåz* close, *kåət* coat, *dåt* dote, probably intimately connected with an A.Fr. ***doter** for O.Fr. **redoter**, N.E.D.; *råb* robe, *råg* rogue. M.E. $\bar{o}e = $ O.Fr. *oë* in *puåzi* nosegay (Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*). The word *sæyktəmådiəs*, sanctimonious, owes its *d* to an influence from **mode**; *fåg*, vogue, fashion, is from French **vogue** (Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*). The earliest quotations I find of English **vogue** are 1553 in Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* I *Mary*, and in Howell (1594–1666), *Instructions for Foreynne Travell* (Skeat, l.c.). There is also a M.E. word **foȝ**, M.H.G., **vuoc**, fitness, decency, which occurs once in a southern text from our very district, the Owl and the Nightingale (about 1225), l. 184 (Stratmann-Bradley, s.v.). In their significations there seems to be a point of contact between the two words, **vogue** meaning 'fashion' and **foȝ** 'decency,' and what is decent, that is, suits the requirements of good taste, may easily be regarded as fashion too. But as a M.E. **foȝ** would have given *fogh* or *fow*, the Pewsey form cannot derive from this. Besides, the *f* in Pewsey *fåg* does not exclude a derivation from French **vogue**, as *f* is sometimes found for *v* also in other words of French origin, e.g. *fitoz* victuals.

(*b*) Before *-tš*: *brâtš* broach and brooch, the differentiation of spelling being only recent and hardly yet established in lit. Engl. (N.E.D.); *kâtš* coach, *pâtš* poach, *râtš* roach, whose M.E. form **roche** points to a French source (Kluge-Lutz).

(*c*) Before *st*: *pâst* post, *râst* roast, *tâst* toast; *pâst* and *tâst* are also pronounced *puâst* and *tuâst*.

(*d*) Before *-ry* in *glâri* glory, *stâri* story.

(*e*) Before *-bl* in *nâbo* noble.

2. M.E. $\bar{o}$ = O.Fr. *o* has become *ao* before *ld*, *ll*, in *maold* mould, *raol* roll.

Trâl troll is against the sound law: $\bar{o} >$ *ao* before *l* + consonant. Stratm.-Brad. have M.E. **trollin** and refer it to Low Germ. **trullen**; Skeat refers it to O.Fr. **troller**. The word is probably a loan-word in the dialect.

For *paoltri* (also *pâltri*) poultry and *paoltis* poultis we find earlier forms with *u*: M.E. **pultrie** (Stratm.-Brad.) and early Mod. **pultis** (*Cent. Dict.*). If Koeppel (*Quellen und Forschungen*, 1901, 89, p. 60) is right in his supposition that through the formation of a *u*-glide between *u* and *l* a diphthong arose whose first element received an opener sound and gradually broadened before the dark glide, we may assume that the development of this *ul* fell together with that of *o̤l*, *ōl* in *baolt* bold, *kaold* cold (§§ 75, 4; 90, 3), just as *ul* and *o̤l*, *ōl* before consonants have fallen together in lit. Engl. *po"ltri*, *bo"ld*.

3. M.E. $\bar{o}$ = O.Fr. *o* has become *uu* in *fuo* fool. The word is an early adoption, and had an $\bar{o}$ already in M.E., see Behrens, *Franz. Studien*, v, p. 106.

§ 129. In unstressed O.Fr. syllable it is *å* in *nåtis* notice.

o̤.

§ 130. $\bar{o}$ only occurs in a few words of French origin.

1. M.E. $\bar{o}$ = O.Fr. *o* has become *uu* in Pewsey: *buut* boot (old people say **shoe**), *muuv* move.

2. M.E. $\bar{o}$ interchanging with $\bar{o}$ (Behrens, *Grundriss*, i, p. 819, § 37*a*) leads to *å* from the $\bar{o}$ forms in *trån* trone.

Of unknown etymology is *buk*, W.W. pook = a small cock of hay.

o̤r.

§ 131. M.E. *o̤r*, *ōr* (Luick, *Anglia*, xvi, 456 f.) = O.Fr. *or* appears in Pewsey as *ɯɔ*: *kuɯd* cord, *puɯ* poor, *puɯli* poorly, *puɯk* pork, *puɯtɔ* porter.

ū.

§ 132. In syllables which were stressed in O.Fr.

M.E. *ū* = O.Fr. *ū* has become Pewsey *æo*.

(*a*) At the end of a syllable before a vowel, or at the end of a word: *əlæo* allow, *væo* vow.

(*b*) Before a single consonant which stands at the beginning of a syllable or at the end of a word: *kræon* crown, *dæot* doubt, *fræon* frown, *gæot* gout, *gæon* gown, *pæodə* powder, *stæot* stout, *træozəz* trowsers; besides also in *kæotš* sofa.

(*c*) Before *nt*, *nd*, and *ns* (*nce*): *əkæont* account, *əmæont* amount, *kæont* count, *mæont* (adapted from French **monter**) mount, *æons* ounce, *ræond* round.

§ 133. In syllables which in O.Fr. were unstressed the treatment of *ū* is the same.

(*a*) At the end of a syllable before a vowel: *əlæowəns* allowance, *kæowədli* cowardly, *pæowə* power, *tæowo* towel.

(*b*) Before *nt*, *ns*: *bæonti* bounty, *kæonso* counsel.

ūr.

§ 134. 1. M.E. *ūr* = O.Fr. *ūr* has become *ɑ̊ə* when before consonant: *kɑ̊əs* course, *sɑ̊əs* source.

2. M.E. *ūr* = O.Fr. *ūr* has become *æowə* when final; *flæowə* flower, *æowə* hour, *tæowə* tower.

ǖ.

§ 135. In syllables which were stressed in O.Fr.

M.E. *ǖ* has become *juu* or *uu* in Pewsey.

(*a*) M.E. *ǖ* = O.Fr. *u* (*eu*): *djuu* due, *fluut* flute, *mjuo* mule, *rəfjuus* refuse, *səluut* salute, *suit* suet, *juus* use.

(*b*) M.E. *ǖ* = O.Fr. *eü* in *žuə* sure, from early Mod. *sjuə* > *šuə*.

(*c*) M.E. *ǖ* = O.Fr. *ui*: *fruut* (sb., vb.) fruit, bear fruit, *pjuu* pew.

Of unknown or uncertain origin are *bluuz* often = delirium, *fluu* the pipe of a kitchen-range.

§ 136. In syllables which were unstressed in O.Fr.

1. M.E. *ǖ* = O.Fr. *u* (*eu*) has become *juu* or *uu*: *fjuo* fuel, *fjuutšə* future, *gruo* gruel, *mjuusik* music, *ruubəb* rhubarb, *ruən* ruin, *ruumə* rumour, *truo* (Strat.-Brad. M.E. **truele** and **trulle**, O.Fr. **truele**) trowel, *juuniti* unity; besides in *djuuti* duty, not recorded in Continental French, from Anglo-French **dueté**, N.E.D.

2. M.E. *ǖ* = O.Fr. *u* has become short *ju* in *stjupid* stupid.

ai (ei).

§ 137. M.E. *ai* answers (*a*) to O.Fr. *ai*, (*b*) to O.Fr. *ei*. In Anglo-Norm. both diphthongs became *ęi* (Ten Brink, § 89). For the succession *ęi* > *ę̄* see § 120, 1, *a*. The *ęi* which remained a diphthong in M.E. will be treated here. The M.E. writes *ei* and *ai* without maintaining the original difference between them.

§ 138. In syllables which were stressed in O.Fr.

1. M.E. *ai* from O.Fr. *ai*, *ei* has become Pewsey *æ* (cf. Behrens, *Grundriss*, i, p. 821).

(*a*) When final or before a vowel: *bræ* bray, *gæ* gay, *pæ* pay, *præ* pray.

(*b*) Before medial and before single final nasal: *æm* aim, *tšæn* chain (as measure), *klæm* claim, *græ̆nz* grains (malt-dust), *mæn* main, much, *pæn* pain, *plæn* plain (adj.), but *sɔ̈lzbəri plänz* Salisbury plains, *skæn* W.W. skein (Strat.-Brad. M.E. **skeine**, O.Fr. **escaigne**), *spræn* sprain, *træn* trail, *væn* vein.

(*c*) Before *n* + consonant: *dæ̆nti* dainty, *fænt* faint, *pænt* paint.

(*d*) Before *l*: *bæ̆o* a pole to separate horses standing in an open stable, *fæ̆o* fail.

(*e*) In *fæ̆rən* fairing, *fæ̆þ* faith, *præ̆z* praise, *wæ̆t* wait, *wæ̆dɔ* waiter.

2. M.E. *ai* = O.Fr. *ei*, *ai* has become *ä* in *frä* ravel out, *plänz* (Salisbury) plains, compare *ä* before *ns*, § 69, 2, *c*, and *æ* before *ns* above 1, *b*. The development *plänz* may be explained from its not being felt as a plural in its isolated use of a proper name, whereas *græ̆nz* still preserves its connection with the singular *græ̆n*.

§ 139. In syllables which were unstressed in O.Fr.

1. M.E. *ai* has also become *æ* in *bæ̆li* bailiff, *tæ̆lɔ* tailor.

2. For M.E. *ai* > *ę* = O.Fr. *ai*, see § 105, 1, *b*.

air (eir).

§ 140. M.E. *air* = O.Fr. *air*, *eir* has become Pewsey *æ̆ɔ* in *tšæ̆ɔ* chair, *fæ̆ɔ* fair, and *ɛɔ* in *pɛɔ* pair.

au.

§ 141. The M.E. *au* which occurs in French words is of a double origin. It answers partly to O.Fr. *au*, partly to O.Fr. *a* before nasal + consonant. M.E. *au* = O.Fr. *a* before nasal + consonant, which in M.E. texts interchanges with *a*, *aw*, *eau* (in one case also

ay: **chaynge**, N.E.D.), is supposed to represent the sound of a deep *ā* (Ten Brink, § 70; Behrens, *Franz. Stud.*, v, 2, p. 79; Behrens, *Grundriss*, i, p. 815). But Luick (*Anglia*, xvi, p. 479 f.) suggests that a real diphthong *au* has prevailed in M.E. and early M.E., so that the succession has been *au* > **ā* > *ǣ* > *ā*. The Pewsey dialect then preserves the stage *ǣ*, which sound appears in the 17th cent. (Luick, l.c., p. 482). Another question is whether the intermediate stage between *au* and *ā* was **ā* (a deep *ā*), or the *au* of the dialect was an *æu* which over *æᵘ* became *ææ* and *ä*. And there is good reason to assume the latter alternative, as *au* has generally given *ä*, *ææ* in Pewsey.

§ 142. In syllables which were stressed or unstressed in O.Fr.

1. M.E. *au* has become Pewsey *ææ*.

(*a*) M.E. *au* = O.Fr. *au*: *bikææs* because, *dææb* daub, *pææ* paw.

After *au* an *l* is dropped in *fææt* fault, but *l* is preserved in *skææld* scald.

(*b*) M.E. *au* = O.Fr. *a* before nasal + consonant: *brææntš* branch, *kææykɔ* a sort of mushroom, *džæændɔz* jaundice, *læændɔn*, used in the expression *læændɔn džäd* lean-faced, *mæændž* mange, *prææns* prance, *plæænt* plant, *stræændž* strange.

Of obscure origin is *džæænt* journey.

For words with *æ* before *ŋ*, *ŋk*, and *mp*, see § 101, 1.

2. M.E. *au* has become Pewsey *ä*.

(*a*) M.E. *au* = O.Fr. *au*: *säsi* saucy, *säs ət* sauce at.

(*b*) M.E. *au* = O.Fr. *au* before nasal + consonant: *änt* aunt, *tšäns* chance, *tšändž* change, *tšänt* chant, *tšäntəri* chantry, *däns* dance, *gränt* grant, *träns* trance, *tränspåət* (both syllables equally stressed) transport.

3. It has become *ɔɔ* in *frɔɔd* fraud, which is likely to be a loan from the law-language.

ui, oi.

§ 143. M.E. *ui*, *oi* from O.Fr. *ui*, *oi* have given three diphthongs in Pewsey: *ɔi*, *əi*, and *æi*. Of these *əi* is clearly distinguished from the others and from *ɔi*, its first element (*ə*) being a rounded *ɐə*. But as this diphthong could with surety be assigned to a few words only, these may have come in from another dialect.[1]

[1] The small group of words which have *əi* was not at first distinguishable to me (cf. p. 12, note), and therefore *əi* was not mentioned p. 6.

For the sound value of M.E. and modern *oi*, see Luick, *Anglia*, xiv, 294.

Of a M.E. pronunciation *æi*, there is one instance from the fourteenth century in Kyng Alisaundre, where **noise** rhymes with **pays** (*Franz. Stud.*, v, 2, p. 155).

§ 144. In stressed and unstressed O.Fr. syllables.

1. M.E. *ui*, *oi* have become *ɔi* (*uɔi*) in *bɔio* boil, *əndžɔi* enjoy, *kɔit* coit, *pɔint* point, *puɔizn* poison, *spuɔio* spoil; *bɔi* (*buɔi*) boy is of obscure origin.

Besides *əndžɔi* there is also the pronunciation *əndžəi*.

2. M.E. *ui*, *oi* have become *əi* in *džəint* joint, *ləin* loin, and in originally unstressed syllables in *əintmənt* ointment and *əinən* onion. The latter has transposition of *i* from M.E. **onion**, or the first syllable is a direct continuation of French **oñ**, as many other dialects show the same or a similar form (Ellis, v, word-number 916, pp. 58, 60, 68, 89, 116, 120, 187, etc.). Of uncertain etymology is *džəist* joist.

3. M.E. *ui*, *oi* are in Pewsey *æi* in *ənæi* annoy, *tšæis* dainty, *mæist* moist, *mæistšə* moisture, *næis* noise, *æio* oil, *æistə* oyster, *sæio* soil, *væis* voice. For 'noise' and 'soil' I have also put down the pronunciation *ɔi*.

A comparison between the Pewsey forms and Luick's (l.c.) lists, which give the older modern Engl. pronunciation of the words in question, shows us that in the dialect forms the old distinction between two kinds of *oi*, one closer (*ui*, *əi* in Ellis's palæotype in his *Pronouncing Vocabulary of the Sixteenth Century*, iii, p. 881) and another opener (*oi*), still shines through, inasmuch as the authorities have *ui* and *əi* in all the words belonging to groups 1 and 2, that is, where Pewsey has *ɔi* and *əi*, except in 'enjoy,' in which they have *oi*, and 'onion,' which they do not quote. And the group 2 seems to preserve the old regular development *ui* > *əi*. In group 3, where Pewsey has *æi*, the authorities have *oi*, the opener sound, in all the words, and besides also *əi* and *ui* in 'oil' and 'soil,' of which 'soil' has a by-form with *ɔi* in Pewsey. This *ɔi* may be a reflection of the older *ui*, as M.E. *ui* in early modern Engl. might be merged into the sound of M.E. *ī*, which has become Pewsey *ɔi*.

4. M.E. *oy* interchanging with *uy* = O.Fr. *oi*, *ui* has become *u* in *bušə* bushel.

ǫu.

§ 145. 1. M.E. *ǫu* = O.Fr. *ǫu* < *ol* appears as *ɑo* in *ɑodiɔ* soldier, the *l* of the literary language being inserted in modern English (Luick, *Anglia*, xvi, p. 479).

2. M.E. **souden**, O.Fr. **souder**, Lat. **solidare** (Stratmann-Bradley, s.v.) = modern Engl. **solder**, shows the two forms *ɔɔdɑ* and *ɔdɑ* in Pewsey.

3. M.E. **mouten**, mod. Engl. **moult**, is in Pewsey *mɑ̈lt*.

eu.

§ 146. 1. M.E. *eu* from O.Fr. *eau* is Pewsey *juu* in *bjuuti* beauty.

2. M.E. *eu* (*iu*) = O.Fr. *eu* is Pewsey *uu* in *ruo* (*u* in *uo* = *uu*) rule, *suu* sue, *suut* sb. suit.

CHAPTER V.

THE VOWELS OF WORDS AND SYLLABLES WHICH HAVE NOT THE PRINCIPAL ACCENT.

§ 147. The question about the influence which the accent has on the changes of the vowels is a difficult one, and the difficulties are chiefly of a twofold nature.

One difficulty is implied in the historical research, and arises from the circumstance that the phonetic changes, which here, as usually, have been long prepared, are less accessible in their preceding forms, because they do not easily find an expression in writing, being intermediated and rendered obscure to the general conception by means of a multitude of co-existent transitionary forms which lie between the strongest and the weakest stress-forms of the words. These intermediate forms, each of which was connected with a special amount of stress, and accordingly had its special shade of pronunciation, contributed to efface the differences between the two extremes. It is therefore difficult to say what were the phonetic ancestors of a weak form now living in the dialect, in cases where the M.E. did not suffer the sounds of weak forms to be marked in the writing. And there is no reason to deny that already the M.E. possessed weak forms which had not, however, a spelling of their own. When these forms are unknown the starting-point is, in the following paragraphs, taken from the M.E. strong forms.

Another difficulty is to fix the real sound-contents of the unstressed parts of the speech. The *ə*, generally accepted as a symbol for the sounds which have been reduced through a weak position, hardly represents a distinction sufficiently exact to form a fixed point in the description of the development of the unaccented vowels in all cases, a fact to which we may be led by the observation that at least a *u* and an *i* do not seem to become an *ə* so easily as an *a* or *e* do—compare, for instance, *wdii?* would he? and *ˈæotəd ˈbii* how it would be—and that this change for *i* chiefly occurs in cases where *ə* may be otherwise explained than as a direct continuation of *i* (see §§ 148, 155).

The words which usually occur in the less accented parts of a sentence, and therefore are most exposed to the modifications which are connected with a subordinate accent, are pronouns, auxiliary verbs, and particles. The changes which these words undergo are partly the same as in the spoken standard English, partly of a more dialectal character. For, as Sievers says (*Phonetik*^{5}, § 616), the more naive the speaker and hearer are, the less they make use of a logical analysis of the sentence; they do not form their sentences after a logical-grammatical pattern, nor do they understand them after such a pattern; they rather do so in unconscious imitation and discrimination of certain sentence types rendered intelligible through usage. The dialect speaker has no such knowledge of the logical etymological dissectibility of the sentence, as with educated people helps to counteract too strong a reduction of words and syllables. With him the phonetic rhythmical structure of a sentence may accordingly become more decisive of the fate of words than with the educated. He has, popularly speaking, no clear idea of where one word leaves off and the other begins, and it therefore not seldom happens that a word may divide on different stress-groups. The expressions 'bring us back some mince-pies' and 'a jug of good ale' are pronounced *brinə spæk sə min spɔiz, ə džəg ə gu deel*, and in the same way 'dost think?' becomes *də stink?* and then simply *stink?* The words which, on account of the sentence-stress, alter their pronunciation must accordingly be judged in the whole context in which they appear, and the more so as the neighbouring sounds of other words can have an influence on them. If possible, therefore, the examples of the following paragraphs will be given in whole sentences.

To denote the stress, which became advisable in the following specimens, I have used Sweet's notations (N.E.G., § 659). Strong stress is marked by ˈ, half strong with ˌ, these marks being put before the sound on which the stressed syllable begins. Weak stress, in most cases, is not specially marked, as the weak vowel signs (ə, ɐ) and the context mark it sufficiently; when necessary it is marked by prefixing -. Instead of dividing the specimens into stress-groups, the common word-division is kept up, except in cases where the final sound of one word is assimilated with the initial one of another—e.g., *kəstii* for *kust ðii* could you—and where a word is used as a proclitic or enclitic; then the two words in question are written as one.

In the survey of the unaccented vowels which follows a distinction is made between unaccented monosyllabic words and unaccented syllables of bi- or polysyllabic words, the former ones being treated first under each special sound.

Short Vowels.

a.

§ 148. When the weak vowel was preserved, it became *ə*, as a rule, but sometimes it was entirely dropped, and the initial or final consonant or both were the only remainder of the word.

M.E. *a* = O.E. *eo* (Sweet, N.E.G., § 1067) in *ə* he, *ən* him, *əm* them: *hii kudn elp it, ·kudə?* he could not help it, could he? *đæə sɔ²d ən æot mæen rɔ̈fish* they treated him very badly; if this *ən* is not to be derived from a weak M.E. **hane* formed on the analogy of the weak nominative **ha**, it may come from **hine (in)** in this way, that after **in** had become **n** after vowels an *ə* was developed out of the *n* after certain consonants, thus giving *ən*; *hii tukəm əwæə -vrəm əm* he took them away from them.

The vowels are dropped in *n*, *m* (after lip-consonants), him, *m* them, and *m* am: *džist let ði än* just let me have him (it), *·udn wi gitun ɸi ·kud?* would not we give it to him, if we could? *džist tel ii tə stɔpm* just tell him to stop him, *·ði duə -nå witš ən -əm twɔ ·zed it* I do not know which (one) of them it was who said it, *đæem kukən đə dinɔ* they are cooking the dinner.

M.E. *a* = O.E. *æ* is *ə* in *ə* have, M.E. **han**, early Mod. **ha, a**, used especially in the infinitive form: *fði hædn ə pæed ən iz mɔ̈ni hiid ə suud mə* if I had not paid him his money, he would have sued me; but also in other forms: *wii duə -nå ·wot -ɯ -ə dɔ̈n wit* we do not know what she has done with it. Another weak form of 'have' is *v*: *ði šäv tə duu dæt* I shall have to do that.

The whole word is dropped: *ði dɔ̈nt al mi aon seof* I have done all my own self, *huu dɔ̈nt?* who has done it? *ði gət wɔ̈n, bədæə änt* I have got one, but they have not.

ə, ən and: *wizl ən ziŋ* whistle and sing; the most common way of forming compound tenses with the past participle is to put *bin ə* + the participle. This *ə* is now felt as an 'and,' though

to its origin it may be of a complicated nature: *zbin ə tɑ̈ɒ ði trævəz* you have torn your trousers.

M.E., O.E. **can** is *kən* as in spoken standard Engl., and **canst** is *kəst*: *ðii -kəstæp dæon ðɒ ən bækə gen in vɔiv minits* you can dap down there and back again in five minutes.

M.E. **schal, schalt,** O.E. **sċeal, sċealt,** are in weak position in Pewsey *šl, šə, šət, š*: *šldæe?* (cf. § 12, 3) shall they? *hɒ¹ -šə stɔp ət wɔ̈m* she shall stop at home, *hii -šə -bi ðɒ¹ tə meeti* he shall be there to meet you, *ðii -šət duu dæt næo* you shall do that now, *stink ɔiš -bi ˈðäɒ in tɔ̈im?* do you think I shall be there in time?

Some monosyllables, when less accented, mostly appear in consonantic forms as enclitics or proclitics.

st, s, z, hast, hadst: *ðiist saold ði ul* you have sold your wool, *wɒ¹st binə flɔ̈ŋ it tu?* where have you flung it to? *sgəti ˈhæt ən ɔindɒ -pɒtə vɑ̊ɒ* you have got your hat turned the wrong way, *-əf ðiizə zid ɔi, ðiizə təod ɔi* if you had seen me, you would have told me.

d, had: *dæed bin ə lɔst al ɑ̈äɒ tuoz* they had lost all their tools.

z, as, especially also in the combinations *zəf* as if, *zæo* as how, *zwoz* as well as, *zvæz* as far as: *-twɒ ə niɒ gɑ̊ zɑ̈ik wægən əd rɔ̈n ɑ̊vɒ ən* it was near that this waggon had run over him, *hɒ¹ bikald ən wi evriþiŋz ɒ¹ kəd læe ɒ tɔ̈ŋ tu* she abused him with everything that (as) she could lay her tongue to, *ˈhɒ¹ stud ɔ̈p ɑ̈äɒ zbaold zəf ɒ naod nɔ̈þən tal əbæot it* she stood up there as bold as if she knew nothing at all about it, *ðə zed zæo hɒ wɒ dres lɔ̈vli* they said as how she was dressed lovely, *ˈjuu naod zwoz ˈɔi ðə wədn fit* you knew as well as I they were not fit, *-zvæz ɔi dənao* as far as I do know.

n, than: *duən ɔi rip västən hii?* do not I reap faster than he?

t, at: *wɒ hiit ə mɒ²kət?* was he at the market? *ædn ii hæd nɒ²n tal ðen?* had not he had none at all then?

t is a survival of the O.E. article þat in *tɔ̈ðɒ* other: *ðə tɔ̈ðɒ mæn* the other man (*Grundriss*, i, p. 903; Sweet, N.E.G., § 1125), and *tɔ̈ðɒ* is now used also after other words than the definite article, as in *mi tɔ̈ðɒ ɔnko* my other uncle.

§ 149. In unaccented syllables of bi- or polysyllabic words M.E. *a* has become *ə*. In syllables followed by the principal accent: *əvɑ̊ɒ* before, *əgrii* agree, *əkæont* account, *əlæo* allow, *əlɒ²m* alarm, *əmæont* amount, *əmeŋ* among, *ənæi* annoy, *əpio* appeal, *ədɒ¹t* athwart. In syllables preceded by the principal accent: *eŋglən* England, *ɔilən* island, *edlən* headland.

a is dropped in *beet* abate, *šet* cheat, *sɔiziz* assizes, *læoəns* allowance, *prentəs* apprentice. Of the first three words we have aphetic forms

in the lit. M.E. (N.E.D.). Sometimes 'along' becomes *lɔŋ*, as in *ðï šudn lɔ̈ik tə bi fɔ̈st tæv ɯ lɔŋ wimə alɔ̈s* I should not like to be forced to have her along with me always.

In *šin* thrash corn with machine *ma* has been dropped: *ðïv bin ə šinən al ðeəz wik* I have been thrashing all this week.

ɔmənik almanac, 16th cent. **amminicke** (N.E.D.), may go back to forms influenced by the late Greek ἀλμενιχιακόν (Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*).

al before a consonant answers to *ə* when followed by the principal accent in *əmâ̈st* almost, *əredi* already, and to *o* (*ɑ̂*) when preceded by the principal accent in *eekwo* equal, *ɔ̈ofo* offal, *reo* real.

ar.

§ 150. The M.E. *ar* = O.E. *ear*, which has become *æ* in *æt* art, the 2nd person of pres. of 'to be' (cf. § 70, 3), becomes *ə* when it stands in weak position: *ə·tïi?* are you?

In unaccented syllables *ar* has also become *ə* in *ritïšət* Richard, *ətilɯri* artillery, *ɔ* in *ruböb* rhubarb, and *ɯ* in *bæ̈æstɯd* bastard, *kɔ̈stɯd* custard.

e.

§ 151. The weak Pewsey object forms *mə* and *ðə* = M.E. **me** and **thee**, seem to have been shortened from the M.E. mē and þē, before *ē* became *ïi* in the strong forms *mïi* and *ðïi*. For Pewsey *ï* of M.E. *ē*, see § 165. *ði udn stɔp nɯ²ə minït fju wɯ tə bæg ən præe mə tut* I would not stop a minute if you were to beg and pray me to do it, *huu lendidə ðïk pikæks ðen?* who lent you that pickaxe?

M.E., O.E. **elles**, else, has been fused together with **or** into *ɯ²ls* and *ɯ²s*: *drɑl drɑ̂ hïi ɯ² stɔ̂dɯ* (for *ɯ²s tɔ̂ðɯ*) *udn ə went əwæe* it was all through him, or else the other would not have gone away.

§ 152. In endings M.E. *e* has generally had the same development as in the spoken standard English.

In compounds the old preposition **be** appears as *bə* and *bi*: *bəlïiv* believe, *bətwiïn* between; *bigɔ̈n* begun, *bïheev* behave.

After certain lip-consonants *e* was dropped altogether, and a following nasal formed a syllable: *ɔ̈ofm* often, *âbm* oven. See §§ 27, 28.

Sometimes the whole syllable preceding the principal stress is dropped: *twïx* betwixt, *livɯ* deliver, *stɯ¹b* disturb, *sept* except.

M.E. *el* preceded by the principal accent is *o* in *gruo* gruel, *mœoz* (Fr. 'jeu de merelles,' O.Fr. **marrele**, E.D.D., s.v.), W.W. 'madell.'

The O.E. prefix *ġe*, M.E. *ī* (*y*), is in Pewsey preserved as *ə* in *ənôf* enough and many past participles.

ęr.

§ 153. M.E. weak *ęr* in **her** and **þer** from the strong forms **hire** and **þeire** has become *ɯ*: *hɯ ·ud ə ɯ vliŋ* she would have her fling, *dəgət nâbədi eos bisðid ðɯ aon seovz tə luk ədɯ* they have got nobody else beside their own selves to look after.

A shortened form of 'whether,' O.E. **hwæðer**, is *wɯ*: *diiz nao wɯts rðit ɯ nâ* you do know whether it is right or not.

M.E. **verrei** from O.Fr. **verai** has in Pewsey the weak form *vɯ*: *zbin ə tâɯn -vɯnɯ ·al tə piisiz* you have torn it very nearly all to pieces.

Very likely such words as **where**, **there**, and **were**, which are here treated under *ę̄* or *ę̄*, had weak forms with short *ę* already in M.E., and these may have exercised an influence on the vowel of the strong forms.

§ 154. In unaccented syllables *ęr* (*rę*) has also become *ɯ*, when not followed by a vowel: *mɯ²tɯ* mortar, *seekəd* sacred, *šepəd* shepherd, *stretšɯ* stretcher. When followed by a vowel it generally becomes *ər*: *tšäntəri* chantry, *jiərərðit* hereright, *salðri* celery (for the quality of this *r*, see, however, § 31); in O.Fr. **napperon** *e* was dropped already in M.E. **napron** (Stratm.-Brad.), which has become *epɯn* apron.

A medial *ęr* has become *ə* in *gôvənɯ* governor; it is dropped or assimilated with a preceding syllable in *tšidlənz* chitterlings, *zæɯnun* this afternoon, *tɯ²bliš* (perhaps already in M.E. ***torble** from **tolerable**) tolerably. A final *ęr* absorbs the preceding unstressed syllable in *græmfɯ* grandfather. *fɯ²* is a contraction of 'farther,' if it is not the old positive in comparative use (Sweet, N.E.G., § 1047): *wi ·môsn gâ -nə ·fɯ² -ðən ·diz ənles wi æv ɯ²dɯz* we must not go any (no) farther than this, unless we have orders.

džændɯz jaundice has *rę* on the analogy of 'glanders' and other diseases, already in M.E. (N.E.D.); *hœŋkətšɯ* handkerchief may also have had *ęr* in M.E., judging from the form 'keuercheres' which occurs in Canticum de Creatione (*Anglia*, i, p. 312), l. 383.

i.

§ 155. Already in M.E. the possessive pronouns **mī** and **þī** sometimes had the weak forms **mi** and **þi** (Sweet, N.E.G., § 1097). In Pewsey they are *mi* and *đi*: *ɔiv naod ə điŋ ɔ tuu bɔin -imi tɔim* he has taught me a thing or two in my time, *wɔt đii ɔi zid ɔ đi brɔđɔ?* was it you I saw or your brother?

O.E. **bist** (Sievers, *Ags. Gr.*, § 427, Anm. 7) is in weak position *bis* in Pewsey: *næo đən, stjupid, mɔin wɔt bis æktən ɔn!* now then, stupid, mind what you are acting on! The form is not found in Chaucer (Ten Brink, § 197).

M.E. **with**, O.E. **wiþ**, is mostly *wi*: *wii duə nɑ̈ ·wɔt ɔ ə dɔn wit* we don't know what she has done with it; in the sense of 'together with' it is often strengthened with *əloŋ*: *zii əloŋwi ɔi!* see with me (in my book)!

Weak words which in M.E. had an *i* seem to preserve this *i*, as a rule. But if there is a vowel-less weak form in use beside the *i*-form, as happens with **if** and **it**, we have also weak forms with *ə*: *zəf* as if, *wɔzəf* whereas if, *huu zed ət tun?* who said it to him? and with vowel-less forms: *ʃju pleez* if you please, *hii udn dut fii kən heop ət* he wouldn't do it, if he can help it. No doubt, the *ə*-forms have developed out of these consonantic forms; otherwise we do not see why *i* should be kept in some and changed into *ə* in other words.

iz often becomes *z*: *huuz ɔs zii gwæen ä tə vetš əm wi?* whose horse is he going to have to fetch them with? *zɔ fit fɔ đik džəb?* is she fit for that job?

d stands for *did* when as a proclitic it is combined with *ii* = you: *huu dii bɔi ðəm teetəz əf ən?* of whom did you buy those potatoes?

it is sometimes entirely dropped without even leaving a trace in the following voiced consonant: *-zimd vɔni đæe kudn vɔin ən* it seemed funny they could not find it.

M.E. **þis**, this, in weak position is sometimes *z* or *s*: *ɔi wɔ dæon ətə džimbosɛo zæunun* I was down at the jumble sale this afternoon, *smɔ²nən* this morning.

§ 156. Substantives in **-ing (ung)** and verbal nouns in **-ing** in standard M.E., as well as some compounds with **thing**, have *ə*: *æksənz* askings, banns of marriage, *dɔ²lən* darling, *iivnən* evening, *vɔ²ðən* farthing, *nɔþən* nothing, *šilən* shilling, *jɔ¹lən* yearling. And so also have the present participles: *kɔmən* coming, *pikən* picking.

The word 'working-day' is *wɔˈkədee* from *wɔˈkən dee*, but 'whirling puff' *wɔˈlipɔ̀f* (compare 'whirligig') has *i*.

In *ədæot*, without, *əd* is the unstressed pronunciation of 'with' (Wright, E.D.D., s. 'athin').

The *ə* of *zilɔp*, W.W. seed-lip, and *ənstid*, instead, may be from *ǫ* in 'lop' small branches (E.D.D.), and in 'ǫn.'

The verb *wədi*, wade, has the ending *i*, see *Grundriss*, i, p. 896, note, and Sweet, N.E.G., § 1217, note.

ǫ.

§ 157. In M.E. the two prepositions **of** and **on** could both have the weak form **a** (Sweet, N.E.G., § 1583; Wright, *A Grammar of the Dialect of Windhill*, § 249, note), and having thus encroached upon each other's dominion of pronunciation, they also encroached upon each other's dominion of signification. The use of the two forms of the preposition now seems to be regulated partly through mere phonetic circumstances.

Parallel examples with *ə* and *ən*.

kəstii meek šuæ ə dæt? can you make sure of that? but *ɔi bjeent sə šuæ ənt* I am not so sure of it. *iz dæt sɔ̀m ə dɔ̀i duənz?* is that some of your doings? but *kəd ɔi ä žɔ̀m ən əm?* could I have some of them?

Further examples with *ə*.

ə buk ə hæe a cock of hay, *ə drɔp ə æio* a drop of oil, *ə pɔ̀f ə wind* a puff of wind, *ə piis ə meet* a piece of meat, *nä rileešən ə dæˈn* no relation of theirs, *æot ə hiz šuuz* out of his shoes, *dəwɔ̀nt get nɔ̀þən æot ə hii* they will not get anything out of him, *ənðə pɔin ə gwæen* on the point of going, *näd ˈdl ə ɔi* nabbed hold of me, *wɔ̀n med ˈwɔˈk də fleš ɔf ə ðæ viŋgəz ən ðuðn get þænki væt* one might work the flesh off one's fingers, and one would not get thank'ee for it.

ə stands for 'on,' not for 'of,' in *šäən wi meet ən ə zɔ̀ndii?* shall we not meet him on Sunday?

Examples with *əv*.

wɔ ə in mɔ̀tš əv ə tempɔ lɔ̀ik? was he in much of a temper? *hi läft boəd sɔ̀idz əv iz mæoþ* he laughed both sides of his mouth.

Examples with *ən* (*ən*).

đii æv ˈäf ənt! you take the half of it! *ði eenə zid nɔ̈þən ənən* I have not seen anything of it, *tel əs al ənt!* tell me all about it! *þænki vɷ đə lenþ ənt* thank you for the loan of it, *əi bi əviɷd ən ən* I am afraid of it, *hiiz ə mæen naon velɷ bəd wɔts đə gud ənt tun?* he is a much known fellow, but what is the good of it to him? *wii hæd ə gud zɔ̈it ən əm* we had a good sight of them, *al ən əm* all of them, *đə trii wɔt ði saold al đem æpoz əf -ənz ded* the tree which I sold all those apples from is dead, *nɑ̈ wɔ̈n naoz wɔts əhed ənən* no one knows what is ahead of him.

As these examples show, *ə* and *ən* both occur in weak position. *ən* (*ən*) is chiefly used for 'of' before the enclitic *əm* them, *ən* him, it, (*i*)*t* it, (*i*)z is. *ə* is used for 'of' before non-enclitic words, also when they begin with a vowel. In the expression *sɔ̈mə boəþənt*, a little of each, we have both forms. *əv* is sometimes used instead of *ə*, but only before vowels.

v and *f* stand for *əv* of. In *-bi ði ə lɔ̈ikli sɷ²f ə mæn tə duu đik dɷ̈ob?* am I a likely sort of man to do that job? the *v* in *əv* was assimilated with the preceding *t* before it was dropped. In *ə mæen þrifti :sɷ² ˈvumən* a very thrifty sort of woman, the *v* is leaning on the following voiced sounds. Why in the former example it goes with the preceding, and in the latter with the following, sound, is due to the syllabification.

For examples of the treatment of *nət*, not, in weak position, see § 36.

The M.E. **wọle, wọlt** have in strong position become *wɑ̈* (*wul*), *ut* will, wilt; in weak position they are *l*, *ə*, *ut*, and *t*: *wiə zɔ̈n du đæt* we will soon do that, *điit ɷ²n ənɔ̈f ə tæt* you will earn enough at that.

M.E. **wọlde, wọldest** would, wouldst, have in weak position become *əd*, *d*, *əs*, *ud*, *us*: *didn ɔi ˈteli æot əd bii?* did I not tell you how it would be? *ˈđii snɑ̈d wɷ ə wɷ əni đəsnə teomə* you have known where it was, but you would not tell me. In affirmative sentences *d* is used for the second person, too: *əid* (*điid*) *gi æniþiŋ tə duu đæt* I would give anything to do that. In negative and interrogative sentences the forms *ud* and *us* are also used in weak position: *ˈđii -usn krɔ̈i lɔ̈ik ˈđæt, ust?* you would not cry like that, would you? *ud ˈɔ̈i? us ˈtii?* would I? would you? Here the principal stress is on the pronouns.

M.E. **scholde, scholdest** should, shouldst, are in weak position *šəd* (*šə, š*), *šəs* (*š*): *šəd ɔi let ət al bɔid əs tiz?* should I let it all be as it is? *šə đæe bi gid wæ²nən tu?* should they be given warning to? *ɔištink hiz gən rɔit ɔn, æs hiid bi bæk jiæ əgen əvđæ næo eos* I should think he has gone right on, or else he would be back here again (else), *šəstii naoən əgen?* should you know him again? *diiš džist lɔik tə ketš ən* you should just like to catch him.

§ 158. In unaccented syllables M.E. *ǫ* became *ə*, as in *hɔsbən* husband; this *ə* was syncopated before a following *m*, which formed a syllable as in *fædm* fathom, *seldm* seldom, *wizdm* wisdom. Already in M.E. *ǫ* might be dropped in **herne** (N.E.D.), O.Fr. **hairon**, which is Pewsey *æ¹n* heron.

M.E. *-old* becomes *o* after long accented syllable in *dreišo* threshold, and *-əld* after short accented syllable in *skæfəld* scaffold.

ǫr.

§ 159. M.E. *ǫr* becomes *æ* in weakly stressed 'for' and 'nor': *stink hiiz fit fæ đə dzɔb?* do you think he is fit for the job?

§ 160. In unaccented syllables *ǫr* has given *æ*, as in *eekæn* acorn.

u.

§ 161. Beside the weak nominative form *đi* = M.E. object form *þē̆*, there is also the weak *đə*, which goes back to M.E. *þū*, whose weak forms in early modern Engl. were **đu** and **đ** (Sweet, N.E.G., § 1077): *gâ ən zii əf đə käsn getə dzɔb tə trɔi ən jiæn sɔmət* go and see if you cannot get a job to try and earn somewhat.

M.E. **us** is *s* in *utii gis ə bit ə đæt stɔf?* will you give us a bit of that stuff?

M.E. **bute**, short for **būten**, is in weak position before voiced sounds in Pewsey *bəd*: *ju wipt wɔn in đə vɔiæ bəd næo* you threw one in the fire just now, *đə væ¹đæ hæos ɔəbəd wɔn* the last house but one.

The *ɔ* of *ɔp*, up, has in weak position been contracted with the preceding *â* of *gâ* into an *o*: *ɔi šə gop ən ziin, šänəi?* I shall go up and see him, shall I not?

§ 162. The M.E. *w*, which after the dropping of the following ending *e* in **sorwe, morwe**, etc., became vocalised into *u* in the 16th cent. (*Grundriss*, i, p. 898), has led to Pewsey *ə*. This *ə* often interchanges with *æ*, when it was not already preceded by

an *r*: *ærə* arrow, *belɷ* bellow, *vælɷ* fallow, *volɷ* follow, *hælɷ* cry, *həlɷ* hollow, *jelə* yellow, *mærə* marrow, *medə* meadow, *pilə* (*Grundriss*, i, p. 896) pillow, *šædɷ* shadow, *sərə* sorrow, *swɔlɷ* swallow, *spærə* sparrow, *tælɷ* tallow, *wilə* willow.

ur.

§ 163. Unaccented M.E. *ur* has become *ɷ*, as in *feevɷ* favour, *ənɷ* honour, *næebɷ* neighbour, *ruumɷ* rumour, *tæelɷ* tailor.

ü.

§ 164. In unaccented syllables *ü* is sometimes partly or wholly lost, as in *æktšəli* actually, *spâəs* I suppose.

Long Vowels and Diphthongs.

ē.

§ 165. The sentence-stress has co-operated in shortening the vowel of the Pewsey words, which in M.E. had ē̆ or ę̆ and now show *i*, as *kip*, *lik*, *nid* 'keep, leek, need' (see § 86, 2). Of a later date are the changes of *fiild* feel into *vil*, and *dio* deal into *dju*, which occur in sentences with the following stress-types: *·ɔi -duən -vil mɔ̀tš ən·klɔ̀in vɔt næo* I do not feel much inclined for it now, and *·điis naod əmæen -dju mâɷ đn wɔt đis teod* you have known a good deal more than you have told.

In the said cases the result of the influence of the accent has become the established sound of the word or is of a more occasional character. In others, strong and weak forms interchange, and do so more regularly.

M.E. þē̆, thee, is in weak position Pewsey *đi*—see last example! This *đi*, however, is then often dropped, and the function of person-signification is left to the personal ending (*s*, *st*) of the verb: *stink?* do you (dost thee) think? even *wɔts tink?* what do you think? The pronoun is regularly dropped and the ending is *st*, if **not** does not follow, in appended interrogative clauses: *đii kuzn elpit, kust?* you could not help it, could you? whereas the other personal pronouns in such clauses are always heard as *i* (*ɔi*) I, *ə* he, *ɷ* her, *əs* we, *i* you, and *tə* (*əm*) they.

The M.E. nominative ȝē̤, you, is Pewsey weak *i*: *ɔi wɔnts i tə duu dæt əlɔŋ əz iivənli -zi kæn* I want you to do that along as evenly as you can, *äəni?* have you not?

M.E. bē̤(n), be, is in weak position Pewsey *bi*: *bim insɔid æotədz?* are they inside out? *bi* is dropped in *diit šuɔ tä ən dæon* you will be sure to have him down (in wrestling).

The colloquial 'eint' for 'are not,' etc., is in Pewsey *eənt*, which may be shortened into *int*: *it iz nɔis, int?* it is nice, is'nt?

§ 166. Compounds of the old datives mē̤ and þē̤ with 'self' have *mi* and *di* (see above): *miseof*, *ðiseof* myself, yourself.

lɔik, like, as *lik* in *lædlik* and similar adverbs: *hii ziŋz mæen lædlik* he sings very loud.

On account of a half-strong stress ē̤ is preserved, as *ii* in *dželii* jelly.

ē̤r, ē̤r.

§ 167. M.E. ē̤*r* and ē̤*r* in unstressed words have become ɔ in *wɔ* were, *đɔ* there, *wɔ* where; *ɔi wɔ đɔ*[1] *tə seem tɔim* I was there at the same time. Forms as *wɔ*[1] and *đɔ*[1] in stressed position instead of *wäɔ đäɔ* are from the weak ones: *'wɔ[1]sn đi əlɔŋ wi 'hii đen?* were you not along with him then?

When ɔ in *wɔdn*, was not, through the lack of stress becomes very short, there is no time for a point-rise vowel, but the tongue keeps the *u* position from the *w*, as in *nɔ[u]n ən əm wudn ketšt* none of them was caught.

wɔ, were, is further reduced to ɔ after *u*, as in *ud 'ju naot fjuɔ tə ziit?* would you know it if you were to see it? and to *r* in *dral drɑ̊ hii* it was all through him.

ī.

§ 168. M.E. ī is preserved in the unstressed form of *ɔi* 'I,' which was shortened and thus escaped being diphthonged: *ɔi kən hæv it, känti?* I can have it, can't I? *wɔts du đæt fɔ? kɔz i did* what did you do that for? Because I did, *ɔi kudn gɑ̊ kɔz -i wɔ tu ɔold* I could not go, because I was too old.

This pronoun is often dropped before *spɑ̊ɔs* suppose: *ɔi bi kɔm tu leet spɑ̊ɔs* I have come too late, I suppose.

The M.E. preposition bī became shortened into bi when introduced in such compounds as bisīde (Sweet, N.E.G., § 1506). To these belongs Pewsey *bitɔimz* at times, which, in the sense of

'early,' was written in one word already in the 14th cent. (N.E.D.): *ɔi duuz ə bit ə hedžən bitɔimz* I do a bit of hedging sometimes.

ō.

§ 169. M.E. **nō, sō** appear in weak position in Pewsey as *nə, sə*, no, so: *:tisə dɯ²k* it is so dark, *ɔi wɔnt stɔp nə ·lɔŋgɯ næɔ* I won't stop any (no) longer now.

M.E. **ōn** has given the weak *ən* and *n* when used after adjectives and pronouns: *ə gudən*, a common intensifying adverb = 'much,' *ɔi naɔz wɔn ɔn ii zed it bəd ɔi duə nå witšən ɔn i twɯ* I know one of you said it, but I do not know which (one) of you it was, *ɔi duə nå husn tis* I do not know whose (one) it is.

As weak form of **one** in the sense of French 'on' *ə* is used: *wɔn kadu du ət, kudə?* one could not do it, could one? *wɔn känt sii wət ə bi ə duən* one cannot see what one is doing. Phonetically there is nothing to contradict this *ə* being a weak M.E. **ǫn, ǭn** (§ 157), but it may also stand for *ə* = he or they (§ 148), counting that the dialect as the reflexive pronoun for one uses *dɯseovz* themselves.

Pewsey *ao*, M.E. *ǭ* (§ 90, 3, *a*, and § 98, 1) is changed into *å* when the word containing this sound has not the principal stress in *ɔi duə -nå* I do not know, compared with *ɔi naɔz* I know, *šɯ²p -å velɯ* sharp old fellow. The adj. *aold*, old, also has *å* in some collocations which are felt as compounds: *åmæn* old man, *åduməɲ* old woman.

ǭr.

§ 170. 1. M.E. *ǭr* = O.E. *ǭr* has become *ə* in *kɔbəd* cupboard.

2. M.E. *ǭr* (Kluge-Lutz) = O.Fr. *or* has become *ɯ* in *trežɯ* treasure; or this form, as well as the by-form *trežɯ*, depends on M.E. **tresour**, early modern **tresüre** with suffix change (§ 175).

ǭ.

§ 171. The weak forms of *duu*, M.E. **dǭ**, are *də, d* like in spoken standard English, and *ə* in *ənə mætɯ witš* does not matter which. For the 2nd person stands *st ðiist dut* you do do it, *stink?* do you think?

The preposition 'to' is *tə, t*, and *d*, the latter before voiced *s*: *klås tænd* close to hand, *hɯ¹ eənt æd nɔþən teet* she has not had anything to eat, *hiiz hæŋən ɔn dzɯi fii kən pik ɔp wi ɯ²n ɔn əm* he is hanging on to see if he can pick up with any of them.

to is dropped between 'going' and a following infinitive: *wim gwæen ä wɔ*[2]. For other examples see § 36, 1.

M.E. **mōste** is *məs*: *dæe-məs ä ðə best ɔnt* they must have the best of it.

ọ̄r.

§ 172. M.E. ọ̄ answers to *ə* in the unaccented syllable of the interjectionally used *ələks!* look here!

ū.

§ 173. M.E. unaccented ū has become *ə* in *wɔšəs* wash-house. It is still kept as *u* in *u·evɔ* however.

ūr.

§ 174. M.E. **ūre**, our, is in weak position Pewsey *ɔ*: *lets ä ɔ nɔntš næo* let us have our lunch now.

M.E. ȝ**ūr**, your, is *jɔ*, whose *j* with a preceding z changes into *š*: *ðɔšɔ mɔni* there is your money.

Also in the compound of ȝūr with **self** it becomes *jɔ*: *·duənt pɔtšɔseof æotə ðə ·wæe fɔt!* do not trouble about it!

ūr.

§ 175. *ūr* has become *ɔ* or *šɔ*: *neetɔ* nature, *mižɔ* measure, *ventɔ* venture; *fjuutšɔ* future, *skriptšɔ* scripture, are words which owe their forms to influence from educated speech.

ei, ai.

§ 176. The weak forms of the pronoun *dæe*, M.E. þei, they, are *ðə*, *d*, and *ə*, the latter after assimilation of *d* with a preceding *t*: *dæe duənd ətal hæo ðəm gwæen liv* they do not know at all how they are going to live, *ðədə bi əšeəmd ɔnt* they ought to be ashamed of it, *let əm ä wətə wuo* let them have what they will.

The weak form of Pewsey *stræet* straight (see § 96, 1, *c*) is *stred*. This is used adverbially in connection with a following accented adverb, as in *stred əwæe* straight away.

§ 177. In unaccented syllables M.E. *ai* has become *ə* in *ələs* always, and is dropped in the medial syllable of *kɔmpni* company. In the names of the days of the week the substantive *dæe* may keep its full form, when it has half-strong stress: *zɔ́ndæe* Sunday; or become *ee*, *ðɔ́*[1]*sdee* Thursday; or *ii*, *zætədii* Saturday.

M.E. *-ail* has become *o* in *kæonso* counsel, *fjuo* fuel, *tæowo* towel.

eir.

§ 178. M.E. *eir* has become *æ* in ðæseovz themselves.

au.

§ 179. M.E. *au* may become Pewsey *ä* (§§ 97, 141). Supposing that M.E. preterite **mahte** (Sweet, N.E.G., § 1481) was the basis of Pewsey *med* might, it would then have become **mät*, which in weak position through shortening of the vowel gave *med*. This is now also the strong form. This development seems possible in the dialect, although the M.E. **mihte** was the commoner literary form; and it is questionable if a diphthonged or undiphthonged **mihte** would have given such a distinct *e*-sound as is heard in *med*. There is perhaps more probability that *med* is the continuation of a preterite **mæet* formed of present **mæs* may, and then weakened in the same way as we have seen in *stræet* > *stred* (§ 176); beside the type *zæe*, *zed* may have been of some influence: *-med ˈjuu slip dæon bɔi ɔn bɔi?* may you come down by and by? *-mes ˈtii gimə liiv?* may you give me leave? *-ðii ˈmesn ä tɔim təduu dæt* you may not have time to do that.

M.E. **bī cause**, because, is in weak position *kəs* or *əkəs*: *ɔi nao ðiis ɔvæon ət kəs ɔi zid i pik ət ɔp* I know you have found it because I saw you pick it up.

§ 180. M.E. *au* in unaccented syllable is absorbed by a syllable-forming *n* in *feznt* pheasant, M.E. **fẹ̄saunt** (Kluge-Lutz, *Engl. Etym.*).

§ 181. The influence of the sentence- and word-stress treated in this chapter is characterised by a reduction of words and syllables. There is also a phenomenon of a somewhat converse nature, namely, an inclination to form a new syllable of a word, so that a monosyllabic word becomes dissyllabic. This is caused through the influence of the quality of certain consonants, especially that of *l*. When *l* is preceded by an *æ*-vowel or *r*, an *o* or *ə* is often produced. This vowel then stands before or after the *l* or replaces it: *hærol* harl, *wɔ̀lold* world; *gæˈlo* girl (for other forms of the last two words, see § 12, 3), *pæˈlo* pearl; *džæro* jarl, *tšɔ̀iəd* child. Sometimes an *ə* is heard before *n* in *rɔ̀iən* rind, skin of bacon.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CONSONANTS.

§ 182. To facilitate the reading of the phonetic transcription ne of the most important changes of the Pewsey consonants ve already been treated in the sound-description of the dialect § 1–40). That was done under comparison with the spoken ndard English. We are now going to give a survey of the ırces of the Pewsey consonants, and shall then, as before, take o consideration the Middle English, Old English, and Old French ıguages.

Departing from the M.E. we shall treat the consonants in the ne order as Ten Brink does (§§ 99–106), with the exception ıt *n* is placed after the dentals instead of after the liquids. The ler will then be: the labials *p*, *b*, *f*, *v*, *w*, *m*; the dentals *t*, *d*, and *n*; the sibilant *z*; the sounds *š*, *ž*, *tš*, *dž*; the liquids *l*, *r*; d, finally, the other palatals and gutturals *k*, *sk*, *g*, *χ*, *h*, *j*, *ŋ*.

p.

§ 183. M.E. *p* has remained as *p*.

(*a*) M.E. *p* = O.E. *p*: *päm* palm, *päþ* path, *peekɔk* peacock, *pew* ar, *plæe* play, *plɔit* bad condition, *preest* priest, *splæiš* splash, *p²kt* mottled, *skæmpo* tread down, *kripo* cripple, *pɔpi* poppy, *slɔpi* ppy, *kip* keep, *rɔp* wrap, *rip* reap.

(*b*) M E. *p* = O.Fr. *p*: *pæen* pain, *peo* pale, *piɔt* part, *pææ* paw, *mɔ* plumber, *puoizn* poison, *kɔmpni* company, *sɔpɔ* supper.

(*c*) M.E. *p* = O.Fr. *b* is in *pɔs* purse.

The combination *sp* has often undergone metathesis already in E. (Sievers, *Ags. Gr.*, § 204, 3). The dialect has it still in *ps* hasp and *wɔps* wasp, whereas *krisp* crisp and *æspən trii* asp ve not.

b.

§ 184 1. M.E. *b* = O.E., O.Fr. *b* has remained in most positions.

(*a*) M.E. *b* = O.E. *b*: *bæet* bait, *bɔl* bawl, *bæg* beg, *beən* bean, *m* besom, *baol* bowl, *blästid* blasted, *blid* bleed, *blɔbɔ* cry, *breəd*

breathe, *brɔ̈in* brine, *kubi dæən* cower, *nibo* nibble, *gæb* gab, *hɔ̈b* hob, *rib* rib.

(*b*) M.E. *b* = O.Fr. *b* also remains before vowel: *nɔ̈mbɔ* number, *tšembɔ* chamber.

kukumɔ cucumber is only a seeming exception, being influenced directly from Latin **cucumer** (N.E.D.).

The words *krɔ̈m* crumb and *nɔ̈m* numb had M.E. and O.E. forms without *b*.

2. M.E. *b* has disappeared.

(*a*) M.E. *b* has disappeared between *m* and an *l* which was not vocalized into *o*, but has remained before this *o*. Thus a sort of 'grammatical change' arose in verbs ending on *-mble*, as forms with *mbo* exist by the side of forms with *ml*: *krɔ̈mbo* crumble, but *krɔ̈mlən* crumbling, *trimbo* tremble, *trimlən* trembling. The insertion of *b* began in late M.E. (Sweet, H.E.S., § 934). In 'crumb,' 'numb,' 'fumble,' 'jumble,' the *b*-forms do not appear in literature till in the 16th cent. (N.E.D.). For other examples see § 12, 3.

(*b*) M.E. *b* = O.E. *b* has disappeared when it became final after *m* in *klem* climb, *kwum* comb, *dɔ̈m* dumb, *wum* womb.

A M.E. *b*, which had no equivalent in O.E. but was inserted after *m* in M.E. (Ten Brink, § 100, *δ*), is not found at the end of a word: *dɔ̈m* thumb, but remains before vowel: *slɔ̈mbɔ* slumber.

v, f.

§ 185. Ellis (*On Early English Pronunciation*, v, p. 38) says that in the district to which Wiltshire and accordingly also Pewsey belong one of the conspicuous features which strike the visitor from any other part of England is the use of *v* initial in place of *f*.

As for the quality of this sound which impresses people from other districts as a *v*, I am inclined to think that, as far as Pewsey is concerned, it is neither a *v* nor an *f*, but something between both. With regard to the formation of *f*, it was observed (§ 20) that the lower lip was brought pretty high up against the upper teeth. This is also the case with the *v* (*f*) in question. On account of this raising of the lower lip, the friction channel goes not only between the upper teeth and between the teeth-edge and the lips, but also between part of the outside of the teeth and part of the inside of the lip. That makes the friction channel narrower.

Through this narrowness of the friction channel the air is better economized with, so that only very little is required to produce a hiss.[1] And as very little or no air is wanted directly from the lungs, there is sufficient behind the vocal cords for the voice to set in at the moment. Compared with the ordinary English *f* and *v*, this sound may be characterised as a lenis. And because it is a lenis it has the property of being sensible to the influence of stress (Sievers, *Grundzüge der Phonetik*[5], § 796) as well as to that of neighbouring sounds. *f* and *v* form, as it were, the two poles between which is found a more movable lip-teeth sound. Words beginning with this sound may approach to either of the two poles.

We therefore often find this *f* lenis approaching to *v* when the word is unstressed, as in *bin ə vel dæon* fallen down, but approaching to *f* when the word is stressed, as in *hii feo* he fell, and likewise approaching more to *v* after voiced sounds, as in *hii jeent mōtš ənklōin vət* he is not much inclined for it, but approaching more to *f* after breathed ones, as in *iz hii fit fə də džəb?* is he fit for the job?

Other instances of a certain movability of the lip-teeth spirants in the Pewsey dialect are: *hii wæ drâv kleen əəv iz ed* he was driven clean off his head, but *əəftə æmeriki* off to America; *leev gâ!* let go! but *tə lef skuo* to leave school. This movability, however, does not exclude the way of questioning adopted by Ellis (which words have *v*, and which *f*?), for in spite of the influence exercised on *f* lenis by stress and sound-vicinity, there is no denying a certain firmness of tendency, in the case of each single word, probably depending on its frequency in the dialect.

§ 186. The M.E. base of this *f* lenis (*v*) initial in words of West Saxon origin was a *v* (Ellis, v, p. 38; Kluge, *Grundriss*, p. 857; Sweet, H.E.S., § 728), which was fully developed in the southern dialects of the 12th century. As for its O.E. equivalent the authorities differ a little. Ellis (l.c.) and Sweet seem to assume that *v* was the original West Saxon sound, the latter being inclined to regard it as remains of a common West Teutonic stage

[1] I had different people to read my *f*-list, and I made the observation that in many cases the *f* was squeezed or pressed, so that the air driven through the friction channel did not seem to be blown directly from the lungs, but pressed forwards by means of the tongue and the lower lip only. This certainly happens when the tongue, in passing from a lower to a higher or from a back to a front position, diminishes the mouth cavity. The proof that such an *f* may be made by means of the air in the mouth only, without any air directly from the lungs, is that it may be formed during inhalation as well as during exhalation.

(H.E.S., § 520, compared with § 729), but Kluge says that the change from *f* to *v* probably fell in the 11th century, and thus regards *v* as a development independent of the other West Teutonic dialects, and in the beginning of words Sievers (*Ags. Gr.*, § 192) only mentions the breathed spirant.

§ 187. Now if with Ellis we proceed from the supposition that *v* was the original sound in West Saxon words—for the present leaving open the question what sort of a *v* it was—and remember that in the following lists (§§ 187, 188) the letters *f* and *v* simply denote that the sound, in the connection I heard the words, in case of *f* is more hissed, in case of *v* more buzzed, we get:—

1. M.E. *v* initial has remained in Pewsey. For M.E. uninitial *v* and M.E. *v* = O.Fr. *v*, see § 190.

M.E. *v* = O.E. *v*. To facilitate a comparison with Ellis's *f*-list (v, p. 38 f.), which represents another phase of Wiltshire,[1] the Pewsey pronunciation is first given of the Wiltshire words which Ellis and I have in common, and then of those whose pronunciation in Wiltshire is not given in Ellis's *f*-list. We accordingly have *v* both in Pewsey and Christian Malford in: *val* fall, *vel* fallen, *vælɔ* fallow, *vädɔ* father, *velɔ* fellow, *vetš* fetch, *vɔ̀it* fight, *vil* fill, *vɔ̀in* find, *vɔ̀iɔ* fire, *vɔ̀iɔhud* firewood, *vɔ̀st* first, *vist* fist, *vɔ̀iv* five, *vju* few, *vlɔk* flock, *vlii* fly, *vɔɔk* folk, *vɔ²k* fork, *vɔ¹ti* forty, *væot*[2] fought, *vaoɔ* four, *vrend* friend, *vreš* fresh, *vrɔ̀idii* Friday, *vrɔm* from, *vul* full, *vut* foot, *vɔ¹rə* furrow; and in the following Pewsey words for which the Wiltshire pronunciation is not given in Ellis's list: *väst* fast, *väsn* fasten, *vedɔ* feather, *viild* (*f*) feel, *vɔ̀io* file, *vin* fin, *vipɔns* fivepence, *vledžd* fledge, *vlent* flint, *vlɔ̀it* flight, *vlitɔz* flitters, *volɔ* follow, *vɔnd* fond, *vɔ¹tnɔ̀it* fortnight, *vädɔtiin* fourteen, *vriiz* freeze, *vɔ¹lɔn* furlong; *vret* fret has *f*-form in Ellis.

2. M.E. *v* (according to Ellis) initial is Pewsey *f*.

M.E. *v* = O.E. *v*. *f* or *vf* forms in Ellis's list which have *f* in Pewsey: *fæɔ* fair (adj.), *fæt* fat, *filþ* filth. In the following words for which Ellis has *v*-forms I have put down *f*-forms for Pewsey: *fiɔ* (but *əviəd* afeared) fear, *felt* felt, *fidl* fiddle, *fliis* fleece, *fliŋ* fling, *fluɔ* (also *v*) floor, *faold* (but *vålšuəd* W.W. fold-shore), *fæwo* fowl, *frii* free, *frɔg* frog, *frɔst* frost, *frɔɔþ* froth, *fɔs* fuss, *fɔ̀si* fussy; and

[1] Ellis's informant for the Wiltshire pronunciation of *f* was the Rev. Arthur Law, rector of Dauntsey, four miles north-north-east of Christian Malford, and his language is thus that of the Christian Malford phase.

[2] A form occurring beside *fɔ̀d*, and probably formed on the analogy of *vɔ̀in*, *vɔ̀ɔn*, find, found.

besides in some words whose Wiltshire pronunciation Ellis does not mention in his *f*-list: *færiš* fairish, *fædəm* fathom, *fiid* feed, *feək* trick, *fɷ¹k* firk, *flægz* reeds, *fleek* flake, *flii* flea, *flek* lard, *flikɷ* flicker, *flåt* float, *flɔd* flood, *flɔtɷ* flutter, *flɔŋ* flung, *fuud* food, *fɔstɷ* foster, *fæwo* foul, *frɔit* fright (beside *vrɔit*).

§ 188. In words of French or Romance origin the M.E. has *f*. This *f* has sometimes become *v* in Pewsey, but in most words it is *f*.

1. M.E. *f* = O.Fr. *f* has become *v*. If we continue to compare with Ellis's list, we have in Pewsey as well as in Christian Malford: *vɷ²mɷ* (P. also *f*) farmer, *veəs* (C.M. also *f*) face, *verət* ferret, *vərən* foreign, *veəst* (C.M. also *f*) feast.

Other Pewsey words of French origin, with *v*, which are not given for Wiltshire in Ellis's list: *væɷ* (P. also *f*) fair (sb.), *vuo* (P. also *f*) fool, *vräns* (P. also *f*) France.

2. M.E. *f* = O.Fr. *f* has become *f* in Pewsey in the following words in which C.M. (Ellis's list) has *v* or *vf*: *fæət* fault, *fəəls* (C.M. *vf*) false, *feevɷ* (C.M. *vf*) fever, *fɔin* fine, *flæel* flail, *fɷ²dž* forge, *fɔs* (C.M. *vf*) force (vb.), *fɔsti* fusty. Other words of French or Romance origin which are not mentioned for Wiltshire in Ellis's list are: *feed* fade, *fægit* faggot, *fæənt* faint, *fæərən* fairing, *fæþ* faith, *fæišən* fashion, *feət* fate, *feebo* feeble, *fes* fierce, *fleem* flame, *fluu* flue, *fluut* flute, *fɷ²fit* forfeit, *fɷ²m* form, *fɷ²tšən* fortune, *frɔɔd* fraud, *frä* ravel out, *frɔnt* front, *fræon* frown, *fruut* fruit, *fɷ¹* fur, *fɷ¹niš* furnish, *fɷ¹nitšɷ* furniture.

§ 189. 1. M.E. *f* final or medial has generally become Pewsey *f*.

(*a*) M.E. *f* = O.E. *f* final or in the combination *ft*: *dif* deaf, *snif* sniff, *stif* stiff; after the long vowel *ii* and the diphthong *ɔi* the first part of the *f* is often distinctly voiced: *šiif* sheaf, *tɷ¹f* turf, *lɔif* life, *nɔif* knife, *wɔif* wife; *käf* calf, *låf* loaf; *kräft* craft, *däft* daft, *lift* lift, *ləft* loft; before voiced sound in the originally compound word *hæɾfɷ* heifer.

(*b*) M.E. *f* = O.Fr. *f*: *biif* beef, *griif* grief, *seəf* safe, *stɔf* stuff, *skæfəld* scaffold, *sɔfɷ* suffer.

2. M.E. *f* = O.E. *f* has disappeared in the combination *ft*, which first became *v* + *t* lenis and then *d*, in the preposition *ädɷ* after.

3. M.E. *f* = O.E. *f* in the combination *ft* has become *v* before *z* after *t* had been dropped in *šävz* limbers; a co-operative factor was the analogy with *kävz*, calves, and others.

4. M.E. *f* = O.E. *f* final + a following *w* has become *ɸ*, see § 21.

5. M.E. *f* = O.E. *f* final of the unaccented *if* may become *v* before a voiced dental: *dəsn əbin grin lɔik ðæt əvz bin æot in ðə*

kål ånšit you would not have been grinning like that if you had been out in the cold all night.

§ 190. 1. M.E. *v* generally answers to Pewsey *v*. For M.E. *v* initial in West Saxon words, see § 186.

(*a*) M.E. *v* = O.E. *f* medial between voiced sounds, where the O.E. *f* was also a voiced spirant (Sievers, *Ags. Gr.*, § 192, 2): *ævət* eft, *feevə* fever. An exception is *hæfə*, § 189, 1, *a*.

(*b*) M.E. *v* = O.Fr. *v* initially and medially: *væli* valley, *væən* vein, *veo* veal, *veso* vessel, *væis* voice, *kövə* cover, *ævək* havoc, *nevju* nephew, *diseev* deceive, *riseev* receive.

2. M.E. *v* = O.E. *f* has become *b* before nasal in *əlebm* eleven, *hebm* heaven, *åbm* oven, *sebm* seven, *höpebm* Upavon. Through assimilation *sebm* has then become *sem*.

3. M.E. *v* has disappeared.

(*a*) M.E. *v* = O.E. *f* in *gii*, *gid* give, gave (probably on the analogy of *zii* see, *ā* have). Like lit. Engl. the dialect has dropped or assimilated medial *v* in *häk* hawk, *ed* head, *lə²d* lord, *leedi* lady, *umən* woman.

(*b*) M.E. *v* = O.Fr. *v* after *ə²* in *sə²* serve.

4. M.E. *v* = O.Fr. *v* has become *f* in *fitoz* victuals, food, *fåg* vogue.

W.

§ 191. 1. M.E. *w* = O.E. *w*, O.Fr. *w*, *u* has generally had the same development in the dialect as in lit. Engl. It remains initially in most cases: *wənt* mole, *wæedə* waiter, *wæet* weight, *wikə* neigh, also in the combinations *dw*, *kw*, *sw*, *tw*: *dwindl* dwindle, *kwilt* quilt (vb.), *skwuə* square, *swə²m* swarm, *twiŋko* twinkle, and has been dropped in *sə̊* so, *sə̊əd* (or *suəd*) sword, *sitš* such, *änsə* answer. For O.E. *w* medial and final after vowels which after being vocalised formed a diphthong with the preceding vowel in M.E., see §§ 97–99.

2. M.E. *w* has been dropped.

(*a*) M.E. *w* = O.E. *w* has been dropped initially before M.E. *ǫ*, *u* = *ud* would, *ut* wilt, *ul* wool, *umən* woman, *undə* wonder, *vaiəhud* firewood. The dropping of *w* in *ədæot*, by-form of *wiæot* without, may depend on a M.E. by-form **wuthout*. *w* before *ɔ* is kept in *wɔmm* womb.

(*b*) M.E. *w* = O.E. *w* is dropped in *ədə't* athwart, *əskəd* awkward, *ɔləs* always, *eepət* halfpennyworth, *æotədz* outwards, *zömət* somewhat, in most of these words from want of stress.

3. M.E. *w* = O.E. ȝ or *w* when medial after consonant is in Pewsey vocalised into *ə* or *ɤ*: *ærə* arrow, *belɤ* bellow, *həlɤ* hollow, *jelə* yellow, *swɔlɤ* swallow, *tælɤ* tallow, *widə* widow, *wilə* willow.

4. *f*+*w* has become *ɸ*, see § 21.

5. For a modern *w* which has developed out of an *ō*, see § 90, 4–6.

6. Here we may also think of the lip-rounding accompanying an *r* (§ 40), not only when it answers to M.E., O.E. *wr*, but in other cases too. Whether this lip-rounding has an historical connection with the old *wr* or is a peculiarity of the *r*, is a question to which I hope some time to come back.

m.

§ 192. 1. M.E. *m* has remained unchanged.

(*a*) M.E. *m* = O.E. *m*: *meen* mean, *mɔio* mile, *smæiš* smash, *əmɔk* shirt, *kɔmən* coming, *limən* cutting to pieces, *kɔmd* came, *jåm* W.W. yelm; *m* is often syllable-forming: *ænþm* anthem, *ætm*, *ənm* at them, of them.

(*b*) M.E. **m* = O.E. *w* through assimilation between not neighbouring sounds (Paul, *Principien*[3], p. 60) in *smäm* W.W. smarm (§ 72, 4).

(*c*) M.E. *m* = O.Fr. *m*: *mal* maul, *mjuo* mule, *dæmidž* damage, *trimbo* tremble, *æem* aim, *klæem* claim.

2. M.E. *m* = O.E. *m* has become *n* in assimilation with the following dental in *enti* (a by-form of *emti*) empty, *enent* empty (vb.).

3. Through euphemistic transformation (blending with 'hang') M.E. *mn* = O.Fr. *mn* answers to *ŋ* in *dæŋəd al!* damn it all!

t.

§ 193. 1. M.E. *t* has generally remained initially. When medial or final it has got the character of a lenis (Sievers, *Phonetik*[5], § 181), and may often become *d*.

(*a*) M.E. *t* = O.E., O.Fr. *t* initial: *teəm* tame, *tiəm* team, *tao* tow, *tuo* tool, *twɔd* toad, *træp* trap, *twiŋko* twinkle; *teebo* table, *tæelɤ* tailor, *tuåst* toast, *titš* touch, *träns* trance, *truo* trowel.

Initial *t* becomes a lenis in unstressed words when preceded by a voiced sound, and may develop into a *d* in *də* to, *dɔdɤ* t'other. When 'to' is preceded by a word ending in *d*, its *t* is assimilated with the *d* as in *ɔi wədn bɤ*ˑ*ndə* (from *bɤ*ˑ*nd tə*) *dæe ən kriznd*

istədee I was not born to-day and christened yesterday, *dəədə* (from *əəd tə*) *bi əšeəmd ənt* they ought to be ashamed of it.

(*b*) M.E. *t* = O.E, O.Fr. *t* medial is a lenis: *bitə* bitter, *blɔiti* blighty, *vlitə* flitter (sb.), *blästid* struck with lightning, *baolstə* bolster, *reftə* W.W. rafter (vb.); *gɔtə* gutter, *letəs* lettuce, *neetə* nature, *nåtis* notice, *altə* alter, *mästə* master.

The *t* in French words ending in *-ture* has remained in *neetə* nature, *natərəl* natural, *ventə* venture, *ventəsəm* venturesome.

Medial *t* often becomes *d*: between vowels: *bedə* better, *bədm* bottom, *bɔdə* butter, *glidə* glitter, *lændən* lantern, *sləədə* slaughter, *wəədə* water; *wædə* waiter; before *l*: *bədl* bottle, and short for Bottlesford, *tšidlənz* chitterlings, *kedl* kettle, *lidl* little, *stiŋ-nedl* sting-nettle, *əntɔidl* entitle; after $æ^2$: *gæ²də* garter, *pæ²dnə* partner, *pæ²də* porter. In *ədə*, after, the change *ft* > *t* > *d* is partly due to its being a word that often occurs in weak position.

(*c*) M.E. *t* = O.E., O.Fr. *t* is a lenis when final in the dialect: *bəət* boat, *eət* eat, *eevət* newt, *vɔit* fight, *vret* fret, *let* let, *meet* meet, *drəət* throat, *wæet* weight, *weet* wheat, *šift* shift, *baolt* bolt, *wæ²t* wart, *vist* fist, *preest* priest; *tšeet* cheat, *kənseet* conceit, *dæot* doubt, *neet* neat, *wæet* wait, *målt* moult, *gränt* grant, *sæ²t* sort.

Final *t* often changes from a lenis into a *d* before voiced sounds, and the *t* of the combination *ht* seems to have the lead in this development, as in *bɔəd* bought, *brəəd* brought, *fəəd* fought, *əəd* ought, *rəəd* written. This change is common in words occurring in weak position: *əbæod* about, *bəd* but, *əd* it, *led* let, *nəd* not. Thus double forms have arisen in *stræet* and *stred* straight; *med* might (vb.) has become the regular form in all positions (§ 179). Assimilation with the final *t* > *d* of a weak word and a following *d* takes place as in *zedæon* sit down.

(*d*) M.E. *t* = O.E. *þ* after a spirant: *drået* drought, *hɔit* height, *deft* theft; *heft*, lifting, is a late derivation of 'heave' (N.E.D.).

2. M.E. *t* has been dropped in the dialect.

(*a*) M.E. *t* = O.E., O.Fr. *t* when preceded by an *s* or *f* and followed by an *l*, *n*, or *m*: *brizoz* bristles, *bɔso* bustle, *kæso* castle, *iizn* Easton, *väsn* fasten, *grizo* gristle, *krizməs* Christmas, *lizn* listen, *mizltå* mistletoe, *dizo* thistle, *weezn ənt* wasting it, *wizo* whistle, *ræso* wrestle; *džəso* jostle; *əəfm* often. *t* has also disappeared in the verb ending *st* of the 2nd sing., when *not* or another word beginning with *n* followed: *bizn* bist not, *käzn* canst not, *kuzn* couldst not, *dəzn* dost not, etc. An exception is formed by *æstndii?* have you not? *t* is here the only sure mark of the

2nd person, as *d* in *dii* is very indistinct (§ 196). *diiz naod* thou hast known, *lesn* lest not, in case: *džist teek ələŋ ə drop ə æio lesn ðæ šudn bi ənï ðäæ* just take along a drop of oil in case there should not be any there. The dropping of this *t* took place in lit. Engl. in the 17th century (Sweet, H.E.S., § 929), and in Pewsey there still seems to exist a dislike to the sequence *stl*, as the *t* is dropped when these sounds become combined where two words meet, as in *dres(t) lɔ̈vli* dressed lovely.

(*b*) M.E. *t* = O.E. *t* became *d* in *ädæ* after, and was then dropped in the compound *zæænun* this afternoon; it has also been suppressed in *šävz* limbers, *æeþ* eighth.

(*c*) M.E. *t* = O.E., O.Fr. *t* in many cases where it stood or came to stand after *n*, especially when the word (or syllable) has weak stress. Here the *t* was absorbed by the preceding nasal which had a similar articulation. For the absorption of *t* in *nt* not and in *gwæent* going to, see § 36. Other instances are *vlenz* flints, *medlən zɔ̈ndi* mid-Lent Sunday, *presənli* presently, *ən ðə pɔin ə gwæen* on the point of going, *wii wen ɔp al təgeðæ* we went up all together. Final *t* is further dropped in the unstressed *sæ²v* or *sæ²f* sort of, sometimes in the preterite and past participle after consonant: *vetš* fetched, *dreiš* thrashed, *kep* kept, *wæ¹k* worked, where the dropping of *t* may be partly due to the influence of analogy from irregular verbs such as 'spread.'

d.

§ 194. 1. M.E. *d* has remained in the dialect.

(*a*) M.E. *d* = O.E., O.Fr. *d*: *dɯ̈t* dirt, *dɑ̊æ* door, *dɔ̈ŋ* manure, *dreək* drake, *dred* dread, *leədæ* sinew, *pɔ̈dl* puddle, *rɔ̈dæ* sieve, *undæ* wonder, *kɔ̈d* curd, *gæd* gossip, *eed* heed, *sneəd* W.W. snead, *tɑ̊æd* turd, *wæ²d* ward; *däns* dance, *dæenti* dainty, *dæəb* daub, *det* debt, *giædn* garden, *medl* meddle, *pæ²dn* pardon, *rædžiziz* radishes, *səədæ* solder, *kuæd* cord, *pleed* plead, *skæəld* scald, *stjupid* stupid.

(*b*) M.E. *d* = O.E., O.N. *ð* in *bæ¹dən* burden, *hæ²dn* harden.

(*c*) Owing to the nature of the articulation when the tongue passes from *l* and *n* to *æ* and from *n* to *l*, a *d* has arisen from the glide between these sounds in *heldæn trii* elder, *ðɔ̈ndæ* thunder, *dwïndl* dwindle. A *d* also arises when the tongue has to pass quickly the other way, that is, from *æ* to *n*. Thus we get the forms *wæ¹dn*, *wədn*, and *wədn*, was not, were not. This *d* is likely to be an arch-rim *d*. See also § 19, p. 17.

The *d* which is found in *dræond* drown, *viod*, *viild* feel, *fledžd* fledge, may be due to analogical influence from the past participle; a *d* is also heard in *vâlšuɔd* fold-shore, *wizənd* wizen.

2. M.E. *d* = O.E. *d* has become *đ* in *geđɔ* gather.

3. M.E. *d* has disappeared.

(*a*) M.E. *d* = O.E. *d* before *st* of the 2nd pers. sing. of *kud* could, *hæd* had, *šud* should, *ud* would, and *med* might (§ 19, 3).

(*b*) M.E. *d* = O.E. *d* in *aold* old before a substantive with beginning consonant: *â bidi* old Biddy, *â felɔ* old fellow, *â kiŋ* old king, *â mæn* old man, and also in *haold* hold in the exclamation *â ruum!* hold room! Before vowel *d* remains as in *âd umən* old woman, or else the *l* is kept as in *đɔəl ɔs* the old horse.

(*c*) M.E. *d* = O.E. *d* in unstressed syllables, after *n*: *almən* almond, *edlən* headland, *hɔ̀sbən* husband, *ɔ̀ilən* island, *đæozən* thousand, besides in *dreišâ* threshold, and often else after *n* *bræn njuu* brand new, *bæon tə du* bound to do, but also *bæon vɔ* bound for, *biɔ̀in* behind, *hɔ̀in legs* hind-legs, *græonz* sediment, but *ændz* hands, through influence from the singular *ænd*; though the *d* of *ændz* is weak, yet there is a difference between it and *kænz ə biɔ* cans of beer; *mɔ̀in!* mind! *rɔ̀iən* rind, *wɔ̀in* wind, see § 19, 2.

(*d*) M.E. *d* = O.E. *d* in *did* did, in which the final *d* disappears before stressed *ii* you: *huu dii ä đik dɔg ɔf ɔn?* whom did you buy that dog of?

(*e*) M.E. *d* = O.E., O.Fr. *d* when final in the first element of a compound, as in *bɔ̀ledid* bald-headed, *brɔ̀käst* broadcast, *græmfɔ* grandfather, *hæmfo* handful, *hæŋkɔ̀tšɔ* handkerchief, *zilɔp* seedlip.

(*f*) M.E. *d* = O.E. *d* often in *kinəm* kingdom.

đ and þ.

§ 195. M.E. *đ* initial.

1. The M.E. *th* initial which was voiced in the south (Sweet, H. E.S., § 728) has remained in Pewsey, when it stood before vowels.

M.E. *đ* = O.E. þ (Sievers, *Ags. Gr.*, § 200) initial: *đæŋk* thank, *đeedi* thatch, *đao* thaw, *đik* thick, *đɔ̀i* thigh, *đilɔ* shaft-horse, *đeŋk* think, *đin* thin, *đimbo* thimble, *đɔ'd* third, *đɔ'st* (þ) thirst, *đɔ'tiin* thirteen, *đizo* thistle, *đɔŋ* thong, *đɔ̀m* thumb, *đɔ̀ndɔ* thunder, *đɔ'zdee* Thursday, and also in the modern *đɔməmətɔ* thermometer (also called *wedɔgläs*).

2. M.E. *đ* = O.E. þ has become *d* before *r*: *dreiš* thrash, *dred*

thread, *dret* threat, *drii* three, *dripens* threepence, *dreisə̊* threshold, *drəət* throat, *drə̊* through, *drətl* choke, *drao* throw, *drəst* thrust. *þrifti* thrifty, *þrəiv* thrive, *þrəš* thrush (a disease) have þ and are probably borrowed from other dialects.

3. M.E. *đ* = O.E. þ answers to *t* in *næo ən tæn* now and then.

4. Pewsey *əm*, them, is Southern M.E. **hem**.

§ 196. M.E. *đ* medial.

1. M.E. *đ* medial has generally remained.

(*a*) M.E. *đ* = O.E. *đ* when the following vowel is still preserved: *əiđɷ* either, *vɷ²đən* farthing, *vädɷ* father, *fædm* fathom, *heeđən* heathen, *heđɷ* heather, *lædɷ* lather, *leđɷ* leather, *rädɷ* rather, *əđæot* without.

(*b*) M.E. *đ* = O.E. *đ* before weak final *e* in the word *bə̊əđ* (interchanging with *boəþ*) both and in verbs: *bäđ* bathe, *breeđ* breathe, *kloəđ* clothe, *smuuđ* smooth.

2. M.E. *đ* has become *d* in *smədɷ* (beside *smədɷ*) smother (O.E. **smorian**, Kluge-Lutz, *Engl. Etym.*), and further after *r* and before *l* in *mɷ¹dɷ* murder, *fidl* fiddle, *swədlən bændz* swaddling bands.

3. M.E. *đ* medial = O.E. þ has been dropped in *wiæot* without, and the weak *wɷ* whether.

4. The þ of *nəþən* nothing is surprising, as the simplex *điŋ* has *đ*.

5. M.E. *đ* medial before weak final *e* in some nouns and adjectives has become þ, after it became final through the loss of the weak *e*, probably on the analogy of 'path,' 'tooth,' etc. (§ 197): *bɷ¹þ* berth, birth, *depþ* depth, *filþ* filth, *frəəþ* froth, *vaoɷþ* fourth, *helþ* health, *lenþ* length, *məəþ* moth, *piþ* pith, *šiiþ* sheath, *strenþ* strength, *truþ* truth, *widþ* width, *reeþ* wreath.

§ 197. M.E. final þ.

1. M.E. final þ = O.E. þ is Pewsey þ: *breþ* breath, *brəəþ* broth, *kloəþ* cloth, *deþ* death, *fæeþ* faith, *hɷ²þ* hearth, *lə̊þ* loath, *nɷ²þ* north, *ə̊þ* oath, *päþ* path, *sæoþ* south, *tuuþ* tooth, *juuþ* youth.

2. The noun *bäđ* has *đ* on the analogy of the verb *bäđ* bathe.

3. M.E. final þ has become *f* in *zəif* (with the by-form *zəiv*) scythe, *sevnf* or *sevnf* seventh, *twceof* twelfth.

4. M.E. final þ has become *t* lenis in *zəit* in *mæen zəit əgə̊* a long time since (M.E. **sīđ**, O.E. **sīđ** = journey, time, Stratm.-Bradley), after *n* in *mənt* month, and in weak syllable in *eepət* halfpennyworth.

5. M.E. final þ, *đ* disappears in *wi* with, on account of its unaccentedness, and before *s*, *z* in *mənz* months, *klaoz* clothes, *päz* paths.

§ 198. M.E. *đ* initial = O.E. *þ* is wholly or partly assimilated with a preceding *t, đ, n*. Thus the *đ* of the pronoun *đii*, you, is assimilated with a preceding point-consonant; *t* + *đ* gave *t* in most cases: *bistii?* are you? *kəstii?* can you? could you? *stii?* do you? *mestii?* may you? *ustii?* would you? *šəstii?* should you? *utii?* will you? *šətii?* shall you? *ətii?* are you? And in the same way in the definite article, the pronoun *đæe* they, and the verb *điŋk* think: *ætə* at the, *wətə* what they, *letə päsən pæe!* let the parson pay! *stiŋk?* do you think?

t preceded by an *n* and followed by *đ*(*ii*) became *đ* through a partial assimilation with *n*; the *đ* really produced is often nothing but the audible release of the *n*-articulation: *biznđii?* are you not? *æstndii?* have you not? *mesndii?* may you not? *šætndii?* shall you not? *utndii?* will you not? *wəsndii?* (or *wəsndii?*) were you not? With other words than *đii* beginning with *đ*, the result of an assimilation between this *đ* and a preceding *t* which stands after *n* is generally *t* lenis: *eəntæe?* *eənte?* are they not? *jeəntæt?* is not that? *wədntæt?* was not that? *wii wədntə* we were not there, *twədntðin* it was not yours.

đ final + *đ* initial are assimilated into *đ*: *ədæe?* had they? *medæe?* might they? *huu lendidə* (*did tælə lendə*) *đik pekæks?* who lent you (did Taylor lend you) that pickaxe?

đ initial is partly assimilated to a preceding *f* and *s*, and may then become *þ* and *t*, as is shown by the following examples: *udntæe git tun fþə kud?* would not they give it to him if they could? *əs tik əs tədē* as thick as a paste.

n.

§ 199. 1. M.E. *n* has remained in Pewsey.

(*a*) M.E. *n* = O.E. *n, hn*, O.Fr. *n* has remained unchanged in the beginning of a word: *nek* neck, *næe* neigh, *niə* near, *nit* nit, *nå* no, *sneəd* W.W. snead; *neet* neat, *nees* niece, *nəs* nurse.

The *n* in the expression *nåd å̊l ə ði* may be due to a blending of 'laid hold of me' and 'nabbed hold of me'; *đə nəkənæə* (used by children), the canal, has got its initial *n* through the assimilation of *đ* (the) with *n* in 'canal,' and then another *đə* has been put before it. Pewsey *nəf*, if, is from 'and if,' 'an if' (N.E.D., s. 'if,' 8, *b*).

(*b*) M.E. *n* = O.E., O.Fr. *n* medial has also remained unchanged: *kənən* cunning, *ə'nəst* earnest, *ənəf* enough, *ənɨ* honey, *linən* linen,

hændi handy, *endžiz* hinges, *undɔ* wonder; *kɔ²nɔ* corner, *enəmɔi* enemy, *gɔvənɔ* governor, *bæonti* bounty, *indžin* engine, *pɔ²dnɔ* partner, *ventɔ* venture.

The O.Fr. front nasal *ñ*, M.E. *in* (Ten Brink, § 117*β*), has become *in*, as in *ləin* loin, *ɔinən* onion (§ 144, 2).

(*c*) M.E. *n* = O.E., O.Fr. *n* has generally remained when it stood or came to stand final: *bɛən* bean, *bræn* (*njuu*) brand new, *brɔin* brine, *kleen* clean, *vin* fin, *heeðən* heathen, *hin* hen, *kiin* keen, *mɔin* mind, *swɔ²n* sworn, *ween* wean; *beəkn* bacon, *tšæen* chain, *fræon* frown, *ɔ¹n* heron, *mæen* main, *reezn* reason, *skæen* skein, *spræen* sprain.

2. M.E. *n* has become *m*.

(*a*) M.E. *n* = O.E. *n* has become a syllabic *m* after labials in *əɔfm* often, *əɔpm* open, *sevmf* seventh, *wepm* weapon, *stɔpm* (for *stɔp ən*) stop it, and in the words in which *vn* became *bm* (§ 190, 2).

(*b*) M.E. *n*(*d*) = O.E., O.Fr. *n*(*d*) before *f* in *hæmfo* handful, *græmfɔ* grandfather.

(*c*) M.E. *n* = O.E. *n* has become *m* through assimilation forwards, as in *imi tɔim* in my time, *zɔmɔm* some on (of) them, *witɔm* which on (of) them.

3. M.E. (?) *n* has become *d* in *sæyktəmǎdios* sanctimonious through analogical influence from 'mood' or 'mode.'

4. M.E. *n* = O.E. *n* has become a nasal *v* (written *n*) in *hævn* have it.

5. M.E. *n* = O.E. *n* has become *ŋ* before *k* in the conjunction (*ə*)*ŋkees* in case.

6. M.E. *n* has been dropped.

(*a*) M.E. *n* = O.E. *n* before *st* in *käst*, *kəst* canst.

(*b*) M.E. *n* = O.E. *n* after *l* in *brikhio* brick-kiln, *lɔimkio* lime-kiln.

(*c*) M.E. *n* = O.E. *n* in the past participles *brâk* broken, *tšâs* chosen, *tâɔ* torn, broken through influence from the preterite.

(*d*) In *eepɔt* halfpennyworth.

7. M.E. *n* = Fr. palatal *n* answers to Pewsey *n* in *minənet* mignonette and to *g* in *mægifɔi* magnify, swell out, *igərəns* ignorance.

Z.

§ 200. O.E. *s* was a breathed spirant in all positions, but began perhaps to become voiced between voiced sounds (Sievers, *Ags. Gr.*, § 203). For the M.E. of the southern counties it is assumed that *s* was voiced everywhere in West Saxon words except in such

combinations as *st* (Sweet, H.E.S., § 728). This M.E. *z* is still preserved in the Pewsey dialect in this way, that, as a general rule, initial *s* is gradually voiced, final *s* is gradually breathed, and medial *s* is voiced.

1. M.E. *z* = O.E. *s* initial is in Pewsey gradually voiced and should properly be marked *sz*: *sæe* (*szæe*) say, *see* sea, *sikstiin* sixteen, *sao* sow (vb.), *sup* a small drink. It sometimes sounds more *s*, sometimes more *z* (see Ellis's remark on the initial *s* in West Somerset; Elworthy, *The Dialect of West Somerset*, Engl. Dial. Soc., vol. xvii, p. 69), and in a number of words there seems to be a propensity to the more voiced initial: *zætɔdii* Saturday, *zid* saw, *zed* said, *zik* sick, *zilɔp* seedlip, *zæo* sow (sb.), *zun* soon.

In the combinations *sk*, *sl*, *sm*, *sn*, *sp*, *st*, initial *s* is breathed.

2. M.E. *z* = O.E., O.Fr. *s* (*z*) medial is generally voiced when it stood between voiced sounds; if, through the loss of weak final *e*, *z* became final in the modern dialect, it is properly *zs*: *bizm* besom, *buzm* bosom, *bizi* busy, *bleez* blaze, *deezi* daisy, *dizi* dizzy, *vriiz* freeze, *ðæozən* thousand, *wizo* weasel, *wiznd* wizen; *kɔzn* cousin, *meezoz* measles, *mɔzo* muzzle, *puðzi* nosegay, *reezn* reason, *seezn* season, *sizɔz* scissors. In *dismo* dismal, *mesnɔ* masoner the combinations *sm*, *sn* are treated as initial because of the syllabification. In *mɔso* morsel, *pæso* parcel, *päsən* parson, and other words in which an *r* has been lost before *s*, this is chiefly breathed. This is also the case with most words where the stressed syllable which begins with *s* is preceded by a weak one, as in *bisɔid* beside, *kənsidɔ* consider, *diseev* deceive, *miseof* myself, *riseev* receive, but *dizeez* disease, perhaps in assimilation with the final *s*, which is chiefly voiced. *veso*, vessel, had M.E. *ss* (Kluge-Lutz, *Engl. Etym.*), and *änsɔ* answer, as well as *blɔsəm* blossom, originally had a dental before *s*. Yet in the M.E. combinations *stl*, *stn*, after *t* was dropped, *s* seems to have obtained voice in modern time, especially when it followed an *i* (§ 193, 2, *a*).

3. M.E. *z* = O.E., O.Fr. *s* final is gradually breathed after vowels and voiced consonants in Pewsey; after short vowels it is more breathed than voiced, and after long vowels the reverse: *ges* guess, *kis* kiss, *bräs* brass, *krɔɔs* cross, *guus* goose, *hæos* house. Especially in the endings *s* and *es* of verbs and nouns the voiced element is distinct: *brænz* brains, *flægz* reeds, *duuz* does, *kɔmz* comes. Final *z* + *j* may become *ž* (§ 35).

The *s* of endings and unstressed words is characterised by a certain movability between *s* and *z* regulated by syllabification,

stress, and neighbouring sounds;[1] thus one says: *zæɔnɯn* this afternoon, but *smɔ̈²nən* this morning and *ðɐəstɔim* this time, *-kɔz i ·did* because I did, *-kɔz i wɔ tu ·aold* because I was too old, but *-əkɐs ·ɔi zid ðə* because I saw you, *ä zɔm ɔnəm* have some of them, but *iz ðæt sɔ̈m ɐ ðɔi duɔnz?* is that some of your doings? *ɐvriðiŋz wɔ bad* everything that was bad, but *əstik ɔs tɔdž* as thick as todge.

š.

§ 201. 1. M.E. *š* is in Pewsey *š* in the same position as in lit. English. A parasitic *i* is often heard in connection with the Pewsey *š*, not only medially and finally but also initially, when *š* stands after or before vowel (§§ 4, 34).

(*a*) M.E. *š* = O.E. *sc* initial: *šækoz* shackles, *šædɔ* shadow, *šeəm* shame, *šɔ̈²p* sharp, *šift* shift, *šæodɔ* shoulder, *šriik* shriek, *šreŋk* shrink; medial and final: *blɔ̈š* blush, *dreišə̊* threshold, *mæiš* mash, *ræišɔ* a thin slice of broiled ham, *splæiš* splash; *æištrii* ash-tree, *fleiš* flesh, *vreš* fresh.

(*b*) M.E. *š* = O.Fr. *ss* (= *š*): *bæšfo* bashful, *brɔ̈šɔ* brusher, *bušo* bushel, *krɔ̈š* crush, *finiš* finish, *fɔ¹niš* furnish.

2. Lit. English *š* = Prov. *tz* (Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*) has become *š* through the influence of a preceding *d*, in *rædžiziz* radishes.

tš.

§ 202. 1. M.E. *tš* has remained in Pewsey.

(*a*) M.E. *tš* = O.E. *č*: *tšäf* chaff, *tšææk* chalk, *tšep* cheap, *tšao* chew, *tšuɔ* W.W. choor; *britšiz* breeches, *kitšən* kitchen, *stretšɔ* stretcher; *bɔ̈ntš* (against standard English *bɔ̈nš*) bunch, *kutš* couch-grass, *drentš* drench, *intš* inch, *leetš* leach, *retš* pull out, *reetš* reach, *sitš* such.

(*b*) M.E. *tš* = O.E. *t* (*c*) + ȝ in *ɔ²tšɔd* orchard. The same change takes place in the modern dialect when *t* and *j* meet (§ 34).

(*c*) M.E. *tš* = O.Fr. *ch*: *tšæen* chain, *tšäns* chance, *tšɔ̈²dž* charge, *tšeet* cheat, *tšimli* chimney, *hæŋkɐtšɔ* handkerchief, *brææntš* branch, *brâtš* broach, *kæotš* couch, *preetš* preach, *titš* touch.

(*d*) M.E. *tš* = old Picard. *ch* only in *kitš* or *ketš* catch.

2. M.E. *tš* = O.E. *č* in the unstressed *sətš* such, through a slip of the tongue may become *s* before consonant, when the *š* is put in the

[1] This is more or less the case with all words with *s*, and counts for the difficulty of ascribing *s* or *z* to each single word of a word-list.

beginning of the word: *wi ben tšos vuoz* we are not such fools, *dæe kudn grao šos liks ɔp dæɯ* they could not grow such leeks up there, but *ud ˈɔi bi sətš ə ˈfuul dəstink?* would I be such a fool, do you think?

dž.

§ 203. M.E. *dž* has remained.

(*a*) M.E. *dž* = O.E. *cȝ* or *ȝ* after *n* only occurs medially and finally: *bridž* (*brudž*) bridge, *drɔndž* (from O.E. *þringan* E.D.D.) drunge, *eedž* edge, *endžiz* hinges, *vledžd* fledge, *ridžən* ridge, *seedž* sedge, *sendž* singe, *wedž* fasten.

(*b*) M.E. *dž* = O.Fr. *j* or *g* (before *e*, *i*): *džæmz* door-posts, *džæændɯs* jaundice, *dželii* jelly, *džibət* gibbet, *džibɔz* W.W. gibbles, *džɯˈni* journey, *indžin* engine, *gɯˈdžənz* coarse flour, *pidžən* pigeon, *bɯˈdž* barge, *geedžbrik* W.W. gauge-brick, *lɔdž* lodge, *mæændž* mange, *stræændž* strange.

Of uncertain origin are *džɔgo* joggle and *džæænt* jaunt (N.E.D.).

l.

§ 204. M.E. *l* has either remained or become *o* in Pewsey. This *o* is characteristic (§ 12). But on account of dialect mixture, spelling pronunciation, and, above all, the effects of analogy, it is not so easy to find the formula for this change in the modern dialect, and it is therefore difficult to trace a distinctly limited law for the development. In O.E. (Sievers, *Ags. Gram.*, § 183) and in the English of the sixteenth century (Kluge, *Grundriss*, i, p. 860), there were at least two pronunciations of *l*. One was the common *l* and the other was a guttural one. The Pewsey *l* is also of two kinds; one is divided and postdental, the other has become *o*. This *l* was probably guttural when it received the lip-rounding of *o*.

1. M.E. *l* has remained in Pewsey.

(*a*) M.E. *l* = O.E., O.Fr. *l* before vowels: *belɯ* bellow, *beli* belly, *tšiklən* chuckling, *vælɯ* fallow, *pilə* pillow; *tšimli* chimney, *dželəs* jealous, *læelək* lilac, *plästɯ* plaster. Also the vowel of a following word has a preserving effect on a preceding *l*. Examples, § 12, 3.

(*b*) M.E. *l* = O.E., O.Fr. *l* in stressed words, especially when it stood after a guttural vowel and before *d* or *t*, or when it stood after these consonants: *baold* bold, *bɔdl* bottle, *kaolt* colt, *dwindl* dwindle, *gaold* gold, *hændl* handle, *kitl*, *kedl* kettle, *mizltå* mistletoe, *aold* old, *pɔdl* puddle, *sɔɔlt* salt, *sædl* saddle, *šɔtl* shuttle, *drɔtl*

throttle, *wɔtl* wattle, *wɑ̄ˑldl* world, *jelt* yelt; *altɔ* alter, *maold* mould, *skæfəld* scaffold. In *viod* beside, *viild* feel, *d* is excrescent. Other forms pronounced against the rule are *tšɔ̄iəd* child, *hiot* W.W. hilt, *kwiot* quilt (vb.), all having *i* before the vocalised *l*; *wɔ̄iold* wild (beside *wɔ̄ild*) is a hybrid form that has *o* before *l* kept, but *mɔ̄ild* mild has not, probably through external influence. Such forms as *teod* told, *yeod* yelled, are influenced by the infinitive forms *teo*, *yeo*.

Note on the other hand *eebo* able, but *eebltə* able to with *l*, probably on account of the following *t*. If *o* instead of *l* is heard after *d* or *t*, which rarely happens, it may be regarded as an influence of analogy from the numerous group in which final *l* is interchanging with *o* according to the rule given § 12, 3. Then the word in question has an inflectional form or a derivative where *l* comes to stand before an audible vowel: *medo* (*medlən*) meddle, *mido* (*midlən*) middle, *nido* (derivative?) needle, *prætɔ* (*prætlən*) prattle, *spindo* (*spindli*) spindle.

In the sixteenth century there was a provincial pronunciation *boud* bold (Ellis, iii, p. 883; Sweet, H.E.S., § 908), in which *l* was dropped and substituted by the *u*-sound. In Pewsey we have seen that *l* produced a *u*-glide before *ld* (§§ 75, 4; 90, 3) without being dropped, and the probability is that *l* was never entirely dropped in such words in strong position.

(*c*) M.E. *l* = O.E., O.Fr. *l* between a guttural vowel and *s* when *s* was not inflectional: *baolstɔ* bolster, *fɔ̄ls* false; but of 'else' we have *eoz* in *nɔ̄þən eoz*, and *æˑˢls* and *æˑˢs* = or else.

(*d*) M.E. *l* = O.E., O.Fr. *l* generally in the combination *al* (§§ 69, 3; 101, 4).

(*e*) M.E. *l* = O.E., O.Fr. *l*, in the few words where *l* is followed by *b*, *p*, *þ*; it seems to be of a somewhat undecided nature, probably owing to influence from the written language. It is sometimes pronounced like the common *l* as in *filþ* filth, or it becomes *o* as in *heoþ* health; sometimes it has the character of a guttural *l*, the back of the tongue being high and the lip-rounding minute, as in *bɔ̄lb* bulb, *help* help, *jelp* yelp, when the word is stressed, but can disappear in weak position, as in *gɑ̄ ən əp ɔi kɔ̄t ðə grɑ̄s* go and help me cut the grass, and in the by-form *pupət* pulpit.

2. In the majority of dialect words ending in *l*, this *l*, with a tolerable regularity, becomes *o* after *æə*, *æi*, *æo*, *ɔi*, *ɔ̄i*, *æ*, *e*, *i*, *u*, or other consonants than *d*, *t*, provided that *l* was followed by a pause or a word beginning with a consonant sound.

(*a*) M.E. *l* = O.E., O.Fr. *l*: *šæo* shall, *sæeo* (or *sæo*) sail, *æowo* owl, *mɔ̀io* mile, *pigeoz* berries of hawthorn, *seo* sale, *bio* bill, *mio* meal, *tuo* tool, *bɔ̀bo* bubble, *fɔ̀mbo* fumble, *nibo* nibble, *wægo* waggle, *tæko* tackle, *ræso* wrestle; *fæeo* (*fæo*) fail, *sæio* soil, *spuɔio* spoil, *pɔ̀io* pile, *peo* pale, *pio* peel, *vuo* fool, *džiboz* W.W. gibbles, *trimbo* tremble, *trɔ̀ifo* trifle, *eego* eagle, *seygo* single, *treeko* treacle, *džɔso* jostle.

Before vowels *l* is consequently preserved. These words, therefore, have forms with *o* or *l* according as their places in the sentence and the following sounds vary, as in *pɔ̀io* pile, *pɔ̀ilə fægəts* pile of faggots, *mesndii əz weo gɑ̂ wiəm?* may not you as well go with them? *wiiv ə naod ən kɔ̀s pɔ'ti wel əvɑ̊æ næo* we have known him curse pretty well before now, *·hii šə bi ðæ tə ·meet i, əi ·nao hi šæo* he shall be there to meet you, I know he shall, *ɔ̀i šl eetən* I shall eat it. Other examples with *o* and *l* interchanging in the same word are given § 12, 3.

On account of these changes experienced by the same word in different positions or within its own form system there is free scope for the complications caused by the influence of analogy, so that just as *o* may come in before and after *t* or *d*, so *l* may appear in these words where we should expect *o*.

(*b*) M.E. *l* = O.E. *l* before *k* in *beokn* or *bækn vul* intoxicated, *miok* milk, *siok* silk; *bæok* bulk is also pronounced *bɔ̀lk*, but even in this form *l* is sometimes dropped.

(*c*) M.E. *l* = O.E. *l* before *f*, *v*: *seovæ* silver, *šeof* shelf, *tweof* twelfth, *tweov* twelve, *miseof* myself. Yet forms with *l* are not rare in case of 'self' and its compounds.

3. M.E. *l* has been dropped, and in some cases absorbed or assimilated with a preceding vowel.

(*a*) M.E. *l* = O.E., O.Fr. *l* in the same cases as in lit. English and a few others, as is already mentioned (§ 69, 2*b*, 4, 5, 6; § 75, 2*c*, 3; § 77, 2*b*, 3; § 142, 1*a*; § 145).

(*b*) M.E. *l* = O.E. *l* before *m* in *jɑ̊m* (with a pronunciation different from those given in W.W. s. **elm**) W.W. elm, and before *b* in *məəbərəhændid* left-handed.

M.E. (*a*, *ǭ*) *l*, (*ǫ*) *ll* = O.E. (*ea*; *á*, *o*-) *l*, (*o*) *ll*, O.Fr. (*ō*) *l* has a decided inclination to be dropped when it is final, as in *vutbɔə* football, but it is often restored through a generalisation of the *l*-forms, which occur before vowel as in *də həəl ənt* the whole of it, *skwəəl æot* squall out, *trɑ̂lə hup* trundle a hoop.

This generalisation of the *l*-forms is supported by influences from

other dialects, and perhaps also by the circumstance that sometimes the dropping of *l* here encounters the danger of making a word unintelligible or of mistaking it for another word. Thus a certain striving for distinctness or for not being misunderstood makes people avoid saying *bao* bow for *baol* bowl, *rao* row for *raol* roll, *tao* tow for *taol* toll, *hå* hoe for *hål* whole, etc.

(*c*) M.E. *l* = O.E. *l* in *aold* old, *haold* hold, *ɔɔl* (a by-form of *al*) all, in special cases (§§ 12, 169).

(*d*) M.E. *l* = O.E., O.Fr. *l* in unstressed syllables: *ɔɔfo* offal, *dismo* dismal (§ 149), *hæmfo* handful, see further §§ 152, 157, 176.

§ 205. The original rule for the vocalisation of *l* seems to have been that *l* remained before and after dentals (especially *d* and *t*), and that vocalisation took place (*a*) finally before consonants or a pause; (*b*) medially before consonants; (*c*) in syllables which had not the principal accent. This rule has then been disturbed by different influences.

r.

§ 206. M.E. *r* = O.E. *hr*, *wr*, *r*, O.Fr. *r* has remained before vowel, and therefore also in some cases before *l*. The Pewsey *r* is accompanied by lip-rounding (§ 40): *ræen* rain, *rɔp* wrap, *rä* raw, *reed* read, *rio* reel, *rid* rid, *riŋko* wrinkle, *rɔiət* riot, *råb* robe, *ståri* story; *hærol* and *hɷ²l* harl.

§ 207. M.E. short vowel + *r*, when *r* stood or came to stand final or before consonant (except *l* in some words), has become *ɷ¹*, *ɷ²*, or *ɷ* (§ 15). M.E. long vowel + *r* has become an *ɷ*-diphthong.

1. M.E. *r* = O.E., O.Fr. *r* together with a preceding *i*, *u*, and in a few words with a preceding *e*, *ē* (§§ 72, 2, *a*; 106, 1), has become Pewsey *ɷ¹* (§§ 74, 78, 109, 115).

2. M.E. *r* = O.E., O.Fr. *r*, together with a preceding *a*, *o*, *e*, has become *ɷ²* (§§ 70, 72, 76, 103, 106, 112).

3. M.E. *r* = O.E., O.Fr. *r* after long vowels has generally become an *ɷ*, which forms diphthong with the preceding vowel (§§ 80, 83, 85, 87, 89, 91, 93, 95; 96, 1, *f*; 98, 1, *e*, 2; 119, 122, 124, 127, 131, 134, 140). In a few words long vowel + *r* has become *ɷ¹* after the vowel had been shortened: *ɷ¹nəst* earnest, *lɷ¹n* learn (§ 87, 1), *vɷ¹ti* forty (§ 98, 3), or the word had received a weak by-form as in *jɷ¹* year (§ 85, 2).

§ 208. M.E. *r* = O.E., O.Fr. *r* after short vowel has been dropped, when it was followed by an *s*, *þ* (*ð*): *ææs* arse, *äþt* earthed, *bɔ̀ster* burster, *kɔ̀stæd* custard, *kɔ̀s* curse, *fiəs*, *fes* fierce, *vɔ̀st* first, *fɔs* force, *hɔs* horse, *mɔsə* morsel, *nɔ̀s* nurse, *pæsə* parcel, *päsən* parson, *pɔ̀s* purse, *wɔ̀s* worse, *wɔ̀þ* (by-form to *wæ¹þ*) worth, and besides in *æt ət* art, *smäm* smear (§ 72, 4), *wɔ̀lod* world, *gɔ̀lə* girl.

k.

§ 209. 1. M.E. *k* has remained.

(*a*) M.E. *k* = O.E. guttural *c* and the *k* of other Teutonic dialects has remained in all positions except initially before *n*: *kedl* kettle, *kip* keep, *kitšən* kitchen, *kaolt* colt, *kåv* fellow, *kæə* cow, *kɔ̀f* cuff, *kleen* clean, *klɔg* clog, *krå̀k* croak, *krao* crow; *eəkæ* acre, *ɔ̀ks* ox, *wikæ* W.W. whicker, *krɔ̀k* crook, *feək* trick, *fæ¹k* W.W. firk, *læ²k* lark, *lik* leek, *mɔ̀k* muck, *smɔk* shirt, *spek* speck, *week* weak, *stæ²k* (also *stæ²f*) *neekid* stark naked; *kædl* (origin?) W.W. caddle.

Of Welsh origin is *pæ¹k ɔ̀p* W.W. perk up (Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*), in Pewsey also used in the phrase *pæ¹k ɔ̀p wɔ̀ns jiæz* listen (*Anglia*, I, p. 95, l. 81).

(*b*) M.E. *k* = O.Fr., O. Picard. *c* = *k*: *kærət* carrot, *kå̀ət* coat, *kå̀tš* coach, *kuæd* cord, *kɔ̀væ* cover, *klæem* claim, *kläs* class, *klea* clear, *klås* close, *kræən* crown, *krɔ̀š* crush, *kwɔ̀liti* quality, *kwæ²t* quart, *kwɔ̀iət* quiet, *beəkn* bacon, *blæŋkət* blanket, *bɔ̀kət* pail, *klæ²k* clerk, *æwək* havoc, *puæk* pork, *trɔ̀ŋk* trunk.

2. M.E. *k* = O.E. *k* has disappeared before *n*: *nii* knee, *nɔ̀if* knife, *nit* knit, *nɔk* knock, *nao* know.

sk.

§ 210. The M.E. combination *sk* has remained.

(*a*) M.E. *sk* = O.E. *sk* (which regularly has given *š*) initial, under the influence of synonyms and isonyms of O.N. origin, or O.N. *sk*: *skəət* W.W. scaut (§ 97, 2), *skio* skill, *skin* skin, *skreəp* scrape, *skriitš* screech (of birds), *skup* scoop, *skæ¹f* scurf, *skwəl æot* squall out, *skɔ̀i* sky. Medially the change into *š* is sometimes prohibited by metathesis in O.E. **ácsian**, M.E. **axen**, Pewsey *æəks*, and similarly in *tɔ̀sk* tusk. The preterite *æəst* asked is an adaptation of the *askt* of the lit. language. Of uncertain origin are *skæg* tear, *skæmpo* tread down.

(*b*) M.E. *sk* = O.Fr., O. Picard. *sc* (= *sk*): *skæflən* scaffolding, *skæəldɔ* scalder, *skɔ³lət* scarlet, *skæən* skein, *skriptšɔ* scripture, *skrɔ̀f* scruff, *skwɔt* squat, *skwuɔ* pane, *əskeəp* (*əkskeəp*) escape.

g.

§ 211. 1. M.E. *g* has remained unchanged.

(*a*) M.E. *g* = O.E. guttural spirant (Sievers, *Ags. Gram.*, § 206, 2), or answering to the *g* of other Teutonic dialects: *gæd əbæot* go gossiping, *gal* gall, *gælɔ* frighten, E.D.D. gally, *gændɔ* gander, *geət* gate, *geðɔ* gather, *giis* geese, *gäni* W.W. gawney, *gidiedid* giddy-headed, *gaold* gold, *guus* goose, *gåɔ* gore, *gɔ̀m* gum, *gɔ̀ts* guts, *glidɔ* glitter, *glao* glow, *grɑ̈s* grass, *greev* grave, *græe* gray, *grɔ̀im* grime, *grao* grow, *grɔ̀nt* grunt. Of O.N. or Continental Teutonic origin is *g*: *gæbl åvɔ* gabble over, *gäp* yawn, *gii* give, *ges* guess, *grɔ̀mbo* grumble; *bigin* begin has its *g* from the preterite forms (Ten Brink, § 120). Of uncertain origin are *gæb* gab (*ðə gift ə ðə gæb*), *gɔk* gawk.

(*b*) M.E. *g* = the O.E. guttural explosive which stood medially or finally either geminated or in the combination *ŋg*: *dɔg* dog, *frɔg* frog, *jiɔwig* earwig; for *bæg* beg, see Kluge, *Grundriss*, i, p. 841. Known from M.E. time only are *big* big, *klɔg* clog, *flægz* reeds, *gæg* gag, *pig* pig; from M.E. **wagge** is derived *wægo* waggle (sb.). Of O.N. origin are *bæg* bag, *leg* leg, *lɔ̀g* drag, carry, *kətæn lɔ̀g* a beam over the fireplace where the bacon is smoked, *ɔ̀gli* ugly. Of unknown origin is *skæg* tear. W.W. 'hedge-peg,' the berry of the blackthorn (also called 'hedge-pick' and 'hedge-speak'), is in Pewsey *edžpeək*.

For O.E. *ŋg*, see 2.

(*c*) Of Celtic origin is *mægət* maggot and *twig* twig: *džist twig hii gwæen əlɔn!* just come and see him going along!

(*d*) M.E. *g* = O.Fr. *g*: *gærət* garret, *gɔ²dɔ* garter, *geedž* engage, *geedžbrik* W.W. gauge-brick, *gæe* gay, *gizəd* gizzard, *gæot* (*gā*) gout, *gɔ¹džənz* gurgeons, *gɔ̀tɔ* gutter, *glɔri* glory, *grɑ̈nt* grant, *griif* grief, *gruo* gruel; *bɔ²gn* bargain, *eego* eagle, *džɔgo* joggle (from the beginning of the 16th century, N.E.D.), *mɔ̀ŋgro* mongrel, *seŋgo* single; of Picard. origin is *g* in *giɔdən* garden.

2. M.E. *g* has disappeared.

(*a*) M.E. *g* = O.E. guttural spirant before *n*: *næt* midge, *nä* gnaw.

(*b*) M.E. *g* = O.E. guttural explosive after guttural *n* (*ŋ*), Sievers, *Ags. Gram.*, § 215, Ten Brink, § 120, *β*: *dŏŋ* manure, *lŏŋ* lung, *dəŋ* thong, *riŋ* wring, *jŏŋ* young, but has remained like in lit. English (Sweet, H.E.S., § 922) *liŋgə* linger, *məŋgə* monger, and *ləŋgə* longer.

χ.

§ 212. M.E. χ, written *gh*, in O.E. written *h* (= χ), was a breathed palatal or guttural spirant. It stood before *t*, and has in Pewsey had the same development as in lit. English.

1. M.E. χ = O.E. *h*: *brŏit* bright, *vlŏit* flight, *vŏit* fight, *hŏit* height, *lŏit* light, *nŏit* night, *plŏit* plight, *tŏit* tight, *wæet* weight; *rŏit* right, *stræet* straight, *slŏit* slight, *brəəd* brought, *bəəd* bought, *fəəd* fought, *dəəd* thought, *rəəd ɔiən* wrought iron; the history of *blŏiti* blighty goes to the seventeenth century only (N.E.D.). Here may also be placed *drået* dry time.

2. M.E. χ = O.E. *h* is *f* in *dräft* draught, *läftə* laughter, *läft* laughed.

h.

§ 213. M.E. *h* was written *h* when it had become a mere aspirate already in O.E., or at least in early M.E., and when it answered to O.Fr. *h*; it was written *gh* when it had become an aspirate during its M.E. development. In the latter case it was a χ in M.E., and as such either palatal or guttural according to the quality of the preceding vowel (Ten Brink, § 122).

1. M.E. initial *h* = O.E., O.Fr. *h* is treated differently with different ages and individuals, as already remarked (§ 23). A universal rule for the use of this sound cannot, therefore, be given. In the language of John Cripps it was mostly retained, and with him there is reason to believe that the use of *h* was inherited and not acquired. Yet he sometimes dropped it, although he very rarely put it in the wrong place. Thus the word 'head' was pronounced *ed* in *hi ə bin ə ·hŏt ŏi ɔɔ dæt mi ·ed* he has hit me right over my head, *åvə ·ed ən jiəz in det* over head and ears in debt, and in compounds *edlənz* headlands, *gidiedid* giddy-headed, *bləked* blockhead, and others, and yet *h* was heard in *utndii ·hit di ·hed?* would you not hit your head? and to avoid hiatus after *ə* in *əhed* ahead. It is the same in *dəəlɔs* the old horse and *wə'k lŏik ə hɔs* work like a horse, *buk ə hæe* cock of hay, although hiatus is

not always provided for, as shown by the expression *nao ə ee frəm ə kæoz vut* know an A from a cow's foot.

Sometimes the accentuation seems to be decisive: *·hii kudn eop ət, ·kudə?* he could not help it, could he? *·hii udn dut ·fii kən ·heop ət* he would not do it if he can help it, *twɔ ·hɔ¹, nət ·ði* it was she, not I, *wii duənâ ·wɔt ɔ ə ·dən wit* we do not know what she has done with it, *·gi ɔ ɔ ·djuu!* give her her due! but not seldom stressed forms appear without *h*, as in *·kip ·ii ən let ·ɔ¹ gâ!* keep him and let her go! *kəm ən æv ·äf ənt næo!* come on, have half of it! *əi ·âp sâ, bəd ðim əfræəd ənt* I hope so, but I am not sure, *näd ·âl ə ði* laid hold of me, *wâənii bi tə ·evi fɔ hïï?* will you not be too heavy for him?

As first word of a sentence the word *hɔ¹* pretty regularly retains its *h*: *hɔ¹ naod al əbœodəd al də wæe ləŋ* she knew all about it all the way long, but *zɔ¹ fit fɔ dik džəb?* is she fit for that job? *let ɔ¹ gâ!* let her go! It is the same with the interrogative *huu* who.

The pronoun *hii* has preserved its *h* in most positions where it was not enclitic, and thus also when it is unstressed, in sentences where otherwise it might be mistaken for *ii* you; compare *ði zid hii* I saw him, and *ði zid ii* I saw you. Where such a mistake cannot easily be made, as for instance after an imperative *kip ii!* keep him! *h* may be dropped. And in this possibility we may see one reason for the preservation of *h* in this word: *wɔ ·hiit ə mɔ³kət?* was he at the market? *ðim ·šuɔ hi wɔ ·đɔ¹* I am sure he was there. The form *ə* he, which cannot be confounded with *ii* you, never has *h*: *ði naod wɔ ə wɔ* I knew where he was.

In the word *hænd*, hand, of the following examples it is possible that the disappearance of *h* is due to the shifting of the preceding *t* to the following word: *đɔ wɔ zəmən đɔ klâs tænd* there were some of them close to hand, *džist ændəs đvɔ dik æks ut*, just hand me over that axe, will you, compared with *gi əs đi hænd*, give me your hand.

It seems almost impracticable to subject the use of *h*, even in the language of an individual, to distinct rules. Out of some ninety sentences, each containing a form of the verb *ä, hæv* have, there are a good many complying with the usage indicated above, but there are also enough specimens left to make one desist from trying to find some regularity in it. This being so, it is, however, a rare thing to hear *h* in such words as *hio* eel, *hɔgli* ugly, where *h* is not etymologically justified; it only happened when the word was used

emphatically. Yet in *vɔ̀iwhud*, firewood, *h* was regularly inserted. Similarly in *brikhio* brick-kiln, but not in *lɔ̀imkio* lime-kiln.

2. M.E. final *h* = O.E. *h*, at Chaucer's time only an aspirate, has disappeared in *hɔ̀i* high, *nɔ̀i* nigh, *bæo* bough, *dao* dough, *plæo* plough, *trao* trough.

3. M.E. final *h* = O.E. *h* has become *f* in *kɔf* cough, *dwɑ̀²f* dwarf, *ənɔ̀f* enough, *rɔ̀f* rough.

j.

§ 214. 1. M.E. *j* = O.E. palatal spirant ȝ has become *j*: *jåm* W.W. yelm, *jɛlɑ* yellow, *jelp* yelp, *jelt* young sow-pig, *jɑ¹* year, *jɑ̀k* yolk, *jɑ̀k* yoke, *jəndɑ* yonder.

2. M.E. *j* = O.E. palatal spirant ȝ has disappeared in *ii* you, *iis* yes, *ɛət* (weak form *it*) yet, and sometimes in *iɑ* year. Conversely, an intrusive *j* is heard in *jiən* earn, *jiəwig* earwig, *iiɑ* hear, *jiɑ* here, *jiərərɔ̀it* hereright, and sometimes in *jed* hed, *jɑ²m* arm, possibly through the influence of a preceding possessive *mi*, *ði*, my, your.

ŋ.

§ 215. 1. M.E. *ŋ* has generally remained.

(*a*) M.E. *ŋ* = O.E. *ŋ* (Sievers, *Ags. Gram.*, § 184): *əmeŋ* among, *kliŋ* cling, *dɔ̀ŋ* manure, *lɔŋ* long, *præŋk* prank, *sɔŋ* song, *streŋ* string, *wœŋki* a small beer, *ðeŋk* think, *tɔ̀ŋ* tongue, *weŋ* wing, *wiŋk* wink, *riŋ* wring, *riŋko* wrinkle, *jɔ̀ŋ* young.

(*b*) M.E. *ŋ* = O.Fr. *ŋ* (Behrens, *Grundriss*, i, p. 835): *blæŋk* blank, *eŋk* ink, *plæŋk* plank, *ræŋk* rank.

(*c*) M.E. *ŋ* is inserted in *nəitəŋgɔ̀lo* nightingale.

2. M.E. *ŋ* has become *n*.

(*a*) M.E. *ŋ* = O.E. *ŋ* regularly in the unstressed syllables of the present participles and substantives: *kɔ̀mən* coming, *prikən* pricking, *ðinən* thinning, *æksənz* banns of marriage, *iivnən* evening, *lɔ̀itnən* lightning, *mɑ²nən* morning, *ridʒən* ridging, *ʃilən* shilling, *jɑ¹lən* yearling.

(*b*) M.E. *ŋ* = O.E. *ŋ* sometimes in unstressed words: *ələn* along, *brin* bring, *sprinən* springing.

(*c*) M.E. *n* (*ŋ*) = O.E. *n* (*ŋ*) in *kinəm* kingdom, *lenþ* length, loan, *strenþ* strength (Sievers, *Ags. Gram.*, § 184, § 215 Anm. 1).

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glide, *glɔid*, 88, 1, *a*.
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glow, *glao*, 98, 1, *a*; 211, 1, *a*.
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gnat, *næt*, 69, 1, *a*; 211, 2, *a*.
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goat, *gɑ̊t*, 90, 1, *a*.
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green, *grïin*, 86, 1, *b*.
greet, *grïit*, 86, 1, *b*.
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grief, *grïif*, 123, 1, *a*; 189, 1, *b*; 211, 1, *d*.
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gullet, *gɔ̈lət*, 114, 1.
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holiday, *hɔ̀lidee*, 96, 2, *a*.
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kite, *kɔit*, 88, 1, *b*.
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lamp, *læmp*, 101, 1, *a*.
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late, *leet*, 79, 1, *a*.
lather, *lædɤ*, 69, 1, *d*; 196, 1, *a*.
laugh, *läf*, 97, 1, *d*; 212, 2.
laughter, *läftɤ*, 97, 1, *d*; 212, 2.
law, *lä*, 97, 1, *a*.
lay, *læe*, 96, 1, *c*.
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lead, *led*, 82, 2, *b*.
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leader (a sinew), *leədæ*, 84, 1, *c*; 194, 1, *a*.
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leak, *leek*, 82, 1, *a*.
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lean (adj.), *leen*, 84, 1, *c*.
leap, *liip*, 82, 3, *b*.
learn, *læ¹n*, 87, 1; 207, 3.
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leather, *leðæ*, 71, 1, *b*; 196, 1, *a*.
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leech, *leetš*, 84, 1, *a*; 202, 1, *a*.
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length, *lenþ*, 71, 1, *a*; 196, 5; 215, 2, *c*.
lest not, *lesn*, 193, 2, *a*.
let, *let*, 84, 2, *b*; 193, 1, *c*.
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lie, *lòi*, 88, 1, *c*.
life, *lòif*, 88, 1, *a*; 189, 1, *a*.
lift, *lift*, 73, 1, *b*; 189, 1, *a*.
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loath, *låþ*, 90, 1, *a*; 197, 1.
lock, *lək*, 75, 1, *a*.
lodge, *ləðž*, 110; 203, *b*.
loft, *ləft*, 75, 2, *a*; 189, 1, *a*.
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mix, *miks*, 73, 1, *a*.
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sworn, *swə̂ən*, 91, 1, *b*; 199, 1, *c*.
swum, *swɔ̀m*, 77, 1, *a*.
swung, *swɔ̀ŋ*, 77, 1, *a*.

T.

table, *teebo*, 117, 1, *c*; 193, 1, *a*.
tackle, *tækl*, 69, 1, *a*; 204, 2, *a*.
tailor, *tæelɐ*, 139, 1; 163; 193, 1, *a*.
tale, *teəl*, 79, 1, *a*.
talk, *tææk*, 69, 5.
tall, *tal*, 69, 3.
tallet, *tælət*, 69, 1, *d*.
tallow, *tælɐ*, 69, 1, *a*; 162; 191, 3.
tame, *teəm*, 79, 1, *a*; 193, 1, *a*.
tan, *tæn*, 69, 1, *a*.
tar, *tɐ²*, 72, 1, *a*.
taste, *teest*, 117, 1, *f*.
tatter, *tætɐ*, 69, 1, *a*.
tea, *tee*, 120, 1, *b*.
teach, *teetš*, 84, 1, *c*.
team, *tiəm*, 82, 3, *b*; 193, 1, *a*.
tease, *teez*, 84, 1, *c*.
teat, *tet*, 104, 1.
tell, *tel*, 71, 1, *a*.
ten, *ten*, 86, 4.
terrible, *tɐ²bl*, 106, 2, *b*.
than, *n*, 148.
thank, *đæŋk*, 195, 1.
that, *t*, 148.
thatch, *đætš*, 69, 1, *a*; 195, 1.
thaw, *đao*, 98, 1, *c*; 195, 1.
thee, *đii*, 86, 1, *a*; 151; 165.
theft, *đeft*, 193, 1, *d*.
their, *đɐ*, 153.
them, *əm*, *m*, 148; 195, 4.
themselves, *đəseovz*, 178.
then, *tæn*, 69, 1, *a*; 195, 3.
there, *đɐ*, 167.
thermometer, *đəməmətɐ*, 195, 1.
they, *đæe*, 96, 1, *d*; 176; 198.
thick, *đik*, 73, 1, *b*; 195, 1; 198.
thief, *þiif*, 86, 1, *d*.
thigh, *đɔ̀i*, 195, 1.
thiller, *đilɐ*, 73, 1, *a*; 195, 1.
thimble, *đimbo*, 73, 1, *d*; 195, 1.
thin, *đin*, 73, 1, *b*; 195, 1.
thing, *điŋ*, 73, 1, *a*.
think, *đeŋk*, 71, 1, *a*; 195, 1; 215, 1, *a*.
thinning, *đinən*, 215, 2, *a*.
third, *đɐ'd*, 74, 1; 195, 1.
thirst, *đɐ'st*, 195, 1.
thirteen, *đɐ'tiin*, 195, 1.
this, *đik*, 73, 1, *b*; 86, 3, *b*; 155.
this afternoon, *zæənun*, 154; 193, 2, *b*; 200, 3.

this morning, *smɑ²nən*, 200, 3.
thistle, *dizo*, 73, 1, *a*; 193, 2, *a*; 195, 1.
thong, *dɔŋ*, 75, 1, *f*; 195, 1; 211, 2, *b*.
thorn, *þɑ²n*, 76, 1.
thou, *də*, 161.
though, *dɑ̊*, 98, 5.
thought, *dɔ̊t*, 98, 6; 212, 1.
thousand, *dæozən*, 94, 1, *a*; 194, 3, *c*.
thrash, *dreiš*, 71, 4, *a*; 193, 2, *c*; 195, 2.
thread, *dred*, 84, 2, *b*; 195, 2.
threat, *dret*, 195, 2.
threaten, *dretn*, 82, 2, *b*.
three, *drii*, 86, 1, *d*; 195, 2.
threepence, *dripens*, 88, 2; 195, 2.
threshold, *dreišo*, 71, 4, *a*; 158; 194, 3, *c*; 195, 2; 201, 1, *a*.
threw, *draod*, 99, 1.
thrift, *þrift*, 73, 1, *a*.
thrifty, *þrifti*, 73, 1, *a*; 195, 2.
thrive, *þrɔiv*, 88, 1, *a*; 195, 2.
throat, *drɔ̊t*, 90, 2, *b*; 193, 1, *c*.
throttle, *drɔtl*, 75, 1, *a*; 195, 2; 204, 1, *b*.
through, *drɑ̊*, 94, 3; 195, 2.
throw, *drao*, 98, 1, *c*; 195, 2.
thrush, *þrɔš*, 77, 1, *a*; 195, 2.
thrust, *drɔ̊st*, 77, 1, *d*; 195, 2.
thumb, *dɔ̊m*, 77, 1, *b*; 184, 2, *b*; 195, 1.
thunder, *dɔ̊ndɔ*, 77, 1, *a*; 194, 1, *c*; 195, 1.
Thursday, *dɔ²sdee*, 78, 1, *b*; 177; 195, 1.
thy, *ði*, 155.
thyself, *diseof*, 166.
tick, *tik*, 73, 4.
tide-time, *tɔ̊idtɔ̊im*, 88, 1, *a*.
tidy, *tɔ̊idi*, 88, 1, *a*.
tie, *tɔ̊i*, 88, 1, *c*.
tight, *tɔ̊it*, 73, 4; 212, 1.
tile, *tɔ̊io*, 88, 1, *c*.
time, *tɔ̊im*, 88, 1, *a*.
tire, *tɔ̊iɔ*, 89, 1.
to, *tə*, *t*, *d*, 171.
toad, *tɔ̊od*, 90, 4; 193, 1, *a*.
toast, *tɑ̊st*, 128, 1, *c*; 193, 1, *a*.
toes, *tɑ̊z*, 90, 1, *a*.
todge, *tɔdž*, 110.
token, *tɑ̊kən*, 90, 1, *a*.
told, *teod*, 204, 1, *b*.
tolerably, *tɑ²bliš*, 112, 2; 154.
toll, *taol*, 75, 4.
tongue, *tɔŋ*, 77, 1, *a*; 215, 1, *a*.
took, *tuk*, 92, 2.
tool, *tuo*, 92, 1; 193, 1, *a*; 204, 2, *a*.
tooth, *tuuþ*, 92, 1; 197, 1.
topple, *tɔpl*, 75, 1, *a*.
torn, *tɑ̊ɯ*, 91, 1, *b*; 196, 6, *c*.
touch, *titš*, 113, 2; 193, 1, *a*; 202, 1, *c*.
tow, *tao*, 98, 1, *b*; 193, 1, *a*.
towards, *tɑ̊ədz*, 93.
towel, *tæowo*, 133, *a*; 177.
tower, *tæowɔ*, 134, 2.
town, *tæon*, 94, 1, *a*.
traction, *trækšən*, 102, 1.
trail, *træen*, 138, 1, *b*.
trance, *träns*, 142, 2, *b*; 193, 1, *a*.
transport, *tränspɑ̊ət*, 112, 4; 142, 2, *b*.
trap, *træp*, 69, 1, *a*; 193, 1, *a*.
treacle, *treeko*, 117, 1, *c*; 204, 2, *a*.
treasure, *trežuɔ*, 105, 1, *a*; 170.
treat, *treet*, 120, 1, *a*.
tree, *trii*, 86, 1, *d*.
tremble, *trimbo*, 104, 2; 184, 2, *a*; 192, 1, *c*; 204, 2, *a*.

[illegible], *trifle*, 125, *a*, 204, 2, *a*.
[illegible], *trim*, 74, 1, *b*.
[illegible], *trod*, 108.
[illegible], *troll*, 148, 2; 204, 36.
[illegible], *tube*, 130, 2.
[illegible], *tube*, 113, 1, *a*.
[illegible], *tuo*, 94, 2; 213, 2.
[illegible], *tuo*, 148, 1; 193, 1, *a*.
[illegible], *tuoso*, 132, *b*.
[illegible], *tum*, 99, 1
[illegible], 113, 1, *a*, 209, 1, *b*.
[illegible], 113, 1, *a*.
[illegible], 99, 1, 190, 1.
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible], 104, 1, *a*.
[illegible], 189, 1, *a*.
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible], 104, 1.
[illegible]
[illegible], 94, 1.
[illegible]
[illegible], 141, 1.
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

warmish, *wɑ²miš*, 70, 1, *a*.
warp, *wɑ²p*, 70, 1, *b*.
warrant, *wərənt*, 102, 5.
wart, *wɑ²t*, 70, 1, *a*; 193, 1, *c*.
wash, *wœiš*, 69, 7.
wasp, *wɔpɐ*, 183, *c*.
waste, *weest*, 117, 1, *f*; 193, 2, *a*.
water, *wɔɔtɑ*, 69, 1, *a*; 4.
wattle, *wɔtl*, 69, 1, *a*; 204, 1, *b*.
wave, *weev*, 79, 1, *a*.
way, *wæe*, 96, 1, *c*.
we, *wii*, 86, 1, *a*.
weak, *week*, 84, 1, *c*; 209, 1, *a*.
weau, *ween*, 82, 1, *a*; 199, 1, *c*.
weapon, *wepm*, 84, 2, *b*; 199, 2, *a*.
wear, *wäɑ*, 83, 3.
weary, *wiiri*, 86, 1, *b*.
weasel, *wizo*, 82, 4, *a*; 200, 2.
weave, *weev*, 82, 1, *a*.
wedge, *wedž*, 71, 1, *a*; 203, *a*.
Wednesday, *wensdee*, 71, 1, *a*.
weed, *wiid*, 86, 1, *d*.
weeping, *wiipən*, 86, 1, *b*.
weight, *wæet*, 96, 1, *a*; 191, 1; 193, 1, *c*; 212, 1.
went, *wen*, 193, 2, *c*.
were, *wɑ*, 167.
were not, *wɑ¹dn*, 167; 194, 1, *c*.
wet, *wet*, 84, 2, *a*.
whack, *wæk*, 69, 1, *a*.
whale, *weəl*, 79, 1, *a*.
wheat, *weet*, 84, 1, *c*; 193, 1, *c*.
wheel, *wiil*, 86, 1, *d*.
whelp, *welp*, 71, 1, *a*.
whereas if, *wɑzəf*, 155.
whether, *wɑ¹*, 72, 5; 153; 196, 3.
which, *witš*, 73, 1, *a*.
whicker, *wikɑ*, 209, 1, *a*.
while, *wɔio*, 88, 1, *a*.
whirling puff, *wɑ¹lipɔf*, 156.
whisper, *wispɑ*, 73, 1, *a*.
whistle, *wizo*, 73, 1, *a*; 193, 2, *a*.
white, *wɔit*, 88, 1, *a*.
whole, *hål*, 90, 1, *a*.
whooping-cough, *hupənkɔf*, 92, 2.
wide, *wɔid*, 88, 1, *a*.
widow, *widə*, 73, 1, *a*; 191, 3.
width, *widþ*, 73, 1, *a*; 196, 5
wife, *wɔif*, 88, 1, *a*; 189, 1, *a*.
wild, *wɔild*, 88, 1, *a*; 204, 1, *b*.
will, *wio*, 73, 1, *a*; 157.
willow, *wilə*, 73, 1, *b*; 162; 191, 3.
wilt, *ut*, 77, 2, *b*; 157; 191, 2, *a*.
wind, *wɔind*, 88, 1, *a*; 194, 3, *c*.
wine, *wɔin*, 88, 1, *a*.
wing, *weŋ*, 71, 1, *f*; 215, 1, *a*.
wink, *wiŋk*, 73, 1, *a*; 215, 1, *a*.
wipe, *wɔip*, 88, 1, *a*.
wire, *wɔiɑ*, 89, 1.
wisdom, *wizdəm*, 73, 1, *c*; 158.
wise, *wɔis*, 88, 1, *a*.
wish, *wiš*, 73, 1, *d*.
with, *wi*, 155.
without, *əðæot*, 94, 1, *a*; 156; 191, 2, *a*; 196, 1, *a*; 3.
wivel, *wifo*, 73, 1, *a*.
wizen, *wizənd*, 73, 1, *a*; 194, 1, *c*; 200, 2.
woe, *wå*, 90, 1, *a*.
woman, *umən*, 77, 2, *c*; 190, 3, *a*; 191, 2, *a*.
womb, *wum*, 90, 6; 184, 2, *b*; 191, 2, *a*.
women, *wimən*, 73, 1, *c*.
wonder, *undɑ*, 77, 2, *a*; 191, 2, *a*; 194, 1, *a*; 199, 1, *b*.
wool, *ul*, 77. 2, *a*; 191, 2, *a*.
work, *wɑ¹k*, 72, 2, *b*.
workday, *wɑ¹kədee*, 72, 2, *b*; 156.
worked, *wɑ¹k*, 193, 2, *c*.
world, *wɑ¹dl*, 78, 1, *a*; 3, *b*; 181; 204, 1, *b*; 208.

worse, *wɔ̈s*, 78, 3, *c*; 208.
worth, *wɔ̈*[1]*th*, 78, 1, *a*; 3, *b*; 208.
would, *ud*, 77, 2, *b*; 157; 191, 2, *a*.
wouldst, *us*, 157.
wrap, *rɔp*, 183, *a*; 206.
wreath, *reeþ*, 84, 1, *c*; 196, 5.
wrestle, *ræso*, 69, 1, *a*; 193, 2, *a*; 204, 2, *a*.
wretch, *retš*, 71, 1, *a*.
wring, *riŋ*, 215, 1, *a*.
wrinkle, *riŋko*, 73, 1, *a*; 206.
wrist, *rist*, 73, 1, *b*.
written, *råd*, 90, 1, *a*; 193, 1, *c*.
wrong, *rɔŋ*, 75, 1, *e*.
wrote, *råd*, 90, 1, *a*.
wrought, *rɔ̈d*, 98, 6; 212, 1.

Y.

yawn, *jän*, 79, 2.
ye, *ii*, 86, 1, *a*; 165; 214, 2.
year, *jiɔ̈*, 85, 2; 207, 3; 214, 1,
yearling, *jɔ̈*[1]*lən*, 156; 215, 2.
yelled, *jeɔ̈d*, 204, 1, *b*.
yellow, *jelɔ̈*, 71, 1, *c*; 162; 1[illegible] 3; 214, 1.
yelm (elm), *jåm*, 192, 1, *a*; 2[illegible] 3, *b*; 214, 1.
yelp, *jelp*, 71, 1, *b*; 204, 1[illegible] 214, 1.
yelt, *jelt*, 204, 1, *b*; 214, 1.
yes, *iis*, 214, 2.
yesterday, *istɔ̈dee*, 71, 2, *b*.
yet, *eət*, 71, 3, *b*; 214, 2.
yew, *juu*, 99, 1.
yoke, *jåk*, 90, 1, *c*; 214, 1.
yolk, *jåk*, 75, 3; 214, 1.
yon, *jɔ̈ən*, 75, 2, *b*.
yonder, *jɔ̈ən*[illegible]*ɔ̈*, 75, 2, *b*; 214[illegible] 1.
young, *jɔ̈ŋ*, 77, 1, *a*; 211, 2, [illegible] *b*; 215, 1, *a*.
your, *jɔ̈*, 174.
yours, *jiɔ̈n*, 95, 3.
youth, *juuþ*, 99, 3; 197, 1.

Note to § 3.—In the diphthong *ei* which occurs in *dreiš* thras[illegible] *dreišo* threshold, *fleiš* flesh, the *e* has the quality of the *e* in *bed*.

ERRATA.

§ 69, 1, *a*, add fathom after *fædm*.
for *prænk* read *præŋk*.
,, *jekɔ̈* ,, *eəkɔ̈*.
69, 1, *c* ,, *šænk* ,, *šæŋk*.
71, 1, *a* ,, *đenk* ,, *đeŋk*.
71, 1, *h* ,, fel ,, fell.
73, 1, *a* ,, *dilɔ̈* ,, *đilɔ̈*.
,, *šrenk* ,, *šreŋk*.
73, 1, *f* ,, *siknes* ,, *siknəs*.
75, 1, *c* ,, *hob* ,, *hɔ̈b*.
78, 1, *b* ,, *þɔ̈*[1]*sdee* ,, *đɔ̈*[1]*sdee*.
80, 3 ,, *fœr* ,, *fœɔ̈*.

II.—NOTES ON ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY. By the Rev. Professor W. W. Skeat.

[*Read at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society on May* 1, 1903.]

Accompliment. The word *accompliment*, in the same sense as *compliment*, is rare. I note that it occurs twice in Act i, sc. 2, of the Atheist's Tragedy, by Cyril Tourneur; pr. in 1611.

Boat. It has been fully shown that all the forms of this word are unoriginal except the A.S. *bāt*, masc., from a Teut. type **baitoz*, and the Icel. *beit*, neut., given by Vigfusson as a poetical word for 'ship,' from a Teut. type **baitom*. And it is further pointed out by Liden (Studien zur altindischen und vergleichenden Sprachgeschichte, Upsala, 1897; p. 34) that these forms are clearly allied to Icel. *biti*, a cross-beam in a house or in a ship, whence the verb *bita*, to divide a ship with cross-beams; from *bit-*, the weak grade of the Teut. root **beit-* (whence the second stem **bait-*) as seen in A.S. *bītan*, to bite, pt. t. *bāt*. It is well known that this root must also have had the sense of 'to cleave'; as *bītan* is cognate with Lat. *findere* (pt. t. *fīdī*), to cleave, and Skt. *bhid*, to cleave; the Idg. form of the root being BHEID. See Brugmann, i, § 567. The explanation would be that Icel. *biti* would mean a piece of split wood, and A.S. *bāt* a boat made of split wood.

Coke. See my (doubtful) note on this word in Athenæum, No. 3,869, Dec. 21, 1901; p. 842.

Curds. M.E. *crudde*, a curd; prov. E. *crud*, coagulated milk; cf. prov. E. *cruddle*, to curdle (E.D.D.); prov. E. *crowd*, to squeeze, pt. t. *crud*; prov. E. *crids*, curds; prov. E. *crowdy*, a kind of porridge or oatmeal gruel, also called *cruddy*. The forms *crud*, *cruddle*, are from **crud-*, weak grade of A.S. *crūdan*, to crowd, press; *crid* is from the mutated form **cryd-*; and *crowdy* is from the infin. stem *crūd-*. All the forms are related to E. *crowd*, to press, squeeze. (Cf. Athenæum, No. 3,834, April 20, 1901; p. 501.)

Cutter, a swift sailing-vessel. From the prov. E. *cut*, to speed; see E.D.D. And this represents the weaker grade of Norw. *kūta*,

[illegible] explained as
[illegible] Arber.
[illegible] more on the
[illegible] p. 459.
[illegible] mother
[illegible] follows:—

[illegible] Farewell, to
[illegible] the more
[illegible] that "egges
[illegible] clear from this
[illegible] that "to
[illegible] five eggs for
[illegible] people
[illegible] at a market
[illegible] transaction by
[illegible] i.e. with
[illegible] wanted and was
[illegible] show how the

[illegible] in Shakespeare.
[illegible] his little boy,
[illegible] disappointed lad replies,
[illegible] explained to mean—"Will
[illegible] with something worthless?"
[illegible] He states that, within living
[illegible] writing in 1877), farmers' daughters would go to
[illegible] and take with them a basket of eggs. When they bought

something at a shop, which came, for example, to 3*s*. 4*d*., they would lay down 3*s*., and then ask the shopman, "Will you take eggs for money?" i.e. will you have four pennyworth of eggs instead of the 4*d*.? The shopman usually wished for nothing of the sort, especially if he had that morning had more offers than one of the same kind. But he was often afraid of offending a good customer, and would weakly consent. Hence the exact sense of the phrase is really this—Will you consent to something which you would much rather refuse to do? This shows clearly how the phrase arose.

Frail (of figs). It means a light basket; derived, in N.E.D., from O.F. *frayel*, of unknown origin. Godefroy gives both *frael* and *flael*; and in 1285 we find "De *flaello* ficum"; Ducange. I suggest, as the origin, the Lat. *flagellum*, whence also E. *flail*. The O.F. *frael* would result from *flael* by dissimilation; cf. *rossignol*. Ducange gives Lat. *flagellum* ceræ, which seems to mean a frailful of new wax, weighing one-sixth of a pound; and the examples in Ducange and Godefroy show that the frail was used for figs, grapes, wax, and resin. As to the Lat. *flagellum*, we may readily suppose that the same rod which formed an effectual switch could be used, in company with other rods, so as to form a basket; and rods of a thicker sort could be used for thrashing out corn. Baskets for carrying grapes could conveniently be made of young vine-shoots; cf. Vergil, Georg., ii, 299. (Cf. Athenæum, No. 3,828, March 9, 1901; p. 307.)

Goluptious. I suggested, in my Notes on Eng. Etym., that this represents the more classical form *voluptuous*. But I can now do better; for it is clear that *goluptious* really represents the by-form *voluptious*. The latter is used by Heywood, in the first scene of his play entitled The English Traveller: "as might best Please the *voluptious*."

Gourmand. Referred by Diez to Icel. *gormr*, ooze, mud, grounds of coffee, etc. This is practically right, but we require further evidence. F. *gourmand* is precisely Norw. *gurmen*, one who is inclined to gormandise; from Norw. *gurma*, to gorge oneself (Ross). The lit. sense is to stir up mud, also to eat steadily and continually (Aasen); from Norw. *gurm*, mud.

Greengage. The earliest literary use of it is in Act 3 of Foote's Lame Lover (1770). Here Sir Luke Limp gives a discourse upon various kinds of 'plumbs,' and is interrupted by Sergeant Circuit, who exclaims, interrogatively, "The green gages, or

orlines?" The N.E.D. has this quotation (s.v. Orleans); but with the spelling *orleans*. I find the spelling *orlines* in the play as printed in The Modern Eng. Drama, vol. 5 (1811). This spelling means that the *-ean-* was pronounced like the *-ine* in *machine*; indeed, the phrase New Orlines, with the emphasis on the last syllable, occurs in a popular nigger-song which was very familiar to me more than fifty years ago.

Griddle. I have already noted that Moisy gives M.F. *gredil* as occurring in the sixteenth century. But Godefroy, in his Supp., s.v. *gril*, gives a form *gridil*, from 'GARL.' (? John de Garlande). And we find A.F. *gridil* in a gloss upon *craticulam* in Neckam; see Wright, Vol. of Vocab., series i, p. 102, l. 9.

Gristle. The A.S. form has for its chief vowel a long or short *i*; this is shown by the spelling *gristle* in Vocab. 158. 22; 265. 16; 414. 1. But a far older gloss occurs in "Cartilago, *naes-gristlae*" in the Epinal and Erfurt glossaries; see Sweet, O.E. Texts, p. 46. This seems to be distinct from the A.S. *grost*, gristle (also in O.E. Texts).

Grogram. The earliest known quotation is dated 1562. It is perhaps worth notice that the spelling *grograyn* occurs at p. 14 of Mr. F. S. Ellis's edition (in 1893) of Cavendish's Life of Wolsey. This edition represents the author's MS., supposed to have been written in 1557.

Grove. The root of the word *grove* is unknown. The A.S. form is *grāf*, of rare occurrence. As the A.S. *ā* answers to Norse *ei*, we may notice the Norw. *greiv-la*, a tree whose branches spread wide out like horns, *greiv-la*, v., to branch out; *greive*, a ram with wide horns; *grivle*, a bullock with wide horns, also a man with long arms and legs (Ross).

Gull. Perhaps *gull*, a dupe, was one of the somewhat slangy words that were so freely imported in Tudor times from the Netherlands. Cf. E. Fries. *gul*, soft, kind, good-natured (Koolman); M. Du. *gulle*, 'a great wench without wit,' Hexham; Low G. *gull*, soft, good-natured (Berghaus).

Gulp. It has been shown that the older form was *gluppen* or *gloppen*; see P. Plowman, A. v, 191, and the various readings. But it is worth while to say that it is derived from the weak grade **gleup* of a known Teutonic strong verb, viz. Swed. dial. *gliopa*, to swallow (pt. t. *glop*), Norw. *glūpa* (pt. t. *glaup*); so that the Teut. root is **gleup*. The word *gloppen*, to stare in amazement, may be allied, as the Norw. *glupa* has three senses; (1) to gape; (2) to snap at with

open mouth; (3) to swallow. The word *gloppen*, to stare, be amazed, is clearly allied to *glupa* in the sense to gape, to open the mouth wide, which often accompanies amazement. Hence we obtain the connexion between the words, and the form of their Teut. root. Cf. Du. *gluipen*, to peep, in Franck.

Gurnard. We find *gurnard* as early as 1314, in the time of Edw. II. Cotgrave has the forms *gournauld* and *grougnaut*, the latter of which he marks as a Languedoc word. But neither form is truly French; and it is tolerably clear that the forms are both Provençal. Mistral gives the modern forms as *gournau* and *grougnau*, both meaning 'gurnard'; and these are from the verb *gourgna* or *grougna*, to grunt, and ultimately from the Lat. *grunnīre*. This does not affect the usual explanation of the word; but it accounts for the E. spelling.

Ham. The E. *ham* is from A.S. *hamm*, a strong fem., and is allied to Du. *ham*, O.H.G. *hamma*, prov. G. *hamme*, a ham. This is connected by Dr. Murray and Franck with O. Irish *camm*, W. *cam*, bent. Brugmann connects *ham* with Gk. *κνήμη*, the lower part of the leg (i, § 421), which is not very convincing.

The English *ham* has its exact counterpart in the Late L. *camba*, the bend of the leg. This interesting old form occurs in The Book of Cerne, and is thence quoted in Cockayne's Leechdoms, vol. i, p. lxxi of the Preface. The Latin text actually reads *cambas* (another reading being *gambas*), and the A.S. gloss is *homme*, fem. pl. acc. This shows that the Lat. *camba* had the very sense of the A.S. *homm*, viz. 'ham'; and the close connexion of the words is thus rendered obvious. See *Jamb* in N.E.D.

Harlot. It is well known that this word was a much less objectionable one in former times, and was applied to a man, with much the same sense as our 'fellow.' It is undoubtedly, as said in the New E. Dict., from O.F. *herlot*, *harlot*, *arlot*, masc., a lad, young fellow, vagabond; and is cognate with the Ital. *arlotto*, which Florio explains by 'a lack-Latin, or hedge-priest.' The Prov. form is *arlot*, which Mistral explains by 'pillard, ribaud, goujat qui suivait les armées,' i.e. a spoiler, ribald, camp-follower. The O.F. *herlot* is perfectly correct, but the best quotation in Godefroy is given s.v. *berlot*, because, in Michel's edition of Tristan, it happened to be thus misprinted. The origin of O.F. *herlot* is wholly unknown; the guesses given in Körting are all wholly useless. I shall therefore venture upon another, which at any rate is possible. I think the sense of 'camp-follower' was probably

the original one, because all the other senses follow from it easily. Again, it must be of Teut. origin, as shown by the O.F. and E. *h*. Thirdly, I take it to be a compound word, of which the former half is the O.H.G. *heri*, *hari*, G. *heer*, an army. All that remains is to discover a Germanic *lot*, with a suitable sense. But this actually occurs as a suffix in the Du. *labber-lot*, a blackguard, mentioned by Franck under *leuteren*, to loiter. The original sense of this *-lot* was precisely loafer, loiterer, idler. The fem. form of it occurs in the W. Flemish *lutte*; De Bo explains *dronke-lutte* as a drunken woman, a slut; and *jenever-lutte* as a gin-drinking woman; plainly terms of reproach. Both these are connected with O.H.G. *lotar*, M.H.G. *loter*, *lotter*, useless, vagabond-like, O.H.G. *lotar*, a frivolous fellow, also frivolity, *loter*, buffoonery, *lotarsprāhha*, frivolous talk, *loter*, a buffoon, worthless fellow, *lotervalle*, a dissolute woman, *loterheit*, buffoonery, *loterie*, f. a frivolous woman, *loterchōson*, to speak vain things, *loterlich* frivolous, *loterpfaffe*, a frivolous priest (like Florio's hedge-priest), *loterritter*, a valueless knight, *lotersingare*, a strolling singer. Kluge connects these words with G. *liederlich*, but I do not know whether this is at variance with the view expressed by Franck. Perhaps it is not, if we further connect them all with A.S. *lȳþr* contemptible, bad, and the M.E. *lither*. However this may be, I think that the original sense of O.F. *her-lot* may very well have been either 'an army-loafer' or 'an army-buffoon,' and that it is in this direction that we must look for the right etymology. Diez derives it from L. *ardelio*, but this does not account for the *h*; Körting from *hariolus*, a soothsayer, which is quite improbable. Suchier tried to extract it from the G. *herold*; and I agree with him as to the former syllable. But *-lot* does not come from *-wald*.

Hitch, to move jerkily. This verb is not known before 1440, where it occurs in the Prompt. Parv. Its origin is obscure. The prov. E. has also the forms *hotch* and *hutch* in the same sense. The prov. E. forms help us, as they show that the vowel answers to A.S. *y*, not *i*; and the form *hotch* will suit the Du. *hokken*, if we can find a suitable sense in that verb. The Du. *hokken* means to squat, or crouch, or sit hunched up; but it also has a very peculiar use. Thus Calisch gives a sense 'to be wanting, to stick,' with the illustration "*het hokt*, or *er hokt iets*, there is something wanting, there is an obstacle." But this is just our phrase 'there is a hitch'; and we may suspect that there is an actual relation

between the words. The Du. *hokken* is related to E. *huckster*, and is accounted for in Franck's Etym. Du. Dictionary. Perhaps the original sense had reference to an obstacle sticking up in a road, over which a thing had to be pulled. It would then move jerkily, whilst the original sense of sticking up would account for the sense to crouch, i.e. to hunch up one's back. The Icel. *hokinn*, bent, is the p.p. of a lost strong verb of which the original sense may well have been 'to stick out,' or 'to project'; and an A.S. **hyccan* might be allied to it.

Hog. As regards the early form of *hog*, a recent and most fortunate find of two small slips of parchment in the cover of a book belonging to Queens' College, Cambridge, has given us the indubitable A.S. form. An account of the A.S. inventory which these slips contain has just been printed for the Cambridge Phil. Soc.; and I repeat here so much as relates to the word *hog*. The inventory belongs to the former half of the eleventh century, certainly before the Conquest, and in it we can make out these words:—æt strætham .xx. sugena . . æt . . . de swyn. and .xl. hogga; æt . . . .xliiij. hogga æt hafuces[tūn]. I.e. 'at Streatham [Cambs.] 20 of sows, at . . . swine and 40 of hogs; at . . 44 of hogs at Hauxton' [near Cambridge]. This proves that the A.S. form was *hogg* or *hoeg*, a strong masculine, with the gen. sing. *hocges* and the gen. pl. *hocga*. Thus the discovery of two small slips of parchment carries back the history of the word for 300 years. I have also noticed quite recently that the name of *Ailmer Hogg* occurs twice in the Ramsey Chartulary, vol. i, p. 188, and vol. iii, p. 39, in a document attributed to the time of Aylwin, who was abbot of Ramsey from 1043 (before the Conquest) to 1079; which practically gives us another early instance, and shows that even at that date it had already become a surname or nickname. Cf. also *hogger*, Cursor Mundi, 1517; *hoggaster* occurs in 1175.

Irk. The etymology of *irk* has been given up; but it may be thus explained. The N.E.D. has M.E. *argh*, from A.S. *earh*; also spelt *ergh*, *erf* in Scotch, and *arf* in Northern E. It has the sense: 'inert, sluggish, lazy, slow, loath, reluctant.' Hence was formed A.S. *irgþ* (Toller), *yrgð*; as, e.g., in The Battle of Maldon, l. 6. As the final *þ* is voiceless (cf. *streng-th*, *leng-th*), this would produce a base *irk-*, from which the verb *irk* and the M.E. adj. *irk* can both be derived. The sense of *irk* almost coincides with that of *argh*; it is given as: 'weary, tired, troubled, bored, disgusted,

...with.' Hence the verb *to...*, to give away, to be ...with to do something.' We have ... in Gk. ... which is *...mori mihi*, i.e. 'it irks me.' It is derived from Gk. *...*, cognate with A.S. *...*. We must also compare *irk*, from *...*, with M.E. *...*, a dwarf: i. *...* with prov. E. *...*. So also in Dutch, we have *het ...mort mij*, it irks me: from *...*, bad. Aasen gives Norw. *...* with the same sense as Dan. *...*, to vex, annoy, also used as a reflexive verb: and Rietz notes prov. Swed. *...*, sb., as a derivative of *...*, adj. Scarce records M.H.G. *...* *...mir* 'or *...*', es ist mir bedenklich, es ist mir zuwider."

Jack-of-the-clock. This is well known, from Shakespeare, as meaning a figure which mechanically struck the hours on a bell. But it seems worth adding that a similar name was given to a similar contrivance in France. The F. name is given in Requefort as *...* with variations, and in Godefroy's Supplement as *...*. Godefroy notes that the name occurs in Rabelais. Requefort says it was named from its inventor, *...*: but gives no proof of this.

Jag. The N.E.D. regards *jag* as a variant of *...*: and we find in the Promp. Parv. "*...*, or *...* of a garment, *fractillus*." The sense seems to be a pendant of cloth, in the shape of a blade of a dagger. The origin of both words is obscure: but it seems reasonable to consider *...* as having been suggested by F. *...*, a dagger: a conclusion which is generally accepted. No origin has been suggested for *jag*. I suggest that, just as the E. *...* may have been originated by F. *...*, a dagger, so the E. *jag* may have been suggested by a F. *...*, one of the forms assumed by F. *...*, an assegai or spear-head. This is a very old word; Godefroy quotes the dimin. form *...*, as well as the variant *...*, which is merely a form *...* with a prefix *al-* due to the Arab. definite article. The compound *...*, i.e. *...*, occurs in Chaucer's Sir Thopas, which shows the antiquity of the weapon; whereas *jag* does not occur till after 1400. The peculiar use of the words helps the hypothesis; both *...* and *jag* represent something in the shape of a dagger-blade or a javelin-head; and both have the secondary sense of *to stab*, or *to pierce through*; see examples in N.E.D. Both words are probably of Oriental origin, and due to the Crusades. *...* is known to be a Berber word, i.e. N. African Arabic; and F. *...* is obviously not of Latin origin, but may be plausibly referred to the root seen in Hab. *...*, to strike.

Jerkin. The only words that resemble it are the late Du. *jurk*, a frock (Sewel); E. Fries. *jurken*, a child's frock (Koolman); and the Westphalian *jürken*, a sort of overcoat. It is known that the Du. *j* is a *y*, not E. *j*; and that a jerkin is not a child's frock; but it is difficult to resist the suspicion that there may be some sort of connexion. Perhaps it came about thus: Koolman records an E. Fries. Christian name *Djure*, which he refers to *Djurko*, *Diurko*, and takes to be the E. Fries. form of Du. *Dirk* (Dietrich), and also to be the origin of the surnames *Djurken* and *Jurken*. I think he is wrong as to *Dirk* (except by way of popular confusion), because Berghaus explains that *Juri* really means *George*, and that the pet-names for George are *Jürgen* and *Jürken*, the latter of which he assigns to Hamburg. I see no difficulty, even phonetically, in deriving our *jerkin* (first known in 1512) from a Friesic *Djurken*; nor yet in deriving the late Du. *jurk* from a Friesic *Jurken*. The only difficulty that remains is that of deriving the name of a garment from that of a maker; but this is to some extent met by such cases as *mackintosh* and *doily*. And I find a far stronger proof of the likelihood of the suggestion in the fact that Godefroy actually gives O.F. *georget* as meaning 'sorte de casaque,' which can hardly be derived from anything but the same name of *George*; whilst at the same time it seems to be generally admitted that *jacket* is derived from *Jacques*. Perhaps even Cotgrave's *jargeot*, *jargot*, "a kind of course garment worne by country people," may be similarly explained. (Athenæum, No. 3,924, Jan. 10, 1903.)

Kick. The solution of this word has been entirely given up. The notion of deriving it from the Welsh *cicio*, to kick, has been abandoned, because the borrowing runs the other way. As the form, having two hard *k*'s, is not very likely to be a native one, and it is not Celtic or French, we can only expect it to be of Scandinavian origin. The easiest solution is to suppose that it is nothing but an assimilated form of *kink*, with *kk* for *nk* in the usual manner so common in Old Norse. We are here greatly helped by the E.D.D., from which we learn that *kink* is actually still used in the same sense; thus, in Mid Yorkshire, the phrase "He'll *kink* t' bairn," means "he will kick the child"; and again, in W. Yks., we find: "Betty Barrilwaist, wi' *kinkin'* back [i.e. kicking back] lost her balance." Cf. Norw. *kinka*, to wriggle, to rock; *kīka*, also *kikka*, to sprain or dislocate (Aasen); *kikk*, a sprain, *kikka*, to drive very hard so as to sprain, especially used of a horse

'a bend, curvature, a bending of the shore, a loop, a noose, a winding, meander, maze, a snare,' etc. As this was received with some derision, I tried to make out that it was of Scand. origin. But lately Mr. Bradley has thought that I was quite right. The word is genuinely Celtic; see *lùb*, to bend, in Macbain's Etym. Gaelic Dict.; and note the form *lub-tha*, bent, in Old Irish (Windisch). When reconsidering the question lately I was much struck by the curious use of *loop* in Scottish, to denote the winding of a river; see E.D.D. and Jamieson; because Gael. *lùb* has also this precise sense. Further, the Gael. *lùb* was used in the secondary sense of 'deceit, guile'; which is the obvious origin of Lowl. Sc. *loopy*, crafty, deceitful; for which the E.D.D. assigns no origin.

Malapert. In the N.E.D., s.v. *Apert*, it is shown that *some* of its senses are not from L. *apertus*, open, but from L. *expertus*. This seems certainly right for sense 4. It is worth noting that, whilst Godefroy confuses these words hopelessly, Cotgrave keeps them apart by spelling 'open' as *apert*, and 'expert' as *appert*, with a doubled *p*; and this agrees with *appert* in Caxton (sense 4). I believe that *malapert* is likewise from O.F. *appert*; and is much the same as *mal-adroit*. See *Malapert* in my Concise Dict., where 'open' should be deleted.

Martingale. It is agreed that the F. *martingale* is of Prov. origin; see Prov. *martegalo* in Mistral. And further, that the word is of purely local origin, from the adj. *Martegau*, meaning an inhabitant of *Martegue* or *Martigue*, an isolated town near the delta of the river Rhone. This place, according to Mistral, is so named from its proximity to a pool named *estang de Marto*, from Prov. *santo Marto*, i.e. St. Martha of Bethany, who was said to have come to Provence, and is supposed to be buried at Tarascon, situate at the apex of the Rhone delta.

Moist. The etym. is disputed. Hatzfeld suggests L. *muscidus*, mossy, from *muscus*; Körting gives L. **muccidus*, **mūcidus*, from L. *mūcus*. But Körting (§ 6414) also approves of the old etym. from L. *musteus*, **mustidus*, **mustius*, from L. *mustum*, new wine. The use of *moisty* in Chaucer certainly helps this. So does the use of E. *musty*, which resembles the Gascon *mustì*, Prov. *mousti*, moist. Further, the Prov. *mousti* closely resembles the Prov. *moust*, must; with which Mistral connects it. It is worth notice that Godefroy, in his Supplement, gives some remarkable forms, s.v. *Moiste*; viz.: *muste*, *moste*, *moete*, *muiste*, *moite*, *moyste*; and he gives

examples in which both *muste* and *moiste* have the sense of *moisi*, i.e. musty. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that there is a real connexion between *moist* and L. *mustum*. Cf. Span. *mostoso*, 'mustie, of new wine'; Minsheu.

Motet. From F. *motet*. I have given this as a borrowed word from Ital. *mottetto*; but it is really a dimin. of F. *mot*, a word; also (as noticed by Cotgrave) a note winded by a huntsman on his horn. See Hatzfeld. That the F. word was not borrowed from the Italian appears from its early use. It occurs in Lydgate, Minor Poems, p. 242; and even in Wyclif, Works, ed. Matthew, p. 91, l. 4 from bottom.

Musty, mouldy, etc. The etymology offers some difficulty, as the sense connects it rather with the word *moist* than with *must*, i.e. new wine. Perhaps it came immediately from Gascony, through the Bourdeaux wine trade. Mistral gives Prov. *mousti*, moist; Gascon *mustì*; and Körting, § 6329, notes Limousin *mousti*, moist. It seems natural to associate these words with Prov. *moust*, new wine. And perhaps this throws some light on the difficult word *moist*, with its derivative *moisty*.

Node. The L. *nōdus* has sometimes been compared with E. *knot*, but there is no trace of an initial *g* in the L. word. It is rather related to Skt. *naddha-*, tied, bound, p.p. of *nah* (for *nadh*), to tie; and both are from the Idg. root NEDH, to fasten. See Brugmann, i. § 700 (*a*), note 2.

Noggin. I find that under the word *knag* (2), a keg, the N.E.D. recognises the connexion between *knag* and *noggin*, as suggested in the last edition of my Etym. Dict. This is fully borne out by the various derivatives in E. dialects and in Gaelic, which has borrowed from English. Thus we have E. dial. *knag*, a keg, also a small wooden vessel with a handle, with the variant *knog*, a small cask, a firkin. How the suffix *-in* arose it is hard to say. I once thought that *noggin* was of Gaelic origin, but Macbain has pointed out that the derivation runs the other way. Nevertheless, it still seems to me to be a possibility that the suffix (not the primary part of the word) may be Celtic, because Celtic has a large number of diminutives in *-an*. Hence from the E. word *knag*, a keg, we may easily derive the Gael. *cnagan*, an earthen pipkin; also Gael. *cnagaire*, a noggin, a quart measure. And the former of these will account for Lowl. Sc. *naggin*, *naggie*, a cup, *knaggie*, a keg, a small wooden vessel with a handle. Otherwise the suffix must have been suggested by the adjectival *-en* in *wood-en*. Swift

rightly spells *noggin* with an initial *k*, in his verses to Dr. Sheridan, dated December 14, 1719: "For all your colloguing, I'd be glad of a *knoggin*." The chief difficulty, perhaps, is to ascertain whether *knag*, a keg, or a small wooden vessel, is the same word as *knag*, a knot in wood, also a peg or a pin. I much suspect that such is the case. Thus the Swed. *knagg* not only means a knot, a peg, but also the handle of a scythe; the Dan. *knage* means a peg, a cog of a wheel, or a spoke; and this is perhaps how the E. *knag* acquired the sense of a wooden vessel with a handle; after which, it may easily have come to mean a wooden vessel in general, a cask, or a keg. The ramifications of the senses of words are often very hard to follow.

Pamper. I have given this as being a frequentative form from the Low G. *pampen*, used in a like sense. But it is really Flemish. The exact form *pamperen*, used exactly as E. *pamper*, is given in the West Flemish Dict. by De Bo.

Pillow-beer, a pillow-case. A compound of *pillow* and M.E. *bere*, *ber*, a cover, a case. The latter is given in N.E.D., s.v. *bear*, sb. (4).

The Bremen Wörterbuch gives *büren*, a cover, case; *beds-büren*, a bed-cover; *kussen-büren*, a cushion-cover; and adds that *Büren* is also the name of several villages near Bremen, and signified originally 'a hut.' Hexham gives M. Du. *buer*, a cottage, shed; Lübben gives Low G. *bure* as a variant of *büren*. These words are clearly allied to A.S. *būr*, a bower, whence *bȳre*, a byre. Further, the Low G. *buur* meant not only a bower, but a birdcage. The development of sense may be the same as in prov. E. *cot*, a cottage, a shelter, a cover, a finger-stall. Possibly the M.E. *bere*, a pillow-case, may be the same word as A.S. *bȳre*, a cowhouse, with the Kentish *ē* for *ȳ*. We know that Chaucer has Kentish forms; he uses *feer* for A.S. *fȳr*, fire, so he would consistently use *bere* for A.S. *bȳre*. This requires that the *ē* in *bere* should be close. In Chaucer, prol. 695, *pilwebere* rhymes with *pardoneer*, which seems to have had close *ē* (Ten brink, § 67*γ*); in the Book of the Duchess, 254, *bere* rhymes with *doutremere*, also apparently with close *ē* (id., § 67*a*).

Proffer. Hitherto all the completed dictionaries, including the Century, are at fault as regards the etymology. The usual derivation, from F. *proférer*, to produce, is certainly wrong. The sense is quite different. The F. *proférer*, from L. *prōferre*, means to bring forward, to produce, to adduce. But the M.E.

profren means to offer, to present, as *proffer* does still. Chaucer has the p.p. *profred*, C.T., E 152; and much earlier, in King Alisaunder, 3,539, we find: "and heom *proferid* launce and sweorde," i.e. and offered lances and swords to them. It is the same as the A.F. *profrer*, in the phrase "*profrer* lur marchandie," to offer merchandise for sale, in N. Bozon, Contes Moralisés, p. 166. The glossary suggests that this *profrer* is the same as the O.F. *porofrir*, to proffer, to offer, which is quite right. This O.F. verb has long been obsolete, and does not appear in Cotgrave; but Godefroy duly gives it, with the shortened form *profrir*, *proffrir*, in the precise sense of to proffer, to present. Hence it is quite certain that the E. *proffer* is from O.F. *profrir*, *porofrir*, a compound of the prefix *por-* (F. *pour*) with the O.F. *offrir*, to offer. In Latin, this represents a compound of the prefix *pro-* with the Lat. *offerre*, to offer. This is why *to proffer* and *to offer* have almost the same sense. Thus *proffer* represents *pro* + *offerre*, not *pro-ferre*.

Prune (1), to trim trees. The M.E. form was *proinen*. This I have derived from some old form of F. *provigner*, to prune. It is really from the dialectal form *progner*, which belongs to the Norman dialect, and is given both by Moisy and Édélestand.

Punch, vb., to perforate, prick. I have shown that the sb. *puncheon*, a cask, is not from the F. *poinçon*, but from the Gascon *pounchoun*, in connexion with the Bordeaux trade. So also we find Prov. *pounchoun*, in the sense of a puncheon or something to prick with; and the Prov. verb *pouncha*, to punch, to prick, from O. Prov. *ponch*, a point. I find no such form in French; but Roumansch has the verb *punscher*, to prick. I think there are more Languedoc words in E. than has hitherto been supposed.

Shingle, coarse round gravel on the sea-shore. I have supposed this word to be an adaptation of the Norweg. *singl*, with the same sense, derived from the verb *to sing*, because of the singing or ringing noise made by it when one walks on it. But this is open to the objection that the form *single* is not the old form actually found. The right view is rather that *shingle* is a mispronunciation of the old word *chingle*, used in the same sense. The sb. *chingle* is duly given in the E.D.D. as meaning 'sea-gravel,' and is assigned to Scottish, East Anglian, and Sussex, so that it is, practically, an English word, widely distributed. I have come across two excellent examples of it. In Hakluyt, Voy. i, 556 (last line) there is a description of the volcano of Hecla, in Iceland, where we find an account of "chingle and great stones being skorched in that

fiery gulfe." And much earlier, G. Douglas says of a ship that she "dyd stand Apon a dry *chyngill* or bed of sand"; Æneid, bk. x, ch. 6 (ed. Small, iii, 302, 30); cf. Vergil, Æn. x, 303. The word is clearly of imitative origin, and allied to the verb to *chink*; with reference to the *chinking* sound made by walking on it; just as the Norw. *singl* is from the verb to *sing*. The curious change from *ch* to *sh* occurs again in the well-known instance of *shiver*, from M.E. *chiveren*. Note also the curious use of prov. E. *chink*, to rustle as hay does when quite dry, used in Derbyshire and Notts.

The explanation of the initial change is, as I think, due to the confusion of the O.F. *ch* (pron. as *ch* in *chin*) with the M.E. *sh* (as in *shin*). The Normans had no *sh*, and had to learn the sound; hence, as I have already shown, they began by substituting *s* for it, pronouncing the E. word *shame* as *same*, as common in MSS. of the thirteenth century. But when they had acquired the sound, they were so proud of it that they actually used it for the E. *ch*, which was like their own *ch*. Thus the M.E. *schin* occurs for *chin*. Similarly *chiver* and *chingle* became *shiver* and *shingle*; showing that *chingle* was already in use in the fourteenth century and earlier.

Shrike. The A.S. name of this bird is not usually given in the dictionaries. It appears as *scrīc* in the Epinal Glossary and in Wright-Wülker's Vocabularies.

Strand (of a rope). I have given the derivation of *strand* as from Du. *streen*, a skein or hank of thread. But this does not account for the vowel. It is not derived from this Dutch word immediately, but through the O. French. The O.F. form is *estran*, a rope or cord, a word used by Wace; which appears also in the prov. E. *strawn*, a strand. The E. *strand* results from O.F. *estran* by adding *d*. The O.F. *estran* is of Teut. origin; from the M.H.G. *stren*, *strene*; whence G. *strähne*, cognate with Du. *streen*.

Tarrier. Halliwell gives E. *terrier* in the sense of 'auger,' with a reference to Howell. A *tarrier* (as I am informed) is still the name of a kind of triple auger or gimlet, resembling three tapering corkscrews united at the tops and arranged at an angle of 120 degrees to each other; it is used for extracting *shives* (or wooden bungs) from barrels of turpentine. It is obviously the M.F. *tariere*, 'an augar'; in Cotgrave. It is explained fully in Hatzfeld, as being ultimately from a Lat. type *taratrum* (a word of Celtic origin), which became O.F. *taredre*, later *tarere*, altered to *tarière*. Of these, *tarere* is given in the Supp. to Godefroy, as

well as *tariere*. *Taredre* occurs in "Les Gloses Françaises Gerschom de Metz," par L. Brandin, Paris, 1902; No. 101, p. 70. *Taratrum* is in Ducange; from the Celtic type **tarat* (Stokes-Fick, p. 123), represented by O. Irish *tarathar*, 'tereb (Windisch), and Welsh *taradr*, an auger; which are obviou cognate with G. τέρετρον, a borer, from τερεῖν, to bore; cf. L. *ter* Thurneysen (p. 80) says that it is certainly of Celtic origin.

III.—A NOTE ON HAVELOK THE DANE, Ll. 2495–7. By Harold Littledale, M.A.

The standard reading and explanation of the following lines in *Havelok* seem to me unsatisfactory. The passage in Professor Skeat's edition runs thus:—

"Sket cam a ladde with a knif,
And bigan riht at þe to
For to ritte, and for to flo
So it were grim or gore; [2496]
And he bigan [þo] for to rore,
Þat men mihte þeþen a mile
Here him rore, þat fule file."

The first point to note is that the above text has been obtained by transposing lines 2496 and 2497; and that, whatever sense we may make of the passage, this transposition seems inevitable. Accepting this postulate, the clause "So it were grim or gore" goes with the sentence above it, and apparently must mean (as the editor says) "and began, exactly at the toe, to rip and flay (him) as if he were mere dirt or gore; and he began to roar," etc.

The comparison here, of flaying a man to flaying dirt or gore, fails to convey any intelligible sense to my mind; in fact, the text as it stands is meaningless. But the poet had in his thought the whole scene, not an uncommon one in those times. He visualises the gradual torture, prolonged to the utmost by beginning at one of the man's extremities; the slow stripping off of the skin, and its hanging loose *like the folds of a garment* along the wretch's limbs; he hears the shrieks—it is a very horrible bit of realistic writing by one who knew what he was describing. The corruption is evidently in the words "So it were grim or gore." And the correction is very simple, if we suppose the poet to have written "So it were *goune* or gore." Only one word needs alteration. In the old hand, *goune* might easily be misread

IV.—ON HAVELOK, LINE 2333. By HENRY BRADLEY, M.A., Ph.D.

IN *Havelok*, ll. 2332–3, the reading of the MS. is as follows:—

"Þo mouthe men se eueril gleu,
Þer mouthe *men* se hw grim greu."

Professor Skeat, following Sir F. Madden, prints 'Grim' with a capital, and understands l. 2333 to mean that the sports at Havelok's inauguration included a scenic representation of the story of Grim. It may be conceded that there is no great unlikelihood in the supposition that the career of the legendary founder of Grimsby might, in the thirteenth century, have been the theme of a drama performed at local merrymakings; but there is no evidence that any such drama existed, and the word *greu* does not, even allowing for the exigencies of rime, seem very appropriate to express the supposed meaning. Professor Holthausen has attempted to extract a more plausible sense from the passage by emending *grim* into *glam*. But as this word means 'loud noise,' it does not appear to agree with the context. I do not know whether it has ever been pointed out that the exact phrase of the text occurs in *Sir Beves* (Auchinleck MS.), l. 1880. After giving the words of defiance uttered by the giant and Beves before they come to blows, the poet says, "Þus beginneþ grim to growe." The meaning of *grim* here is obviously the warlike fury of the opposing champions. Now the couplet above quoted from *Havelok* is immediately preceded by a reference to the baiting of bulls and of boars, and a few lines earlier we read of "butting with sharpe speres," "skirming with talevaces," and "wrastling with laddes." It therefore seems to me clear that l. 2333 above means that the spectators had the pleasure of watching the kindling of the rage of battle between the combatants, human and animal.

P.S.—Since the above was in type, I have been informed by Professor Napier that my explanation of the line was anticipated ten years ago by the late Professor Kölbing (*Englische Studien*, xix, 148), who also referred to the parallel passage in *Sir Beves*.

TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT, 1902.

Dr. BENJAMIN DAWSON, Esq., *Treasurer, in account with the Philological Society.* *Cr.*

1902. CASH RECEIVED.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1. To Balance		37 8 1
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31. To sums received in 1902—		
For Arrears	8 8 0	
,, Entrance Fees	5 5 0	
,, Subscriptions, 1902	51 9 0	
,, Life Composition	10 10 0	
In advance	2 2 0	
		77 14 0
For Sale of Publications		7 10 11
		122 13 0
Received from Members for copies of the Society's Dictionary		24 3 10
		£146 16 10

1902. CASH PAID.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31. By Meetings—Expenses of Rooms and Refreshments		8 15 5
,, Bank charges		0 3 0
,, Treasurer's expenses, including the Dictionary		1 3 0
,, Balance at Bankers'	112 13 8	
,, ,, in Treasurer's hands	0 2 9	
		112 16 5
		122 17 10
Paid to Clarendon Press for Members' copies of the Society's Dictionary		23 19 0
		£146 16 10

We have examined this Account with the Books and Vouchers, and certify that it is correct.

APRIL 17TH, 1903.

(Signed) HENRY B. WHEATLEY, RICHARD WARE, } AUDITORS.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

1904-5.

V.—NOTES ON ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY. By the Rev. Professor Skeat, Litt.D. (Vice-President).

[*Read at the Anniversary Meeting of the Philological Society on May 6, 1904.*]

Baste; in the sense 'to baste meat.' The etymology has not been found. It corresponds in form to O.F. *bastir*, to build, frame, contrive, etc.; but no evidence has yet been adduced to show that it had the sense here required. However, in Du Wez, Introductorie to French, printed with Palsgrave (1530), is the entry: "To cast butter upon rost, *bastir*"; p. 938, col. 3. This, if reliable, gives the right sense, very near the right date. It appeared in English in 1509.

Cento. The derivation of *cento*, in the sense of a set of verses made up of scraps from various authors, is usually (and correctly) given as being from the Lat. *cento*, in the same sense. But it is worth while going a step further. It may be an incorrect adaptation of **centro*, representing the Gk. κέντρων, patchwork made up of things stitched together; from κέντρον, a goad, a spike, a needle. Others think that it is not borrowed, but cognate with the Greek word. The latter view is favoured by the occurrence of Skt. *kanthā*, f., a patched cloth. Hence it has no connexion with *centum*, a hundred, as one might perhaps be inclined to guess.

Centronel. Marlowe has the curious form *centronel*, with the sense of 'sentinel.' This form is given in N.E.D., with a cross-reference to *sentinel*, the etymology of which is uncertain. I suggest that *centronel* is a form due to O.F. *sentron*, a path (in Godefroy), a derivative of L. *sēmita*. This may help towards solving *sentinel* itself. Spenser has *centonel*, without the *r*. Further, the N.E.D. has *centrinel* as a later form of *centronel*; and if the *r* be dropped in this form likewise, the modern *sentinel* would result from it. It has hitherto been assumed that *sentinel* is from the Ital. *sentinella*, 'a watch, a sentinell,' in Florio; but the facts which

I have just produced make this very doubtful. And it is not a little extraordinary that *sentinella* has a fem. termination, and is still a feminine noun. I think it quite as likely that the word was orig. French; that *sentinel* resulted from *sentrinel*; *sentrinel* from *sentronel*; and *sentronel* from the O.F. *sentron*, a little path, which occurs as early as 1360. Further, we might then connect *sentry* in the same way with the O.F. *senteret*, m., a little path, which is quite as old a word. Godefroy also gives *senterete*, f., and *senterot*, m., a little path; as well as *sentinelle*, f., a watch-tower; but the last is no older than 1585. In the same sense of 'little path,' he also has *sentele* (Romance of Horn); *sentele* (1339); *sentelet* (Romance of Perceval); *sentelete* (Roman de la Rose). And all these words make it doubtful whether the notion of deriving *sentinel* from a word signifying 'path' is to be rejected. I hold, on the contrary, that we cannot derive Marlowe's *centron-el* from the Ital. *sentinella*.

Cockshut time. I am inclined to think that this phrase, which is well known to mean 'twilight,' and occurs in Shakespeare, has not been fully accounted for.

The account in N.E.D. says: "From *cock* and *shut*; perhaps the time when poultry go to roost and are shut up; though some think it is the same as *cockshoot*, and refers to the time when woodcocks 'shoot' or fly."

The account in Schmidt's Shakespeare-Lexicon is: "The time when the cockshut, that is, a large net employed to catch woodcocks, used to be spread; or the time when cocks and hens go to roost; the evening twilight."

These must be considered together with *cockshoot*, defined in N.E.D. as "a broad way or glade in a wood, through which woodcocks, etc., might dart or 'shoot,' so as to be caught by nets stretched across the opening." To which it is very justly added (for it is material) that "the statements that the net itself was the *cockshoot*, and that the proper spelling is *cock-shut*, appear to be dictionary blunders." (No quotations support them.) It is further noted that *cockshoot* is often shortened to *cockshot*.

A little consideration of all the quotations will, I think, show that *cockshot* and *cockshut* are both mere shortenings of *cockshoot*; indeed, the latter is the nearer of the two. It is not in the least degree likely that two such remarkable words as *cock-shoot* and *cock-shut* should both have arisen independently from different verbs. The verb *to shut* has no place here; nor is there a

in any example, to support the idea of *cocks* (why not *hens* rather?) going to roost.

This is as good as proved by the fact that Middleton, in his Widow, Act III, sc. i, has "a fine *cockshoot* evening" with reference to the time of day, where he ought, by the false theory, to have said *cockshut*. And, again, H. Kingsley calls the dusk by the name of *cockshot-time*. Hence, all three forms denote but *one* word.

Surely it is clear that *cockshoot-time* was simply the time when the *cockshoots* were utilized; and that is the whole of it. The *cockshoots* were not nets, but glades. The glades were left to set nets in. And, when it grew dusk, the nets (called *cockshoot-nets*) were set. Not even a woodcock would have been caught in a net at midday, when the danger was visible.

See, further, some useful remarks in Newton's Dictionary of Birds, where mention is also made of a *cock-road*, an equivalent term to *cock-shoot*, meaning, no doubt, a road or direction which the woodcock often takes; and derived (as in N.E.D.) from *road*, as is suggested also in Newton's note, where he rejects two other bad shots at its origin. Professor Newton also quotes, from a book written in 1602, a passage which seems to afford assistance, to the following effect. Woodcocks are described as being taken "in *cock-shoote tyme*, as yt is tearmed, which is the twylight, when yt ys no strange thinge to take a hundred or sixe score in one woodd in twenty-four houres." It is added that "another MS. speaks of one wood having 13 cock-shots." See Dict. of Birds, p. 1044.

But for confusion with the verb *to shut*, explained as 'going to roost,' there might never have arisen any difficulty as to the sense of the term. Much more might be said by way of further proof; but perhaps it is needless.

Couch-grass. Given in N.E.D. as a variant of Southern E. *cutch*, with *u* as in *full*. The editor compares the phonetic series *swylc*, *swich*, *swuch*, *such*. It is difficult to see the origin of the diphthong *ou*. Just as the A.S. *cwidu* had the by-forms *cwudu*, *cudu*, so the A.S. *cwice*, 'couch-grass,' may have had the by-forms **cwuce*, **cuce*; and **cuce* may have given *couch* as *geoce*, dat., gave *yoke*; by lengthening. *Cwice* is represented by *quitch*; while *cutch* results from *cwuce* by loss of *w*, as in *such*.

Emerald. The derivation of *emerald* from the Gk. σμάραγδος, an emerald, is duly given in all the dictionaries. But the history does not end there; the Gk. word is from Skt.; and the Skt. form has a Semitic origin. This is traced out in Uhlenbeck's Skt.

Etym. Dict., p. 216; and in Gesenius' Heb. Dict., 9th ed., p. 13
col. 2, with a reference to Pott (Etymol. Forsch., ii, 421).
appears that the Gk. *σμάραγδος* is also found as *μάραγδος*, whic
is from Skt. *marakata(m)*, neut., an emerald. This form, whe
preceded by *açmā*, a stone, gave rise to a Gk. form **σμα-μάραγδο*
in which the *-μαμα-* was replaced by *-μα-*, giving *σμάραγδος*, t
sense being 'emerald stone.' But the Skt. *marakata(m)* was
Semitic origin; from a form which appears in Hebrew as *bāreq*
meaning 'emerald'; from the root *bāraq*, to flash. Thus the sen
is 'flashing' or 'bright.'

Forehead. Usually derived from A.S. *forhēafod*. There is
older form *foran-hēafod*; Vespasian Hymns, xiii, 17 (Sweet).

Oust. From A.F. *ouster* (Bozon); the same as F. *ôter*. T
difficulty is as to the L. origin. Körting (§ 6643) decides f
L. *obstāre*; but there is a difficulty as to the sense, since *obstāre*
neuter, and means to stand in one's way. However, Du Can
gives *obstāre vel ostāre viam*, to hinder, to stop one's way; and t
transition in sense from 'to stop one's way' to 'to turn one
of his way' is not difficult. We should particularly note
Romaunsch *dustar*, to quench (thirst), to appease (hunger),
drive away (flies); all as if from L. **dē-obstāre*, to put out of
way. So also Mistral notes the Prov. *dousta*, used with the sa
sense as Prov. *ousta*, which is the F. *ôter*. It looks as if there
also a Lat. **dē-obstāre* as well as **obstāre*; and as if their se
were confused. The Prov. *dousta* is also used reflexively, with
sense 'to get out of the way.'

Overweening. All dictionaries agree in considering this w
to be connected with the verb *ween*, to suppose or imagine.
there seem to me to be three undeniable reasons why it sh
rather be connected with the verb *to wean*, in the sense of wea
an infant. The first is, that the verb to *overwean* occurs in A
no less than thrice; and is connected with *forwean*, which oc
thrice in A.S., and twice in Langland; and also with A
ā-wenian. The A.S. *oferwenian* is duly given by Toller, with
sense to become insolent. It is only found in Sweet's O.E. Te
as a gloss to *insolesceret*, which the Epinal Gloss., 538, render
oberuuaenidæ, the Erfurt Gloss. by *oberuenedæ*, and the Co
Gloss. by *oberuuenide*. These are from an infin. *ober-waenia*
oberwenian, where the *ae* denotes that the vowel is a mut
of short *a*, as found in the Icel. *van-r*, accustomed to.
original sense of *to wean* was to accustom a child to meat;

modern usage is really that seen in the A.S. *āwenian*, to disaccustom from milk or from the breast. And just as the Latin *insolescere* meant 'to act in an unusual manner,' so the A.S. *oferwenian* meant to go beyond what is usual, to be insolent. The second reason is that this verb is closely allied to A.S. *forwenian*, to be insolent, occurring in the pp. form in the gloss: "*insolens*, forwened," Corpus Gloss. 1109. Bosworth and Clarke Hall both wrongly mark the *e* in *forwened* as long; but Mr. Bradley has put this right in his account in N.E.D., where he defines *forwean* as meaning "to accustom to bad habits," and gives the right spelling *forwean*, with *ea*, not *ee*. This brings me to the third reason, viz., the phonetic development. The A.S. short *e* was lengthened to the sound of open *e*, and this open *e* was often spelt *ea* to denote this in Tudor English. Hence the etymological spelling is *oferwean*, with *ea*; and we find six such spellings duly recorded in the N.E.D., viz., three under *overween* (one being from Milton and a second from Greene), one under *overweened*, one under *overweening*, "ppl. a.," and one under *overweeningly*. The reason why the true spelling is so seldom found is obviously this, viz., that popular etymology naturally connected it with the verb *ween*, to imagine, just as it does so now. The article on the M.E. *overween*, sb., presumption, in the N.E.D., further helps to prove the point. The M.E. form quoted is *overwene*, from the Bestiary, l. 335; but it rhymes with *i-mene*, common (A.S. *gemǣne*), showing that the sound of the *e* was open. This really furnishes a fourth reason, as it is independent of the rest.

Pearl. Derived by Diez from **pirola*, not found, 'a little pear'; by Du Cange, from **pernula*, not found, dimin. of L. *perna*. But Moisy, in his Norm. dial. dict., gives the Norm. form as *perne*, which might come directly from Sicilian *perna*, a pearl; see *pernæ* in Du Cange, with reference to Sicily; whence, as being conquered by the Normans, the word may have been obtained. Note that Minstral, s.v. *perlo*, gives the Limousin form as *perno*, which might also represent L. *perna*. Perhaps *perle* may be for *perne*; on the other hand, F. *marne*, marl, shows that *perle* might become *perne*.

Peridote. A peridote is said to be a kind of chrysolite, a precious stone more or less like topaz. There is a notice of it in the *Daily Telegraph* of April 26th, 1904, p. 12, col. 1. This concludes with the remark that the name "has long been the cause of struggling among philologists. Some pin their faith to the derivation περιδοτος, a wager; others swear by περιδετος,

banded. The Goldsmiths' and Silversmiths' philologist dogmatically states that the word is derived from 'Feridet,' a precious stone."

The remark is hardly fair, for no philologist would accept these ridiculous suggestions of a Greek origin. The word is obviously Eastern. What is meant by 'Feridet' we are not informed.

However, when we compare the Modern Pers. *forseng* with the Old Pers. παραδάγρη, as preserved in a Greek dress, the supposition that the *p* in *peridote* corresponds to a modern Oriental *f* is not unreasonable. I find in Richardson's Arab. Dict. these entries:—

"Arab. *farīdat*, a precious stone, a pearl; Arab. *farīd*, a precious gem, a pearl, especially one of a larger size, or a bead of gold placed alternately between smaller ones in a necklace or bracelet; one, unique, incomparable. Also Pers. *farīd*, the middle bead of a necklace."

The M.E. *perydote*, in Emarè, l. 155, is from the O.F. *peridot*, fully explained by Godefroy.

Poldavy. In Nares's Glossary we find "*Polldavy* or *Poledavy*, a sort of coarse canvas." It occurs in Howell's Letters, in Cleveland, and in Taylor's Works, as the quotations there given show.

There is a good example in Arber's English Garner, ii, 166, where we find mention of money being spent in Brittany "in all sorts of canvas with other small wares, and in lockromes, viterie, and dowlass, *Pouldavis*, Olyraunce, etc." The Century Dictionary gives *poldavis* and *poledavy*, also *pouldavies*, and remarks that the origin is obscure.

I do not think it is very difficult. Seeing that *lockram* and *dowlas* are both named from places in Brittany, the chances are that *poldavy* is of similar origin. Indeed, I think I have seen this suggestion somewhere, but I cannot remember where; and I have never seen any proof of it. After a search in several maps I failed to find any such place, but reference to a French gazetteer was quite successful.

There is a fairly good gazetteer entitled Dictionnaire Géographique de la France, by Joanne. We there find that Pouldavid is the name of a very small place, containing only 250 inhabitants, in the commune of Pouldergat, in the department of Finisterre; and there is also a little river named Pouldavid, which runs into the sea near Douarnenez—the last-named place is in Black's Atlas—so that it is not far from Daoulas, which we spell Dowlas. As the Breton for 'pool' is *poull*, the signification of the name is obviously 'David's pool.'

The first syllable should be written *pol-* or *poul-*, not *pole-* or *poll-*.

Quillet. The N.E.D. gives *quiddity*, *quiddit*, and *quillity*, *quillet*, all in like or similar senses; adding that *quiddit* is short for *quiddity*; that *quillet* is short for *quillity*; and that *quillity* is an alteration of *quiddity*. The last two assertions are marked as doubtful. I think that all the assumptions are probably correct; for the chief point, that *quillity* is an alteration of *quiddity*, seems to be confirmed by a similar alteration in Italian. Torriano (ed. 1688) has: "*Quiditâ*, *Quidditâ*, the quiddity"; and "*Quilitâ*, *Quillitâ*, a quillity." And the Ital. *quilità* can hardly be anything but a variant of *quidità*; possibly affected by *qualità* or by "*Quilibetto*, a quidlibet."

Rack, verb; to *rack* wine, i.e. to draw it from the lees. (Prov.–Teut.) Clearly a word due to the Bourdeaux wine-trade; derived (as in N.E.D.) from the Gascon *arraca*, to rack wine; from *raca*, mod. Prov. *raco*, stems and husks of grapes. But we can go further than this. Mistral notes that *raco* is the same word as mod. Prov. *draco*, also *dracho*, with the same sense; so that initial *d* has been lost before *r*, precisely as in the E. verb *rankle* (see N.E.D.). But *dracho* is, of course, the same as the O.F. *drache*, in the same sense (Godefroy). And this *drache* is probably of Teut. origin; see Körting, § 3109. That is, it comes from a Frankish form allied to M.E. *drast*, dregs; A.S. *dærstan*, dregs, lees. Hatzfeld (s.v. *drèche*, malt) notices the O.F. *drache*, grape-stalks.

Rigadoon. Hatzfeld gives the derivation, from a dancing-master named *Rigaud*, and gives a reference for the date 1696 Moreover, he seems doubtful as to the correctness of the statement If, however, we refer to Mistral's Provençal Dictionary, we get fuller particulars. *Rigaud* is a Southern-French family name; and this particular dancing-master lived at Marseilles. Further, the dance became such a nuisance that it was prohibited for a time by a decree of the Parliament of Provence dated April 3, 1664; which gives a definite date. *Rigaud* answers to a Teutonic *Ricwald*.

Roan, as applied to a horse; mod. F. *rouan*. The O.F. is *roan* (Godefroy); and the *o* and *a* belong to separate syllables. We find also the mod. Prov. *rouant* (also *rouard*), roan, as applied to a horse (Mistral). The Span. and Ital. forms, like the Prov., are merely borrowed from O.F.; and tell us nothing. But the Prov. *rouant* suggests a derivation from the Lat. *rot-a* with a suffix *-ant*, which

had a mere adjectival force, like the *-ard* in *rou-ard*. We have precisely the same usage in O.F. *ferrant*, M.E. *ferraunt* (New Eng. Dict.), meaning 'iron-gray,' said of a horse; and this *ferrant* is a derivative from the sb. *fer*, Lat. *ferrum*, iron, not from the verb *ferrāre*, as the sense shows. The *-ard* in *rou-ard* is very well illustrated by the *-ard* in E. *bay-ard*, a horse of a bay colour, and E. *ly-ard*, *ly-art*, a horse of a silvery gray colour (New Eng. Dict.). The sense of O.F. *ro-an* was 'spotty'; from the O.F. *roe*, L. *rota*, a spot. That the L. *rota* was used in the sense of 'a spot on a horse' appears from the Italian *rotella*, 'a round mark or spot about a horse,' Florio; or 'any round spot or mark, a flea-biting in a horse, in a snake, or the skin of a beast,' Torriano. And, even more clearly, in Ital. *rotato*, 'a pie-coloured horse,' Florio; Span. *rodado*, 'a horse of dapple-grey colour,' Minsheu (1623); 'dappled, dapple, roan, applied to horses,' Neuman; Port. *rodeado cavallo*, 'a dappled horse,' Vieyra. Even more important is M.F. *roué*, 'dapled as a horse,' Cotgrave; identified as to form with *roué*, 'broken or executed upon the wheel.' The suffix *-an* in the O.F. *ro-an* may have been due to the Germ. suffix *-ing*, as in F. *éperlan* from G. *sperling*; see the Preface to Hatzfeld's F. Dict., § 142.

Sag, to droop. Prov. E. *sag*, *seg*; M.E. *saggen*, Prompt. Parv. A voiced form of the base *sakk*, *sekk*, which is not E., but Scand. Cf. Norw. *sakka*, *sekka*, to sink; Swed. *sacka*, to settle, sink down; Jutland *sakke*, to sink, settle (as e.g. a wall), in Kok. Rietz gives Swed. dial. *sakka*, to sink, but also *säkka*, with the exact sense of to sag, to droop. And cf. Icel. *sakka*, a plummet. All from the base **sakk*, which is an assimilated (and therefore a Scand.) form of Teut. **sank-*, second grade of the strong verb **senkan-*, to sink.

Screw. A difficult word; certainly from O.F. *escroe*, M.F. *escroue*, a screw; for the Teut. forms are all late and borrowed; mod. F. *écrou*, which has been changed from a feminine to a masculine. Kluge considers O.F. *escroe* to be of Latin origin; from L. *scrōfa*, a sow, with reference to the action of sows in rooting things up. The Cathol. Anglicum, at p. 99, note 11, explains Lat. *scrobs* as "fossa quam *scrofe* [*scrofæ*] maxime faciunt"; also as "a swyn-wroting." The loss of *f* in *scrōfa* is exemplified by the derivation of *scroyles* (F. *écrouelles*) from the late Lat. type **scrōfellas* (Hatzfeld). Kluge compares Span. *puerca*, a sow, a nut of a screw.

Scruse, to crush, press, squeeze. (F. — Teut.) Spenser has this verb at least three times. "And having *scruzd* out of his carrion corse The lothfull life"; F.Q., ii, 11. 46; "Fruit, . . Whose sappy liquor . . . Into her cup she *scruzed*"; id., ii, 12. 56; "Into his wound the juice thereof did *scruze*;" id., iii, 5. 33. The Cent. Dict. takes it to be a variant of *scrooge*, to squeeze or crowd up; but this is needless. It is simply formed with the F. prefix *es-*, L. *ex-*, from the verb *croose*, given in the N.E.D. as a variant of *crush*, which is from O.F. *croissir*, *croisir*, also *crousir*, *crusir*, to crunch, etc. Indeed, the compound *escroissir* is given in Godefroy, but only with the sense 'to gnash the teeth.' But in E. it simply means 'to crush extremely.'

Serval, the S. African tiger-cat. (F.—Port.—L.) Though the name is now given to the tiger-cat of S. Africa, the F. *serval* is said, in Hatzfeld, to be a name given by the Portuguese to an animal in India. The fact is that the authority for this is Buffon, who (according to an Eng. translation made in 1792) says: "The *maraputia*, which the Portuguese in India call *serval*, says Vincent Maria, is a wild and ferocious animal, much larger than the wild cat," etc. We infer that *serval* is really a Portuguese word, and was a name given by them to an animal which they found in India, which the *serval* somewhat resembled. It is clear that the word meant is the Port. *cerval* (with *c*, not *s*). Vieyra gives Port. *cerva*, a hind; and *cerval* as an adjective from it (as in Spanish); whence *lobo cerval*, a lynx. Now this is obviously F. *loup-cervier*, a lynx; and whilst Port. and Span. *cerval* represent an assumed Lat. type **ceruālis*, the F. *cervier* represents Lat. *ceruārius*, the true Latin adj. from L. *cerua*, a hind. The name *lupus ceruārius*, in Pliny, is applied to the lynx. When, therefore, we read in the Cent. Dict. that the F. *serval* is derived, possibly, from a South African native name, it is interesting to find that the South African language intended is really Latin. The lynx was called *lupus ceruārius*, or deer-wolf, because it hunts deer; and the *serval* was so named from a superficial likeness to it. Both are large cats, belonging to the order of *Felidæ*. It is further obvious that *serval* should rather be spelt *cerval*, if we wish to indicate its origin.

Silt, sediment; *silt up*, verb. I find no satisfactory account of these words. The Prompt. Parv. has: "*Cylte*, soonde [sand]; *glarea*." It can hardly be other than the M. Swed. *sylta*, mud, also a marshy place (Ihre); Dan. *sylt*, a salt marsh; Dan. dial. *sylt*, a stretch of low coastland, over which sea sometimes flows;

Norw. sylta, the same (Ross). Allied to Low G. *sulte*, a brine-pit, G. *sulze*, a brine-pit, also brine. All from a Teut. base **sult-*, a weak grade of **salt-*, as in **Salt**; see *Sülze* in Kluge. The old sense was 'deposit in a brine-pit.' Cf. A.S. *syltan*, to salt.

Sirrah. This form has never been properly explained; yet it is quite right. The sense (but only the sense) is well given by Minsheu, who says: "*Sirra*, a contemptuous word, ironically compounded of *sir*, and *a*, *ha*, as much as to say *ah*, *sir*, or *ah*, *boy*." The right explanation is that, in the fifteenth century, the form *sira* was used in Provençal instead of the French *sire*. A good example is given in Bartsch, Chrestomathie Provençale (1875), from a Paris MS. The story is that an Englishman and a French soldier had a dispute. The Englishman begins by addressing the other as *Sira*, and the other begins his reply with the same term, which appears to have been used in a highly non-complimentary sense. See Bartsch (as above), col. 397, l. 34; and col. 398, l. 13. In English, it is always used as a term of contempt; and the reason for this is given by Mistral, in his Prov. Dict., s.v. *sire*. He quotes an excellent passage from Thierry's History, explaining that the title of *sire* (which would be *sira* in the Provençal of the fifteenth century) was a term of contempt used by a Southerner, i.e. a man of Provence, to denote a ruler who was a Northerner or Parisian. When Louis IX was taken prisoner (about 1250), the men of Marseilles sang a Te Deum for their deliverance from the government of the *sires*, using this as a term of derision. *Sira* is not a true O. Prov. form, but simply the Prov. pronunciation of O.F. *sire*, orig. a dissyllable.

Siskin. The history in my Concise Dict. is nearly right, but we got the word from Dutch. Dutch got it from Low German, and Low G. from Polish; the name being Slavonic. The Polish name for the bird was *czyż*, with a dimin. form *czyżik*. This, in Low G., became first *zisek-e*, with added *e*, and then *zieske*, by lengthening the first vowel and dropping the second; both forms are in the Bremen Wörterbuch. Then the latter form gave Du. *eijske-n*, as given by Kilian, the *-n* being added in order to simulate the *then* common dimin. suffix *-ken*; another form was *sijsken*, also in Kilian, which gave E. *sisken* (Turner, 1544, Phillips, 1658), later *siskin*. In mod. Du. the mistake has been made of taking *-ken* to be really a dimin. suffix, and then changing *-ken* to *-je*. Hence the modern Du. form is *sijsje*.

Slade, a sloping glen or strath (E.). This is from the A.S.

slæd, with the same sense. The Cent. Dict derives this from Irish *slad*, a glen, a valley; but it is more likely that the Irish form is merely borrowed from English. It is certainly Teutonic; for it occurs in Westphalian as *slade*; and in the same form in Danish dialects and Norwegian. The interesting point is that (as Aasen says) the Norw. forms *sled-e*, a sledge (Icel. *sleðði*), *slad-e*, a slade, and *slōd-a*, to drag or trail (with others), point clearly to a Teut. strong verb **sladan-*, pt.t. *slōd*, pp. **sladanoz*, to slope down or to slide down; quite distinct from, though parallel to, the Teut. *sleidan-*, pt.t. **slaid*, pp. **slidanoz*, to slide. Hence *slade* is derived from the prime grade of the Teut. root SLAD; and is not immediately connected with *slide*. So also *sled* and *sledge* are from the same root, with mutation of *a* to *e*. See **Sled.**

Slattern, Slut. These two words are closely related in sense, and come from the same strong verb. The Teut. form is **slentan-*, pt.t. **slant*, pp. **sluntanoz*. This occurs in Swed. dial. *slintan* (for **slentan*), pt.t. *slant*, pp. *sluntit*, to slide, to slip aside; but in Norwegian the *nt* is assimilated to *tt*, giving *sletta*, pt.t. *slatt*, pp. *slottet*, to dangle, hang loose, drift or idle about. From the Norw. 2nd grade *slatt* we have Dan. *slatte*, a slattern, and E. *slattern*; and from the weak grade *slott-*, we have Norw. *slott*, an idler, *sluta*, to droop, Swed. dial. *slåta*, a slut, E. *slut*; cf. Swed. *slunt*, an idler, and Dan. *slunte*, to idle. The E. *slant* is from the same root, with the idea of slipping sideways, like a pole not firmly stuck in the ground.

Sleazy, flimsy; said of a material. Howell, in his first letter, speaks of "poor sleazy stuff." The Century Dict. derives it from G. *schleissig*, easily split; but this does not account for the vowel. It adds that Kennett (in Halliwell) connects the word with the country named *Silesia*. That this may be right appears from the article in Blount's Glossographia. He explains that the term *Slesia* or *Silesia Holland* meant the kind of holland which came from Silesia in Germany. In fact, it is called *Silesia* still.

Sled, Sledge. The M.E. *slede*, a sledge, seems to have been borrowed from M. Du. *sledde* (Du. *slede*, *slee*), with the same sense. We also find Icel. *sleðði*, Dan. *slæde*, Swed. *släde*. It seems impossible to connect these with E. *slide* (as Franck proposes to do), on account of the vowel *e*. Moreover, Aasen shows (s.v. *slada*) that various Norw. words point to a Teut. root SLAD, i.e. to a Teut. str. vb. **sladan-*, pt.t. **slōd*, with much the same sense as E. *slide*. This disposes of the difficulty, as the *e* can then be explained as

a mutation of *a*; and the M. Du. *sledde*, f., may represent a Teut. **sladjā*. See **Slade.**

Slush, mud. (Scand.) This seems to answer to Mid. Dan. *slus*, (1) sleet, (2) mud (Kalkar). Cf. Dan. dial. *sluus*, sleet. Perhaps it answers still better to Norw. *slusk*, mud, dirty roads or weather (Ross); which is related by gradation to Swed. *slask*, sloppiness, wet weather, *slaska*, to splash, dabble in wet, which perhaps accounts for the E. form *slosh*.

Slut. See note under **Slattern** (above).

Smolt, a salmon in its second year, when it has assumed its silvery scales. (E.) From the A.S. *smolt*, serene, mild, gentle; the prov. E. *smolt* not only means serene or mild, but also smooth, shining, or polished. The *smelt* is so named for a similar reason; the *sand-smelt* is also called *silver-sides*. It is probable that the original sense was 'liquid,' whence came that of 'smooth,' with reference to the surface of a thing *smelted* or fused. Cf. *smelt*, verb, and *smalt*.

Snooze, to doze. (Scand.) This can be explained from Swed. dial. *snusa*, which not only means to take snuff (from Swed. *snus*, snuff), but also to draw breath noisily during slumber, said of a child. The Dan. *snuse* not only means to take snuff, but also to sniff about like a dog, to poke one's nose into a thing; precisely as the prov. E. *snoozle* not only means to doze, but also to nestle or cuddle, and further, to sniff and poke with the nose, like a dog. So also the Low G. *snusseln*, to poke with the nose after a thing, like an infant after the teat, or a dog that sniffs round. The W. Flem. *snuistern* also means to sniff about. All allied to Dan. and Swed. *snus*, snuff. From the sound sometimes made in inhaling. Cf. *snuff*.

Snout. We find M.E. *snoute*, with final *e*; but the A.S. **snūta* or **snūte* has not yet been found. But the proof that the word is of native origin appears from the fact that the derivative *snȳting*, a sneezing, or, more literally, a cleaning of the snout or nose, really occurs. See Bosworth-Toller. This derivative postulates a substantive to derive it from; *snite*, to wipe the nose, being common in E. dialects.

Sowans, Sowens, flummery, a dish made by steeping the husks of oatmeal in water (C.). See the E.D.D., where, however, no origin is suggested; but it is noted that *sowen* is pronounced (sū·ən). There seems to be no difficulty, as it is of Gaelic origin. —Gael. *sùghan*, "the juice of sowens, the liquid from which they

are made by boiling"; Macleod.—Gael. *sùgh*, juice; allied to *sùgh*, verb, to drain, to suck in. Allied to L. *sūgere*, to suck, A.S. *sūcan*, to suck, *socian*, to soak. We may express the sense by 'soakings.'

Spigot. The form is Provençal, in connexion with the wine-trade. The Lat. *spīca*, an ear of corn, a spike, became (regularly) *espiga* in Provençal, mod. Prov. *espigo*. Mistral gives the modern derivatives *espigot*, an ear of corn ill thrashed, and *espigoun*, a spigot. We may fairly conclude that *espigot* had also formerly the same sense as *espigoun*. The literal sense is 'little spike'; hence, a spike-shaped wooden tap or a wooden peg.

Stencil. I gave in my Dict. an etymology from the M.F. *estinciller*, to sparkle, to set thick with sparkles; in Cotgrave. I see that this is given both in the Cent. Dict. and in Webster; but doubtfully. Further research shows that it is quite right. For the O.F. form is precisely *estenceler* (Godefroy), and it means 'to adorn with bright colours.' Godefroy does not give the sb. *estencele*, a spark; but it is in Walter de Bibbesworth; in Wright's Vocab., i, p. 171. And in the Aunters of Arthur, st. 31, is the line: "With his sternes of gold, *stanseld* on stray," i.e. with his stars of gold, stencilled here and there upon his armour. And Robson's note on the line quotes from the Wardrobe Accounts of Edw. III: "unum harnesium de bokeram . . . *extencellato* cum argento," i.e. starred with silver.

Stook, a number of sheaves, usually twelve. (Scand.) The account in my Notes on E. Etymology requires correction. The better form is *stouk*, as in many dialects; see E.D.D. M.E. *stowke*, Cathol. Anglicum (1483). Cf. Swed. dial. *stuke*, a shock of corn; Dan. dial. *stuke* (Kok). Allied to Low G. *stuke*, a stook; and further to G. *stück*, a piece, and to E. *stock*.

Struggle. M.E. *strogelen*, Prompt. Parv.; and in Chaucer, C.T., E 2374. Palsgrave not only gives "*stroggell* with my bodye," but also "I *strogell*, I murmure with wordes secretly, *je grommelle*," i.e. I grumble. It is evidently a frequentative verb, formed on a base *strug-*. The final *-g* in *strug-* makes it almost certain that the word is of Scand. origin. The traces of it in Scand. are slight, but they seem to be sufficient. Ihre gives M. Swed. *strug* in the sense of 'animosity' or 'grudge,' which throws much light on Palsgrave's use of *struggle* in the sense of 'murmur'; whilst Rietz gives Swed. dial. *strug*, contention, dispute, and notes that *draga i strug* is used of horses, meaning to

'draw with difficulty,' i.e. with struggling. He also gives the adj. *struug*, revengeful, which he compares with Norw. *stru*, refractory, contentious. He also gives the forms *stru*, *stro*, hatred, revenge. I find also Dan. dial. *struende*, adv., reluctantly. The form of the Idg. root is STREUK; and if we may suppose that this root sometimes appears as TREUK, without the initial s, we may connect the above words with Icel. *þrūga*, to press, *þrūgan*, compulsion, Swed. *trug*, force, constraint, A.S. *þryccan*, to press, to force, G. *drucken*, to print; and further, with E. Fries. *trüggeln*, to struggle against, as when a horse jibs or refuses to move forward, also to beg persistently, M. Du. *truggelen*, Du. *troggelen*, to beg persistently.

Swag, a bundle, especially of loot. (Scand.) In the Misadventures at Margate, one of the Ingoldsby Legends, we read:—"He said 'he'd done me wery brown,' and 'nicely stow'd the *swag*,' That's French, I fancy, for a hat—or else a carpet-bag." It is a far cry from this work to Rob. of Brunne, but the latter perfectly illustrates this word in his Handlyng Synne, l. 502:—"There was a wycche, and made a bagge, A bely of lethyr, a grete *swagge*." This reminds us of the term *swag-bellied* in Shak., Oth., ii, 3, 80, and explains the word. A *swag* perhaps meant a full bag, named from its *swagging* about when suspended over the shoulders.

Switch. This word occurs in Shakespeare, but not in M.E., and is not a native word, as its history shows. It was probably borrowed from M. Du. *swick*, which Hexham explains as 'a scourge, a *swich*, or a whip.' This I have already noted, but the rest of my article is wrong. For Franck points out that it is not true Dutch, but was merely borrowed from the Low G. *swikk*, also spelt *zwikk*, meaning a twig or rod, and even a vent-peg, which was also a meaning of the M. Du. *swick* above. But, further, this Low G. word is not true Low G., but was spelt with z because it was borrowed from High German. We come to the end of the borrowings when we arrive at the Bavarian *zwick*, the lash of a whip, or a stroke with the same; allied to Bavarian *zweck*, a tapering piece of wood, a splinter. The M.H.G. form *zwec*, a nail, bolt, wooden peg, esp. a peg in the centre of a target, called in English the *prick* or the *pin*; to "cleave the pin" was a feat in archery. This explains why the G. *zweck* means a tack, a wooden peg, whilst *zweck* means an aim, a purpose, a design. All these words are allied to G. *zwicken*, to pinch,

to tweak, and to E. *tweak* and *twitch*. The result (if correct) is quite unique. No other word in the English language owes its initial *s* to a Teutonic *t*.

The Bremen Wörterbuch (s.v. *swikk*, a twig, a peg, a tap) gives a form *swukse*, a long, thin rod, Hanoverian *swutsche*, a switch. These (if related) seem to be from a weak grade **twuk-*.

VI.—A GROUP OF GHOST-WORDS. By the Rev. Professor Skeat, Litt.D. (Vice-President).

[*Read at a Meeting of the Philological Society on December* 2, 1904.]

It once fell to my lot, viz., on Friday, May 21, 1886, to read to the Society a Presidential Address. I ventured, on that occasion, to introduce the subject of 'ghost-words,' a word which I myself coined for the occasion. I defined them as "words which never had any real existence, being mere coinages due to the blunders of printers or scribes, or to the perfervid imagination of ignorant or blundering editors." I showed that many of them were due to the confusion of symbols that were similar in appearance, especially *n* and *u*, *c* and *t*, *e* and *o*, long *s* and *f*, *r* and *v*, and the like; and I gave examples amounting to a little over a hundred. I now propose to give about seventy more examples; of which only two, *efters* and *reuk*, were noticed by me in 1886. I have also included *bravi* because of its incorrect form, and such words as *masterte*, *tacoy*, *tapere*, and *thremot*, which can only be explained by the complete coalescence of two words into one. These are all explained in due course. In my former paper most of the examples were taken from editions by Ritson, Weber, Whitaker, and others, whose knowledge of Middle-English was insufficient for their needs, although we must remember that handy appliances, in the way of helpful glossaries, hardly existed in their days, so that they had little to depend upon. In the present case, nearly all my examples are from the black-letter editions of Chaucer's Works, as the book was called, though it contained much of which Chaucer was wholly innocent. These words were gathered up by Speght, who warily omitted the references, and afterwards by Skinner, who, with a most praiseworthy diligence, supplied references to many of them, or quoted a part of the context, by way of help towards explaining them. Very often, his reference is vague or hard to follow. I think, for example, his edition of Piers Plowman must have been Rogers' edition of 1561. In many cases the discovery

of the reference and the context was no very easy matter; and it is partly with the view of assisting the editors of the Dictionary that I have tried to dispose of these words, as it is, and ever has been, their special desire to avoid them.

Abent. Coles, Kersey, and Bailey all have: "*Abent*, a steep place." Skinner gives *abent* as meaning a mountain-slope. The reference is obviously to Chaucer's Knight's Tale, A. 1981: "And dounward from an hille, under *a bente*." The black-letter editions have *a bent*, and Skinner has produced a ghost-word by taking the two words together. So also *Agiler* (below). Even in MSS., the *a* is often written with its sb., in one word. Compare *abos*, i.e. 'a boose,' in my Notes on Eng. Etymology (see below).

Abos. I have already noted, in my Notes on Eng. Etymology, pp. 3, 13, that the word printed as *abos*, in Allit. Poems, ed. Morris, B. 1075, is really *two* words, viz. *a bōs*. *Bōs* is the M.E. form of the mod. E. *boose*, for which the earliest quotation in N.E.D. is dated 1440.

Agiler. Given by Skinner as an old word. The N.E.D. merely notes that it is also given by Ash, who has: "*Agiler*, a deceiver." Many of Skinner's examples are from Piers Plowman; and the reference is obviously to B. ii. 120, where the reading is: "thou hast given hire to a *gyloure*," also spelt *giler*; see *Guiler* in N.E.D. Thus *agiler*, as it stands, is a mere ghost-word, composed of the two real words, *a* and *giler*; see *Abent*. Bailey has it as: "*Agiler*, an observer, informer" (1735).

Agipe. The N.E.D. has: "*Agipe*, Coles (1692); error for *a gipe*." This is the right solution; but it is worth while adding that Coles may have copied it from Skinner (1671); and Skinner may have got it by misunderstanding Speght's Chaucer. The reference is to the Romaunt of the Rose, 7262, where Speght has *a gipe* in two words.

Aker. *Aker* occurs in Gawain and the Grene Knight, l. 1421, and is explained by 'field, plain,' in the Glossary. Sir F. Madden wished to emend the passage. But, as shown in my Notes on Eng. Etymology, s.v. *Ker*, it is only an example of the common trick which the scribes often exhibit, of joining the indefinite article to the sb., as in *Abos* for 'a boose" (above). So here, the line runs: "Sone they cálle of a *qué*st in a *ké*r-syde," as the alliteration shows; and *ker* means 'a rock,' as in l. 1431, where the expression is repeated in the form "at the kerre-syde." The N.E.D. duly has *carr*; but not the compound *carr-side*.

Apies. Skinner explains *apies* as meaning 'opiates,' and the sense is right. All the same, there is no such word. *Apies* is Thynne's misprint for *opies*; and the other black-letter editions follow him. The reference is to Chaucer's Legend of Good Women, l. 2670. Bailey, ed. 1735, has: "*Apies*, opiates; *Chauc.*"

Autremite. Coles, following Skinner, explains *autremite* as 'another attire'; and Bailey has the same. Kersey has: "*Autremite*, a kind of vestment. *Chaucer.*" The history of the origin of this word is curious. Thynne had to print the line in the Monkes Tale which runs thus: "Shal on her heed now were *a uitremite*," with reference to Zenobia. But the letter *i* seems to have dropped out at press, and at the same time the indefinite article was joined to the substantive. Hence, as a fact, he printed "Shal on her heed nowe were *autremyte*." This extraordinary error occurs in all the succeeding black-letter editions; an *autremite* is thus seen to be a ghost-word. I first pointed this out in N. and Q., 9th S. ii. 341.

Belle I saude. Skinner has this phrase, and remarks that it truly wonderful. He explains it to mean 'beautifully I said.' Hence Coles (1684) has: "*Belle I saude*, I said or spoke very well." As a fact, the reference is to the House of Fame, 1[illegible]6, where the right reading is 'bele Isaude,' the beautiful Isault or Iseult, the well-known lover of Tristram. Stowe and Speght have *belle I saude*, with the initial *I* apart from the rest of the word; which turns *saude* into a ghost-word. The edition of 1550 is correct; and so is Thynne.

Belperopis. This extraordinary form occurs in the third edition of Crowley's print of Piers Plowman, and is duly explained by Skinner after his manner, from the Latin *pyropus*, a kind of bronze mentioned by Pliny. However, the MSS. have *bele paroles*, i.e. 'fair words'; B. xv. 113. It is clear that Crowley's MS. had the syllable 'p*ar*' denoted in the usual way by a *p* with a stroke through the tail. He neglected the stroke, turned the final *e* into an *o*, and ran the words together, so that his first edition has *belopolis*. When he came to print the second edition, he noticed the stroke, and this time it appeared as *Belperolis*. Finally, by a misprint, it became, in the third edition, *Belperopis*. I first noted this in N. and Q., 9th S. ii. 406.

Bravi. Skinner has the form *bravi*, and explains it quite rightly as representing the Late Lat. *brabium*, Gk. *βραβεῖον*, a prize, a reward. It is not really a ghost-word, though it is an

incorrect form; it should rather be *bravie*, with a final *e*. It is given in the N.E.D. as occurring in Bullokar (1676); but it is two centuries older; for it occurs in the black-letter editions of Chaucer, in l. 65 of a poem by Lydgate called A Commendation of Our Lady. See Chaucerian Pieces, p. 277.

Caitisned. It is observed, in the N.E.D., that *caitisned* is an error for *caytifued*, i.e. *caitived* or 'held captive'; and that *caitisned* has been copied in some Dictionaries. References are given to Phillips and Bailey. It is also in Skinner, who explains that it means 'chained,' as it is corrupted from the Latin *catenatus*. I have already noted this word in N. and Q., 9th S. ii. 485, as well as in my edition of Chatterton. It first appeared in Thynne's edition (in 1532) of the Testament of Love, book i. ch. i. l. 16:—"in this derke prisone, *caytisned* fro frendshippe and acquaintance"; where *caytisned* is an error for *caytifued*, i.e. *caytived*, held captive; due to misreading an *f* as a long *s*, and a *u* (for *v*) as an *n*. Hence it was copied into the later black-letter editions, and thus became, so to speak, an established word. The interesting point is that it attracted the attention of Chatterton, who found in Kersey the entry: "*Caitisned*, chained, or bound with chains. *Chaucer*." Hence, in the fifth stanza of his tragedy of Ælla, he has:—"When holy priest, the lechemanne of the soul, Did knit us bothe in a *caytysnede* vow." And Chatterton himself tells us that he believed the word to have the sense of 'enforcing,' i.e. 'chaining,' which could not possibly be right, seeing that it is a past participle passive.

Cheffes. Skinner quotes this word as occurring in the phrase "or with *cheffes* fat," in the Romaunt of the Rose. The reference is to l. 7041, where a list of delicate eatables is given. The black-letter editions have: "With tender gees, and with capons, With tartes or with *cheffes* fatte, With deynte flaunes, brode and flatte." The Glasgow MS. has *cheffis*, for which Morris proposed to read *chessis*. But it is best to read *cheses* at once, as the F. text has *fromages*.

Cherisaunce, Cherisaunie. I have already noted this, in my Notes on Eng. Etymology, p. 35. In the Romaunt of the Rose, 3335–7, we find: "Than, dismayed, I lefte all sool [remained all alone], Forwery, forwandred as a fool; For I ne knew no *chevisaunce*," i.e. no resource, no comfort. That *chevisaunce* is the right word, we know from its occurrence in the French text; besides, it has the right sense; see N.E.D. But by an unlucky

error, it was miswritten *cherisaunce*, with *r* for *v*, in the original MS., which was the common source of the existing MS. at Glasgow and of Thynne's text; and hence it appears as a ghost-word in all the black-letter editions. But the sense of 'comfort' seemed to be so obvious that it was given by Speght; and Skinner duly opined that it was a derivative of the verb *to cherish*, and meant 'cherishing.' But the misfortunes of the word did not end here. When Kersey came to give the word, he turned the final *ce* into *ie*, and then transposed the *ie* to *ei*. Hence we actually find, in Kersey, the entry: "*Cherisaunei*, [O.] Comfort"; where 'O.' means 'Old word.' Bailey saw that *ei* could not be right, and altered it to *ie*; so that he gives it as *cherisaunie*. Chatterton, who took most of his 'old words' from those marked 'O.' in Kersey, was only too glad to adopt it. Hence the first line in his "Entroductionne" to "Ælla" runs thus: "Somme *cherisaunei* 'tys to gentle mynde."

Clenge. This is a truly absurd mistake. Skinner quotes it as occurring thus in Piers Plowman: "where the Cat is a kitling, the Courte is full *clenge*"; see B. prol. 190. He attempts to derive it from the A.S. *clingan*, which shows that he fully believed in the correctness of the reading. But the right word is *elenge*, i.e. miserable, wretched. Thus the initial *c* is an error for *e*.

Comaunce. Skinner has *comaunce*, and explains it as 'community.' But there is no such word. The *a* should be *o*, and the *ce* should be *te*. The right form is *comounte*; for which see *Commonty* in N.E.D.

Congayne. In Coles' Dict. (1684) we find: "*Congayne*, to convince," and "*Congaye*, to send away." Both entries are copied from Skinner.

Congaye is a less desirable spelling of *congeye*, which is the Anglo-French equivalent of O.F. *congeier*, mod. F. *congédier*, to dismiss. The reference is to P. Plowman, B. iv. 4:—"Nay, quod Conscience, *congeye* me for evere," i.e. "Nay, said Conscience, dismiss me for ever"; where the black-letter editions have *congaye*.

The word recurs in another passage, where the printer, thinking the *g* to be hard, imagined that there should have been a mark over the *y*, to signify that an *n* had been omitted. Hence, in the same black-letter editions, we find, in Pass. iii. 173, the same expression repeated, in the form "to *congayne* thee for evere." And here Skinner has fallen into the trap, giving us the explanation: "ut te *convincat*; *gayne* enim est vincere."

Fortunately, the hybrid word *to congain* has no real existence. I call it a hybrid, because *con-* is of Latin origin, whereas *gain*, though from French, is ultimately Teutonic. Bailey (1735) has: "*Congayn*, to convince"; where the dropping of the final *e* makes matters worse.

Denwere. This extraordinary word, rejected by the N.E.D., is only known from one quotation from The Testament of Love, book i. ch. vi. l. 193; where we have only Thynne's text to depend upon, in which something has certainly gone wrong. I have explained in my note what I believe to be the nature of the error. I suppose that the right reading was: "And, for comers hereafter shullen fully, out of | *were*, al the sothe knowe of these thinges | *don* in acte," etc.; i.e. "And, in order that future comers shall fully know hereafter, without doubt, all the truth of these things as they were actually done." It is so printed in Thynne that *out of* ends one line, and *thinges* the next; and the word *donwere* could easily be produced by transferring *don* so as to stand before *were*, i.e. by shifting it from one end of the line to the other. After which *den* may have been put for *don* by way of making some imaginary improvement. But whatever the explanation may be, we may at any rate well believe that *denwere* is a ghost-word. But it duly appears in Speght's Glossary, in Skinner, in Coles, in Kersey, and in Bailey; always with the explanation 'doubt,' which is the sense of *were* without the *den*. Thus Barbour has *forontyn weyr*, without doubt; Bruce, vii. 219. This singular form was adopted by Chatterton, in his poem on Godwin, st. 16: "No *denwere* in my breast I of them feel"; i.e. no doubt.

Drafty. Although *drafty* is a ghost-word, it is entered in N.E.D., because it was accepted as genuine by Stanyhurst, Bishop Hall, and Sir W. Scott. It is an error for *drasty* in Chaucer's Prologue to Melibeus, B. 2113, 2120. Not only all the black-letter editions have *drafty*, but Tyrwhitt has it likewise, and explains it in his Glossary as "of no more value than draffe." In T. Wright's text the right form *drasty* appears, from the Harleian MS.; but his Glossary has *drafty*, explained as by Tyrwhitt. Morris has *drasty*, also from the Harl. MS., but his glossary explains it by "like dross, rubbishing, good for nothing." Yet it is in no way connected with *dross*. It is rather due to the A.S. *drestan*, *dærstan*, dregs, lees, and was so explained by me in my edition of Chaucer's Prioresses Tale; probably for the first time. The word *drafty* is impossible, because the adj. from *draff* is *draffy*; for which see N.E.D.

Durense. This word, noted by Skinner, occurs in Speght's edition of Chaucer's Dream, l. 1201. The best copy of this Dream is in the Longleat MS., lately edited by Dr. Jane B. Sherzer, Berlin, 1903. The context shows that the writer relates how he was all but dead, when he was at once restored to life and full vigour by an apple given him; whereat he was overjoyed. He says: "all my bones For the newe *onrewse* plesaunce, So as they cothe, desyred to daunce." Here *onrewse*, lit. 'onerous,' means simply 'very great' or 'extreme.' In many MSS., a short fat *d* is not unlike an *o*; and here, conversely, an *o* has been read as a *d*. Then the *n* has become *u*, and the *w*, properly a *u*, has become *n*; giving a form *durense*, which is purely a ghost-word. In the Glossary to his six-volume Chaucer, Morris explains *durense* as meaning *duresse*, i.e. 'constraint.' But this solution is obviously impossible, as 'constraint' is not an adjective. There is a third MS., viz. Addit. 10303, in the Brit. Mus., which obtains sense by turning *durense* into 'duringe,' i.e. enduring, lasting. This makes the best sense of all, but is difficult to account for. Either way, *durense* is wrong.

Efters. Given by Skinner as occurring in the Romaunt of the Rose, and explained as "ways, galleries, entries, walks." It is Thynne's reading in l. 1448 of the Romaunt: "In the *efters* that men might seen"; and, unfortunately, a leaf is here lost from the Glasgow MS., so that there is no other authority. It is the old error of mistaking a long *s* for an *f*. The right reading is *esters*, or rather *estres*; for the French text has: "tout *l'estre* Du vergier." Chaucer has *estres* in three other passages; see my Glossary.

Eynes. I have already noted this in my Notes on Eng. Etymology, p. 86. It occurs in the Allit. Morte Arthure nine times. But it should be *eyues*, i.e. eaves; see *Eaves* in N.E.D.

Forvise. Skinner quotes "it needeth me naught long thee *forvise*," from Chaucer's Troilus, bk. ii. The reference is to l. 1390 of that book, where the true reading is *forbyse*; so that *forvise* is a ghost-word. The remarkable point is, however, that *forbyse* is likewise an incorrect form. The reading is: "It nedeth me nought thee longe to *forbyse*," i.e. it needs not that I should long instruct you by examples. The sb. *forbysen* means 'an example'; but Chaucer has turned it into a verb, with the sense 'to provide with examples.' But he has mistaken the final *n*, which is an essential part of the word, for the usual infinitive ending, and so has wrongly dropped it! See my Glossary and N.E.D.

Gofish. Coles, Kersey, and Bailey, following the lead of Speght and Skinner, all have: "*Gofish*, sottish." I have already explained this in my Notes on Eng. Etymology. It is due to Chaucer, Troïl. iii. 584: "For to be war of *goosish* peples speche." The black-letter editions have *gofish*. Even Morris's Glossary to Chaucer has: "*Goofish*, adj. foolish."

Gratch. Speght's Glossary has: "*gratch*, apparel"; which is repeated in Skinner, Coles, Kersey, and Bailey. Skinner probably took it to be a substantive, as he derives it from the Latin *gratia*. But it is a verb. In the Rom. Rose, 7368, the Glasgow MS. has *gracche*, and Thynne has *gratche*, a reading which appears in all the black-letter editions. The lines are: "[She] took on a robe of cameline, And gan hir *gratche* as a Begyne"; and the French text has: "Et s'atorne comme Beguine," i.e., and attires herself, or apparels herself, as a Beguine. The correction to *graithe* is so obvious that it was made by Morris without any comment. Hence *gratch* is a ghost-word.

Hanylowes. Given by Skinner as occurring in P. Plowman, B. x, 129. But certainly a false form; see *Havelon* in N.E.D. Another false form is *Hamloun*. Whether it should be *havelon* or *hanilon* is none too clear. The references in N.E.D. to O.F. *havellon*, *havillon*, *havrillon*, do not help us much; for Godefroy gives no example of *havillon* or *havrillon*, and only one doubtful example of *havellon*, without any explanation.

Hauselines. The curious word *hanselynes*, i.e. short jackets, only occurs once, viz. in Chaucer's Parson's Tale. See N.E.D. and my Glossary. Skinner, Coles, Kersey, and Bailey all give this word twice over; once as *Hanselynes* and once as *Hauselynes*. They cannot both be correct; so that the latter is a ghost-word. The derivation from the O.F. *hainselins* settles the question; see my note on the word; vol. v. p. 459. Speght's Glossary has "*hauselines*, breches."

Holstaines. The reference is to *hail-stanis*, i.e. hail-stones, in Henryson's Testament of Cresseid, l. 168; where Thynne has *holstayns*. The N.E.D. has *hawel-stones* from Trevisa; which might perhaps give a form *hol-*; but it is a very questionable one.

Houton. In the Plowman's Tale, l. 872, the black-letter editions have: "Hoppen and *houten* with heve and hale," i.e. they dance and hoot (or shout) with might and main. Speght, in his Glossary, has: "*Howten*, hallow"; where 'hallow' means halloo or shout out; the entry being quite correct. But Coles turns the

final *-en* into *-on*, and enters it as: "*Houton*, hollow"; i.e. as if it were an adjective. And this is reproduced by Kersey and Bailey. Chatterton fell into the trap, and in l. 6 of his Epitaph on Robert Canynge has: "*Houton* are wordès for to telle his doe."

Intenuate. In 1561, Stowe added to "Chaucer's Workes" a few new poems on his own account. One of the most ridiculous, though somewhat ingenious, is the piece called The Craft of Lovers, dated MCCCXLVIII in Stowe's edition, but "One thousand foure hundred fifty and ix" in the two manuscript copies (MS. Addit. 34360 and Harl. 2251).

It is really a dialogue between a lover and his mistress, and the gentleman begins in a very high-flown style, after this sort:—

"Most souerain lady, surmounting your nobleness,
O *intenuate* Ienipre and daisy delicious."

At least, this is what Stowe gives us.

To call a lady 'a delicious daisy' is pardonable; but to call her 'an intenuate juniper' is really too much. It savours of calling her a parallelogram, or something equally abstruse. Speght retains the reading, but I cannot find it in his glossary.

Skinner's explanation is remarkable, as follows: "mirum sanè epitheton, credo voluisse O *odorata* Junipere, i.e. O Junipere in suaves halitus intenuata seu attenuata." He clearly regarded *intenuate* as a playful variant of *attenuate*, which I suppose means 'skinny.' 'A skinny juniper' is, I submit, an infelicitous epithet.

Fortunately, the MSS. are better. They not only correct *your* to *in* in the former of the two lines, but they supply the original form of *intenuate*, which happens to have been *intemerate*, borrowed from the Latin *intemerata*, inviolate. This redeems the epithet altogether, as far as the adjective is concerned; but even thus, I am ill satisfied with the substantive. It may be added that the lover proceeds to call the lady a "sanative medicine," a "comfortable creature," and an "excellente herber [herb-garden] of lovely countenance." The lady, with some spirit, declares that his "painted eloquence" is "so gay, so fresh, and eke so talkative" that she is disinclined to believe it all; but even this does not prevent him from calling her "a rubicund rose," and "a clarified crystal," and "a carbuncle shining pure." And this is the kind of stuff which, according to Stowe, was "compiled by Chaucer." But he really ought not to have dropped a C from the date.

Lucker. Skinner's Dictionary has the word *Lucker*, with reference to a passage in Piers the Plowman, which he gives in

the following form:—"How that lewd men light[1] *lucker* then lettred were saved." This he explains to mean, "quod laici plerumque sæpius quam clerici in altero mundo servantur; *light* est *lightly* vel *likely*; verisimilius *lucker* est *luckilyer*, felicius."

He has given the general sense well enough; but he is all abroad as to *lucker*; for there is no such word in the language.

Lucker must be joined on to *light*; then we have a form *light-lucker*, for which the best MSS. and the two earliest editions substitute *lightloker*. See P. Plowman, B. xii. 158.

This involves a curious point of A.S. and M.E. grammar. When an A.S. adjective ended in *-lic* (mod. E. *-ly*), the corresponding adverb, when used in the comparative degree, invariably ended in *-licor*. Owing to these A.S. forms in *-licor*, we frequently find M.E. forms in *-loker*. Modern English uses the suffix *-lier*; so that the M.E. *lightloker* is now spelt *lightlier*, meaning 'more lightly,' or 'more easily.' Hence the sense is that laymen are *more easily* saved than the learned. The text 1 Cor. iii. 19 has been quoted a few lines above.

Maches. See my Notes on E. Etymology, p. 175. The form should be *marches*.

Mansell, Masnel. Both are ghost-forms; the right form is *masuel*. See my Notes on E. Etymology, p. 177.

Masterte. This is not, strictly speaking, a ghost-word, when rightly understood. Skinner gives it as: "*Avaunt masterte*, locus sane valdè obscurus." But the reference is to Thynne's reading of Troilus, i. 1050: "And yet me athinketh that this avaunt *masterte*"; i.e. and yet I am sorry that this boast escaped me. *Masterte* is composed of the two words *me asterte*, run together into one.

Mavis (as a plural). The genuine word *mavis*, in the sense of 'song-thrush,' is too well known to need comment. But there is another *mavis*, which poses as a *plural* substantive, and originated in some mistake. It occurs in the Romaunt of the Rose, l. 5590: "An hundred *mavis* of whetè greyn."

Mavis is the reading in the Glasgow MS.; Thynne and the printed editions have *mauys*, *mauis*, or *mavis*. Speght explains it by 'a bushel,' which Skinner accepts, though it is obviously a plural.

Tyrwhitt's Glossary to Chaucer long ago gave the right solution, as follows: "*Mavis* is probably a mistake for *muis*, n. pl. (French).

[1] Misprinted *hight*; but it is a mere misprint, as the context shows.

The original has *Cent muys de froment*. The Paris *muid* contains something more than five quarters English."

It is clear that the translator simply copied the French word unaltered. The O.F. form was *mui*, and the pl. was *muis*; see Littré, who quotes this very passage. It is simply from Lat. *modius*. The sense is, of course, 'bushels,' as the context imperatively demands.

It is not improbable that the scribe of the MS. from which the Glasgow MS. and Thynne's MS. were both derived, did not understand *muis*; so he promptly substituted *mavis*, because he knew such a form was real. Unfortunately, it is out of place here.

Momblishness. In the Assembly of Ladies, l. 57, there is mention of some daisies; and in l. 62, of some pansies. Besides these, two more flowers are mentioned in l. 61, which runs thus in MS. Addit. 34360: "*Ne-m'oubliemies* and *sovenez* also," i. e. forget-me-nots and remember-me's also. The *remember-me* was a name for the germander speedwell; see E.D.D. But all the black-letter editions make a terrible hash of this line. Thynne has: "Ne momblysnesse and souenesse also." Hence the astonishing entries in Speght and those who follow him. "*Momblishnesse*, talk," in Speght and Skinner; "*Momblishness*, talk, muttering," Coles (1684), Kersey, Bailey, and the Century Dictionary; "*Sonenesse*, a noise," Bailey; "*Sonesse*, a noise," Speght, Skinner, Coles. I have noted these words before; perhaps they are the most extraordinary of all the ghost-words on record.

Moneresse. Coles (1684) has: "*Moneresse*, a she-mourner at funerals." He found the word in Skinner, with a similar guess at the meaning. The word meant is *moveresse*, a female mover or promoter of strife. It occurs in the Romaunt of the Rose, l. 19, and in the French text; in the allegorical description of Hate.

Nakoners. *Nakoners*, explained by 'brazen horns,' occurs in Thynne and the black-letter editions; the explanation is in Skinner, Coles, and Bailey; but Speght explains it by 'cimbals.' But there is no such word. The right reading is *Nakers*, in Cant. Tales, A. 2511; and the true sense is 'kettle-drums.' Tyrwhitt shows that Chaucer obtained the word from Boccaccio; and explains it correctly. Dr. Conan Doyle has fallen into the trap; in his novel named "The White Company," he has "blew their nakers." But a kettle-drum cannot be blown.

Nerth. This is one of the most extraordinary of all the words that have ever come under my notice. But it admits of a complete explanation.

Skinner gives it in his Glossary, quoting from Speght's Glossary to Chaucer. Speght has: "*Nerthes*, heardmen"; which has not even the merit of suiting his context. If he had said 'heardman's,' it might have passed.

I confess that I was quite unable to guess the passage referred to, but I lighted upon it quite accidentally (as is often the case) whilst trying to solve another similar problem. It occurs in the black-letter editions, in the Tale of Melibeus [Group B, 2746, in the Six-text edition]. I quote from Thynne's edition of 1532, fol. xcii, back: "And therfore sayth Pamphillus: If a *nerthes* doughter, he saythe, be ryche, she may chese of a thousande men." Skinner evidently looked up the passage, and made a brilliant guess. He suggested that a *nerth* means 'a neat-herd.' And so it does.

In the first place, the original Latin of Pamphilus has "nata bubulci"; see my note on the passage.

Secondly, the readings in the Six-text are as follows: E. a netherdes; Hn. Anetherdes; C. Auerthes (*so printed*); Cp. eny gaddes; Pt. an neterdes; Ln. any goddes (!). The Harl. MS. has 'a neet-hurdes.'

The right reading is that of E., according to the usual spelling of the period, which was adopted by Tyrwhitt. My edition and the "Globe" edition follow suit. It is clear that *nerth* arose from a succession of mistakes, and is a pure ghost-word.

It may have arisen thus. A scribe, having before him the form *anetherdes* (for the coalition of *a* with its substantive is common enough), jumped from the first *e* to the second, in the usual way, producing *anerdes*. This became *an erdes* (or was so read), which suggested *an erthes*; because *erde* and *erthe* were common variants of the word now spelt 'earth.' This was again divided as *a nerthes*, producing a form *nerthes* as the genitive case of *nerth*; note the reading in C. So a *nerth* is really a *neat-herd* after all.

There is a piece of common-land near East Dereham, Norfolk, called Neatherd Moor. The local pronunciation is *netterd*.

Nolne. The solution of the absurd form *nolne* would have been almost impossible, but for Skinner's kindness in quoting the passage and referring us to the Man of Lawes Tale [Group B, l. 512].

He quotes it thus: "That thence *nolne* it not of all a tyde."

He explains it as standing for *ne woln*, i.e. 'will not'; but does not tell us why *it* requires a plural form.

It arose from a misprint in Stowe's edition (1561). The edition of 1550 correctly has *nolde*, but Stowe's printer misprinted the *d* as an *n*. *Nolde* is 'would not,' i.e. would not go. And this is all.

All the old editions turn the dissyllabic *thennes* into the monosyllabic *thence*. This ruins the metre, but that was a matter of no consequence, as it never dawned upon men's minds, even as a possibility, that Chaucer had any regard for metre. A disability to entertain the notion that he was really a past master in metrical skill, is only too prevalent at the present day.

Olmeres, elm-trees. The entry "*Olmeres*, elm-trees," occurs in Coles, who copied it from Skinner. It is due to the fact that *oliueres*, i.e. olive-trees, occurs twice in the Romaunt of the Rose, ll. 1314, 1381. In the former passage it occurs as *Olmeres* in the black-letter editions, and there is no equivalent French word; but in the second passage they read *olyueres*, and the French equivalent is *oliviers*. The Glasgow MS. is right in both places. It follows that *olmere* is a ghost-word; and it does not mean an elm-tree.

Overly. The adverb *overly*, in the sense of 'excessively,' etc., is duly given in N.E.D. But it never occurs in Chaucer; and had no business to appear in Speght's Glossary, where its presence is due to a misprint. In Troilus, i. 382, we have a line ending with *al-outrely*, i.e. all-utterly, completely. In this word a *t* was accidentally dropped in the printing, so that this appears in Stowe's edition (1561) as *al ouerly* (for *al outerly*). Then came Speght, who boldly altered the *u* to *v*, by a stroke of genius.

Overwheled. Henryson's fine poem called The Testament of Cresseid, l. 401, according to Thynne's first edition, states that: "The cloudes blake ouerheled al the skye," This is quite correct, except that the Scottish form should rather have been *ourheled*. The verb *overhelen*, to cover over, is duly given in Stratmann, with examples from Wyclif and others.

The printers usually *omit* letters, but in this case ed. 1550 (followed by Stowe and Speght) inserted a *w*, and produced the absurd form *overwheled*. How it is possible to 'overwheel' the sky, by help of 'black clouds' or otherwise, no one has told us. Nevertheless, *overwhele* is not a ghost-word, as it is duly given in N.E.D. But it is not the right reading in the above context.

Pentrelniarie. This word is given by Skinner, but he suspected it to be wrong; and it has been dropped by later writers of glossaries. There are three errors in it. The *p* should have a stroke

through it, as it stands for '*par*'; *re* should be *er*; and *ni* should be *in*. The right form is *par enterlinarie*, i.e. 'with interlineations'; in P. Plowm. B. xi. 298.

Probatine piscant. In Speght's Glossary to Chaucer we have the entry: "*Probatine piscant*, the sheep's pool." The same forms are given in Skinner's Dictionary and by Coles (1684).

This is a double error; both forms are wrong. Speght's carelessness is here to blame, as his glossary differs from his text. The reference is to "A Ballad in Commendation of Our Lady," st. 19; see my Chaucerian Pieces, p. 280, l. 1.

Speght's text gives the following line, addressed to the Virgin:—

"The mighty arch, probatife piscine."

And this shows at once that there is no such word as *piscant*.

Further, I have shown that *probatife* is an error for *probatik*; and that *probatik piscine* is taken from the Latin *probatica piscina* in John v. 2, called in our English version "a pool by the sheep-market." Since *probatife* is an erroneous reading, it follows that *probatine* (which misrepresents it) is wholly a ghost-word; and so is *piscant*.

Proroke. In Coles' Dictionary (1684) we find the entry: "*Proroked himself*, hid himself in a rock." It is really rather comic, when you know the story.

He obtained this from Skinner, who, having got hold of the ghost-verb *to proroke*, set himself to discover an etymology for it; and opined that this "ridiculè conficta vox" was derived from *pro* and *rock*, "quia, scilicet, inter rupes se condidit." The man who *pro-rocked* himself was Paul the hermit.

The reference is to a passage in Piers Plowman, B. xv. 281:—

"Poule *primus heremita* had *parroked* hymselue,
That no man mighte him see for mosse and for leues."

In other words, "Paul the first hermit had (so) enclosed himself that no man could see him because of the moss and the leaves."

The verb *to parroke* is queer enough; still Langland coined it fairly from the sb. *parrok*, mod. E. *park*,[1] signifying 'an enclosure.' But we see what comes of using contractions. The scribe whom Crowley followed in his print had written '*par*' as a contraction, with *p* and a straight stroke through the tail. But it was misread as a *p* with a curly stroke through the tail, which signified '*pro*.' And this is the whole mystery of the origin of the verb *to proroke*.

[1] Otherwise, *paddock*; with *dd* for *rr*.

Ragounces. *Ragounces* is explained in Skinner as "a precious stone"; and the same entry occurs in Coles and It is the reading in l. 1117 of the Romaunt of the Rose, bot Glasgow MS. and in all the black-letter editions. It is, h a false form, and was corrected by Tyrwhitt to *jagounces*, of the French text. It occurs as *jagounces* in Morris's edit as *iagounces* in my own; and is so given in the N.E.D. It that the initial *i* was mistaken for an *r*. An *iagounce* was t also known as a *jacinth*.

Reathen. Skinner quotes from P. Plowman the line: I reape over *reathen*"; and thinks *reathen* is allied to M.I quiçkly; "contextus tamen est valdè obscurus." But t reading is *ouer-rechen*, i.e. over-reach; B. xiii. 374. It is error of mistaking a *c* for a *t*.

Resagor. Coles has: "*Resagor*, rat's bane"; as in Glossary to Chaucer and in Skinner. The right form occurs in Thynne, but in the reprinting the letter *l* drop so that both Stowe's edition and the one preceding it have The MSS. have *resalgar*, the old form of *realgar*, i.e. red a It occurs in the Canon's Yeoman's Tale, G. 814.

Reukes. Skinner thinks it means 'rooks,' and jocosely. But the right form is *renkes*, i.e. men; P. Pl B. vii. 181.

Sarlinish. In the Rom. Rose, 1188, we have the form *s* in the Glasgow MS. and *Sarlynysshe* in Thynne. Spe *sarlinish*, and explains it "a kind of silk like Sarcenet." has: "*Sarlinish*, a kind of sarcenet"; and Bailey has: "*Sa* sarcenet; *Chauc.*" For all this, the form is wrong, and o arose from misreading a long *s* as an *l*. The French is: " ot robe toute fresche D'une porpre Sarrazinesche"; corresponding English is: "Largesse hadde on a robe fre riche purpur Sarsinesshe." See *Sarasinois* in Godefroy sense 'sarsnet' is doubtless right.

Sarplesis. Speght's Glossary to Chaucer has: "*S* sachels, packs, or fardels." This hopeless word is d piece of carelessness on Speght's part; for *his own text*, other black-letter editions, has *sarpleris*. Another, and better reading is *sarpulers*, which occurs in Chaucer's transl Boethius, bk. i, prose 3, near the end; and Speght's explan not wrong; so that he clearly knew the right word. I shows how easily a ghost-word may arise.

I beg leave to quote my note on the passage. "*Sarpulers*, sacks made of coarse canvas; in Caxton, *sarpleris*; Lat. text, *sarcinulas*. Cotgrave has:—'*Serpillere*, a Sarpler, or Sarp-cloth; a piece of course (*sic*) canvas to pack up things in.' Cf. mod. F. *serpillière*."

Sased; (*alias*) **Fassed**. Very few, I think, know the origin of the mysterious verb *to sase*; of which the p.p. *sased* is given by Skinner, and by Coles (1684), explained by "stuffed."

Skinner tells us himself that he had it from Chaucer's Prologue, l. 233:—"His tipet was ay farsed ful of knyves," i.e. his tippet was always stuffed full of knives. Most MSS. have *farsed*, correctly, but the Petworth MS. has *fassed*, a false reading which the black-letter editions followed. Hence we find, in Speght's Glossary, the entry "*fassed*, stuffed." This accounts for the ghost-word *fassed*.

Unfortunately, Skinner read the *f* as a long *s*, and put *s* for *ss*; for he gives the reading as: "His tippet was aye *sased* full of knives." Then, being much put to it to explain the word, he suggests that it is an error for *seised*; i.e. his tippet was seised (or possessed) of knives.

Setrone. This I believe to be certainly a ghost-word, though it is not very easy to explain it. Skinner gives it as *Setron*, and thinks it means 'bright of hue.' He then derives it from Lat. *citrinus*, i.e. like citron. Indeed, *citron* is the form of word that it most resembles. The context is to be found in the poem by Lydgate entitled The Flour of Curtesye, l. 195, printed by Thynne in his 'Chaucer.' He is reckoning up the good qualities of a fair lady, and mentions, among the rest, that she was "therto as *setrone* As was of Troye the whyte Antigone." Of this poem there is no MS., and we are left to conjecture the true reading. My explanation of the matter is as follows. In the first place, Lydgate doubtless copied the name of *Antigone* from Chaucer's Troilus, ii. 887, where we find "Antigone the whyte." And, of course, the original reading for *setrone* must have been an adjective intended as a complimentary epithet, and ending in *-ee*. The obvious word is *secree*, i.e. one to be trusted with secrets, one who is trusty and reticent. But as *c* and *t* are so frequently confused, it is probable that *secree* was misread as *setree*, which made no sense. The scribe must then have misread *Antigon-e* (in four syllables) as if it were *Anti-gone* (in three syllables); in consequence of which he naturally altered *setree* to *setrone*, whereby he at least secured an imaginary rhyme, which was the next best

thing (or so it seemed to him) to securing sense. Whether this is the right explanation or not, *setrone* is certainly a ghost-word, because it will not really rhyme to the name *Ant-i-gon-ē*.

Shrake. Skinner quotes the phrase: "And shame *shraketh* his clothes," from Crowley's print of Piers Plowman. The reference is to P. Pl., B. xi. 423, where the right reading is: "And shame *shrapeth* (i.e. scrapes, wipes) his clothes." There is no verb *to shrake* in this connexion.

Sonenesse, Sonesse, said to mean 'a noise.' Explained under **Momblishness.**

Sord. Given in Skinner, and explained as 'sorrell-coloured'; with a reference to Henryson's Testament of Cresseid, l. 211, where Thynne has: "The first was *sorde*." This is in the description of the four horses of Phœbus' chariot; and the sense 'sorrel-coloured' is correct. The old Scottish edition has, however, the reading *soyr*, another spelling of *sore*, used by G. Douglas in the same sense. It is possible that *sord* is meant to stand for *sorit*, similarly used in Scottish; but it is more likely that the *d* is a misprint for *e*, and that the right spelling is *sore*. See F. *saur*, "sorrell of colour," in Cotgrave.

Sper. Skinner gives *sper* as a sb., from the verb *speir*, to enquire. The reference is to Henryson's Testament of Cresseid, l. 272, where most of the black-letter editions, followed by Chalmers, have the reading: "*Sper* is the cause of that vacacioun." But the old Scottish text has *Speiris*, i.e. enquires, in one word, and the right reading is: "*Speiris* the cause." Hence no such word as *Sper* can be inferred from this passage, unless we regard it as a variant of *speir*. It cannot be a substantive.

Spinge. Skinner has '*Spinge*,' which he says is explained by 'sprinkle.' I cannot find the passage; but it may confidently be said that *spinge* is a ghost-word, and an error for *springe*. Chaucer has *springen*, to sprinkle; in C.T., B. 1183.

Stod. Skinner quotes from Piers Plowman the phrase—"and of the *stods* and of the sters"; and suggests that *stod* is the same as *stot*. But the reference is obviously to P. Pl., B. xii. 223, which begins: "And of the *stones* and of the sterres." Hence *stod* is here an error, and there is no authority for it as being a variant of *stot*.

Subaltar. All the black-letter editions of Chaucer have the reading "*Subaltar* and septe" in the Man of Lawes Tale, B. 947. But we know that the right form is *Iubaltar*, i.e. Gibraltar.

Sweight. Noted by Skinner as occurring in the second book of Troilus. But there is no such word, although it occurs in the black-letter editions. The true form is *sweigh*, i.e. sway, force; Troil. ii. 1383.

Tacoy. Skinner quotes *tacoy*, and connects it with the verb *to take*. The reference is to Troil. v. 782: "He niste how best hir herte for *tacoye*." However, *tacoye* is not a ghost-word altogether. It arose from the conjunction of *to* with *acoye*. The sense is 'to calm' or 'to allure.'

Tapere. It is worth noting that Richardson quotes the following line to illustrate the sb. *taper*: "And in the nyght she lysteth best *tapere*." However, *tapere* is not really a ghost-word here; it is merely a short form of *to apere*, i.e. 'to appear.' The subject is Cynthia, i.e. the moon. Cf. Troil. ii. 909: "For lak of light, and sterres for *to appere*," where the Harleian and Corpus MSS. have *tapere*.

Teneling. An error for *teueling*; see Notes on Eng. Etymology, p. 297.

Thacces. This is only a ghost-word if misunderstood. It is composed of the two words *the* and *acces*, run into one. See Notes on Eng. Etymology, p. 298.

Thremot. Explained by Speght (who has *thre mot*) as "the blast of a horn." Skinner adopts this, but derives it from *terræ motus*, an earthquake, because the hunter blew so loud that the earth shook. So Coles has: "*Thremot* (*q. terræ mot*), the blast of a horn." Bailey has: "*Thremote*, the blast of an horn. *Chauc.*" However, the black-letter editions are right: "With his horne blewe *thre mote*." The Fairfax MS. has: "With a gret horne blewe *three mote*"; Book of the Duchess, l. 376. Hence the mysterious *thremot* is really made up of two words run together; and the sense is not 'a blast of a horn,' but *three* blasts.

Tought. Skinner quotes from the black-letter editions of Chaucer, Troil. v. 101, the line: "If that I speke of loue, or make it *to tought*"; where *to tought* is a double error, in place of the simple word *tough*. Thus *tought*, in this connexion, is a ghost-word.

Trancilers. Skinner quotes from P. Plowman: "for al trué *trancilers* and tillers of the earth." Here *n* is for *u*, and *c* for *e*, and the right word is *traueilers*, i.e. travailers or toilers; B. xiii. 239.

Trayeres. An error for *crayeres*; see Notes on Eng. Etymology, p. 306.

Trene. Skinner gives the word *trene* with a reference to Piers Plowman, B. vi. 332. But the right reading is *trewe*, i.e. a truce. It is clear that *treue* was written for *trewe*, and then *n* was printed for *u*. Hence *trene* is here a ghost-word.

Trichlich. Skinner gives *trichlich*, and refers to P. Plowman, B. prol. 14. The right reading is *trielich*; and *trichlich* is a mere ghost-word. Perhaps *trielich* was turned into *triclich*, with *c* for *e*; and then *c* became *ch*; or else the scribe wrote *ch*, by anticipation of the *ch* that was coming.

Troce. Speght has: "*Troce*, a wreath or withy"; which Skinner would correct to *tress*, though it would make no sense. The reference is to the Wyf of Bathes Prologue (D. 484): "I made him of the same wode a *croce*," i.e. a staff, or stick; see *Crose* in the N.E.D. The *c* was misread as *t*, so that *troce* appears in Thynne and the black-letter editions. The correction to *croce* was made by Tyrwhitt. Speght's explanation is copied by Coles, but *Troce* does not occur in Kersey or Bailey.

Tulsure-like. This astonishing word is quoted by Skinner from Speght, and is explained from the F. *tuile*, a tile, as if it meant 'tile-coloured' or 'reddish.' It would be past all hope if we could not find the context. However, it actually occurs in the black-letter editions of Chaucer, viz. in Henryson's Testament of Cresseid, l. 194, where a boar is described as whetting his tusks "right *tulsure-like*." And now the Scottish text comes to our rescue, with the variant "right *tuilyeour*"; where the *-our* is an agential suffix, and the sb. is derived from the verb *tuilye*, to quarrel, to squabble, to fight. Jamieson aptly defines *tuilyeour* as "one who is addicted to fighting or engaging in broils," an admirable epithet for a boar. It is from the O.F. *tooillier*, M.F. *touiller*, to dirty, to mix, to wallow, to muddle up, whence the O.F. *touille*, used of the confusion of a general fight. Cotgrave's definition is remarkable; he gives:—"*Touilleur*, a polipragman, filthy medler, shuffling or troublesome fellow; one that mars things by a beastly mingling of them." Further, we can explain Thynne's form by remembering that the word would be written *tuilȝeour* in Scottish; and he evidently took the ȝ for a z, and then substituted *-sure* for the awkward-looking suffix *-zeour*. Hence *tulsure* is not absolutely absurd; it is only a very poor attempt at imitating the original form.

Twyereth. Skinner quotes from Speght: "*Twyereth*, singeth." But the right word is *twytereth*, i.e. twitters; Boethius, bk. iii. met. 2, l. 21; in Thynne's edition. But the second *t* dropped out at press. Of the later black-letter editions the third has *twyreth*, and Stowe has *twirethe*. Speght has *twireth*, but his Glossary has *twiereth*. Kersey has: "*To twyer*, to sing"; Bailey has: "*Twire*, to whisper; *Chauc.*"

Unkek. An error for *unlek*; see Notes on Eng. Etymology, p. 311.

Vechon. In Speght's Glossary to Chaucer occurs the absurd entry: "*Vechons*, hedgehogs." This form is due to pure carelessness. The reference is to the Romaunt of the Rose, 3135, where Speght's own text, like the other texts, has *vrchons*. It is now easily seen that the initial letter is really a vowel, and *urchon* is merely the word which, with a slight modification in form and a greater one in sense, is preserved in modern E. as *urchin*.

The matter becomes truly ridiculous when we find *vechons* in Skinner's Dictionary; for, whilst he accepts the explanation 'hedgehogs,' he is sorely put to it to find the etymology. He opines that *vechon* represents the Mid. Du. *vercken*, a pig. But, not wishing to tie us down too closely to this ingenious derivation, he tells us that we may, if we please, derive *vechon* from the Latin *porcus*. But it hardly seems worth our while to attempt to do so.

Vinart. Explained by Skinner as a variant of 'vineyard.' The sense is right, but the form is inadmissible. The reference is to A Ballad in Commendation of Our Lady (doubtless by Lydgate), l. 45. The black-letter editions have *Vynarie*, and Skinner (or some one else) has misread the *i* as a *t*. I observe that, in the undated edition of 1550, the *i* has a dash above it, and the word looks very like *Vynarte*. This has been altered to *Vinart* by putting *i* for *y*, and dropping the final *e*.

Vinere. Stratmann notes that *vinere* in the Cursor Mundi, l. 13764, is an error for *viuere*, a fish-pond. I observe that *vyneres*, similarly misprinted for *vyueres*, occurs thrice in one page of Halliwell's edition of Maundevile's Travels, viz. on p. 216.

Waltsome. Chaucer twice uses the word *wlatsom*, i.e. abominable, in the C.T., B. 3814, 4243. In neither case does it appear in the black-letter editions. The first time it is represented by *lothsome*; and the second time by *waltsome*. But *waltsome* is a ghost-word.

Where. Skinner quotes from the Rom. Rose, 5699, where both Thynne and the MS. alike have: "His herte in sich a *where*

is set." It is quite certain that the word ought to be *werre*, meaning 'doubt' or 'confusion'; for the F. text has *Where*, as a sb., is a ghost-word.

Winer. Speght's Glossary has: "*Welked wyners*, w vine-branches." It is quite certain that *wyner* does no 'a vine-branch,' and that there is no such word.

The passage referred to is in The Testament of Love, c. 5, l. 34, where the author speaks of "welked wive venomous serpentes," where 'a wiver' means a viper. The is really referring to the passage in Troilus, iii. 1010, where C refers to the personification of Jealousy, and calls it "a wiver." It is not improbable that *welked*, though it mak sense, ought rather to be *wikked*. [The error is partly corre the reprint of Speght in 1687, where *wyners* is altered to *u* But the word 'wivers' is printed *winers* (with *n* for *u*) in e and ed. 1561, and in Speght's text. In his Glossary he has altered the *i* into a *y*. Skinner preserves it in his Dictiona reverts to the spelling *winers*, as in Speght's text. The *y* for *i* makes no difference, but the use of *n* for *u* turns ser nonsense.

Wishippers. Skinner gives this word, and takes it connected with diviners of the future state of the weath also refers us to P. Plowman, fol. 90. As this referen not suit any of Crowley's editions, he must mean the rep Owen Rogers in 1561, made from Crowley's third edition reference is really to B. xv. 350, which (correctly) runs "Wederwise shipmen and witty clerkes also." But Crowl in his first edition, the reading *Wether wysheppers*, altered third edition to *Wether wyshyppers*, which accounts for th in Skinner at once. We thus see that the *wys-* belongs previous word, and that what is meant is *Wether-wys sh* where *shyppers* is a variant for *shipmen*, i.e. sailors. It that *wyshyppers* or *wishippers* is altogether a ghost-word.

Yemp. The ridiculous adjective *yemp* appears in Sk Glossary. He obtained it from the black-letter editi P. Plowman, B. xi. 17, where we find the expression: art yong and *yemp*." However, *yemp* is a printer's er '*yep*' (with long *e*), as in all the MSS., the *m* having been i by some error. *Yep* is a M.E. word, signifying 'active,' derived from the A.S. *gēap*, signifying crooked, cunning, s astute. See *gēap* in Stratmann's Dictionary.

Youk. Skinner quotes *youk* from the Book of St. Albans; the sentence is: "Youre hauke *Ioukith*, and not slepith"; fol. *a* 6. The verb *to jouk* is duly explained in N.E.D. In this case the *i*, meaning *j*, has been wrongly turned into *y*. There is no verb *to youk*.

Yuly. An error in Ritson for *ynly* = *inly*; see Notes on Eng. Etymology, p. 325.

VII. — CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF MIDDLE IRISH DECLENSION. By J. Strachan.

In a paper published in the Transactions of this Society for the year 1885, and afterwards reprinted with additions and corrections in Bezzenberger's Beiträge, xi, 64–175, Dr. Whitley Stokes has discussed at length the Old Irish nominal declension from the comparative standpoint. Since then little has been done for the history of the noun; the efforts of Irish scholars have been devoted chiefly to the elucidation of the intricate verbal system. At the outset it was my aim to write a detailed account of Middle Irish inflexion, but lack of time has prevented the execution of this plan in its entirety. Last year I was compelled by pressure of other work to put off the paper, and now it has been necessary to choose between either deferring the paper indefinitely or submitting to the Society the results at which I have been able to arrive from the material already collected. Of these alternatives I have chosen the latter, in the hope that these results will be of interest to my fellow-workers, and that others may be stimulated to correct by further investigations any errors into which I have fallen and to fill up the gaps that remain. Here I would like to urge the importance of a full account of the nominal inflexion of the Modern Irish dialects; Middle Irish inflexion will be fully understood only when we know clearly not only that from which it started but also that to which it was tending.

As my object was not to write the history of individual words, but to set forth generally the changes which Irish nominal inflexion has undergone, it seemed that this purpose could be best accomplished by a study of representative texts taken from MSS. of different ages. I must not be understood to say that these texts were all of them first composed about the time that the MS. was written; many of them are possibly or certainly earlier. Only there was a tendency on the part of the Irish scribe to introduce into the

texts copied the forms with which he himself was familiar, so that if the texts are used with caution something may be learned of the language of the time at which the MS. was written. My chief texts are the following:—

1. Saltair na Rann (SR.). This poem was written towards the end of the tenth century. It is preserved, however, in a manuscript of the twelfth century. Consequently allowance must be made for the possibility of scribal corruption. In verse, however, this can in part be controlled by attention to the assonances and rhymes which the rules of Irish verse composition demand. Allowance must be made also for the liberties which the Irish poet took with his language for the sake of the metre.

2. Texts from the Lebor na hUidre (LU.), a codex of the latter part of the eleventh century. Attention has been devoted almost entirely to texts which in their origin are undoubtedly Mid. Ir.:— Sex Ætates Mundi (SAM.) pp. 1, 2, Fragment of Nennius (Nenn.) pp. 3, 4, Commentary on the Amra Coluimcille (CA.) pp. 5–14, Dá Broń Flatha Nime (DáBr.) pp. 17, 18, Fis Adamnán (FA.) pp. 27–31, Scéla Lái Brátha (Sc.L.B.) pp. 31–34, Scéla na hEsérge (Sc.E.) pp. 34–37, Aided Nathi (Aid. Nath.) pp. 38, 39, Aided Echach (Aid. Ech.) pp. 39–41, Fotha Catha Cnucha (FCC.) pp. 41, 42, Senchas na Relec (S.Rel.) pp. 50–52, Genemain Aeda Sláne (GAS.) pp. 52, 53, Siaburcharpat Conculaind (SCC.) pp. 113–115, Comthoth Lóegairi (CL.) pp. 117, 118. These texts probably belong to the tenth or eleventh centuries. Nennius belongs to the eleventh century, also GAS., and to the same century we may assign without hesitation CA., Sc.L.B., and probably most of the others. SCC., however, probably belongs to the early part of the tenth century.[1] The great Sagas of this codex in their origin date from an early period; in a less or greater degree they have undergone corruption and interpolation; in a less or greater degree they are an admixture of old and new. In consequence they play a very small part in the present investigation.

3. Texts from the Book of Leinster (LL.), a twelfth-century codex.
   (*a*) Lebor Gabála (LG.), with the exception of the verse, pp. 1–26. This text seems to me to be earlier than the following. I should not put it later than the eleventh century.

[1] See Eriu i, 159.

(*b*) Togail Trói (TT.), pp. 217–244. The references are to the lines of Stokes' edition, Calcutta, 1881.

Some material has also been taken from the Ferdiad episode of the Táin, pp. 81–88, a text which contains many late forms.

4. Texts from the Book of Ballymote (BB.), about 1400 A.D.

(*a*) Nennius (Nenn.), pp. 203–211. The original belongs to the eleventh century. As we have seen above, a short fragment is found in LU.

(*b*) The Story of the Æneid (Æn.), pp. 449–485.

5. Texts from the Lebor Brecc (LBr.), earlier than 1411 A.D.

(*a*) Vision of MacConglinni (MC.), pp. 213–219. The references are to the pages of Meyer's edition.

(*b*) Passions and Homilies from the Leabhar Breacc, ed. Atkinson (PH.). The material given from this text has been taken from the glossary to Atkinson's edition.

I have also consulted the Introduction to Stokes' Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore (LS.). Some material has also been got from the Annals of Ulster (Ann. Ul.), which, so far as its evidence goes, reflects fairly the changes in literary Irish from century to century.

As I have already pointed out in Eriu i, 152, it must be borne in mind that the Mid. Ir. which we have is a literary language of conservative tendencies. Hence, in seeking to determine the chronology of the various changes which the language has undergone, we should be especially on the outlook for the first appearances of the later forms which superseded the earlier, for when the new form makes its way into literature we may infer that the old was disappearing, or had disappeared, from the vulgar speech.

Before we pass to the consideration of the Irish declensions in order, there are four points on which something should be said, for the better understanding of what follows. These are (1) the palatalization of consonants, (2) the falling together of final vowel sounds originally distinct, (3) the decay of the neuter gender, (4) coincidence of cases.

Palatalization.

A consonant is liable to be palatalized by a following palatal vowel. Two cases have to be distinguished.[1]

(1) The vowel was afterwards lost. In this case palatalization is regular, e.g. *maicc* = Ogam *maqi*, *fáith* from **u̯ātis*, *céill* from **cēllī*. If, however, the palatal vowel was preceded by the sound-group *cht*,[2] then the palatalization did not reach through this group to the vowel of the preceding syllable; e.g. *-ā*-stems in *-acht* like *dóinacht* make the dat. and acc. sg. in *-acht*, in contrast with *túath*, dat. and acc. *túaith*. There is an apparent exception in gen. sg. and nom. pl. like *boicht* from *bocht* 'poor.'[3] The probable explanation here is that we have only a grammatical orthography,[3] just as in Mod. Ir. it is the rule to write *boicht* though that does not represent the actual sound. It is noteworthy that in Ml. 27[d] 7, 36[a] 34, *i* is over the line. Note also the nom. pl. *fornocht* YBL. 50[b] 33, and the gen. sg. *Droma fornocht* Ann. Ul. 726.

(2) The vowel was retained. Here the conditions are more complicated; a preceding consonant is sometimes palatalized, sometimes it is not.[4] Compare, on the one hand, O.Ir. *duine*, *glaine*, *lainne*, *caille*, etc.; on the other, *lánae*, *námae* (later *náma*), *enámai*, *soscéle* (*soscéla*), *túarae* (*túara*), *tríche* (*tricha*), *ógae*, *tréde* (*tréda*), *dubae*, *tengae* (*tenga*), *menmae* (*menma*), *bélrae* (*bérla*), *delbae* (*delba*), *torbae* (*torba*), *orbae* (*orba*), *lobrae* (*lobra*), *gorte* (*gorta*), *tigernae* (*tigerna*), *sercae*, *mescae*, etc. In some instances such as *lungae* (*lunga*) gen. sg. of *long*, the change of *o* to *u* indicates that the consonant must at one time have been palatal; the development

[1] For my present purpose I deal here only with final vowels. There was a distinction also with non-final vowels, e.g. *áram* from **adrīmā*, but gen. *airme*, *orcun*, from **orgenā*, but gen. *oircne*.

[2] In the Mod. Ir. of South Munster, according to Father O'Leary, Æsop, voc. iii, the *t* is palatalized but not the preceding *ch*. He says: "The vocative of *bocht* is not *bhoicht*. It is *bhocht* with the *ch* broad and the *t* slender." Is not this the meaning of the peculiar spelling *noch t*, W[b] 11[c] 18? In Thes. Pal.-hib. it has been altered to *nechtchenn*, but now it seems to me that we may have here a very interesting phonetic spelling, indicating that in O.Ir. the *t* was palatalized but not the *ch*.

[3] According to Pedersen, Idg. Anz. xi, 111, "diese Schreibung [sc. *boicht*] entsprach ganz gewiss der altirischen Aussprache . . . . *cht* bleibt nur unmouilliert vor einem erhaltenen auslautenden vokale, nicht aber vor einem geschwundenen vokale." But how he explains forms like *dóinacht* he does not indicate. Perhaps it might be said that palatalization took place only in an accented syllable. Against this, however, is *secht* 'seven.'

[4] For the cases in which the quality of the preceding consonant is determined by that of another consonant with which it has come into contact through the loss of an intervening vowel, see Brugmann, Grundriss I[2], 245 sq.

of the final vowel shows that it was afterwards depalatalized. It would seem that the presence or absence of palatalization depends partly upon the nature of the preceding consonant or group of consonants, partly on the nature of the vowel of the preceding syllable. The precise conditions have yet to be determined. In such an investigation it will have to be remembered that the regular development may be disturbed by analogy. Thus in Mid. Ir. for *lunga* we also find *luinge*, for *delba* (from *delbae*) *deilbe*, for *láma* (from *lámae*) *láime*, for *trumma*, *troimme*, *troime*, formed anew from *tromm*. Along with the coincidence in sound of final vowels this distinction produces divergences in Mid. Ir. in paradigms originally identical. Thus in *-ā*-stems the gen. sg. splits up into *-e* and *-a* (now identical in sound with the gen. sg. of *-i-* and *-u*-stems), see p. 210; the *-i̯o-*, *-i̯ā*-stems break up into two classes, see p. 222; there is a similar divergence in the plural of *-i*-stems, see p. 225.

Coincidence of Final Vowel Sounds.

In Mid. Ir. all final palatal vowels preceded by a palatal consonant became an obscure vowel *ə* preceded by a palatal consonant, e.g. *céle*, *céli*, *céliu* all become *k'ēl'ə*. In the same way *-a*, *-ae*, *-ai*, *-u* preceded by a non-palatal consonant became in time *-ə* preceded by a non-palatal consonant. The confusion of *-a* and *-ae* is carried through earliest, next confusion of *-ai* with *-a* and *-ae*.[1] Confusion of *-u* and *-a* is later. In the O.Ir. glosses there are no certain instances;[2] by 1000 A.D. confusion has set in, e.g. *betha* (: *bretha*) SR. 1216; in 3732 *innarbu* is written for the nom. to rhyme with *dú*. It is to be noted, however, that in the acc. pl. of nominal *-o*-stems, and in the dat. sg. and acc. pl. of nominal *-io*-stems, in which the final vowel is preceded by a non-palatal consonant, *-u* persists far down into the Mid. Ir. period, see below, pp. 216, 222, 223.

Decay of the Neuter Gender.

A full account of the decay of the neuter gender in Irish would require a special investigation, based on much wider collections

[1] Cf. Rev. Celt. xx, 303–4; CZ. iv, 51, 477 sq.

[2] The instances given in CZ. iv, 51, are either scribal errors or can be otherwise explained. *Ciasa*, *masa* are proclitics, and proclitics are subject to special laws. For *degnímu*, etc., see below, p. 228. For *arda* see Eriu i, 4. The remaining solitary *éttu* may safely be put down as a scribal error.

than those which I have at my disposal; there are several points connected with it that only a detailed investigation could make clear. Here I must content myself with showing from my material that at least from the date of the Saltair na Rann—for the early tenth century I have unfortunately no reliable evidence—the neuter was in a state of decay. Perhaps what is given here may suggest to others lines on which further investigations could profitably be carried on. The subject may be divided into the following heads:—(*a*) Transposed *n-* in the nom. sg., (*b*) the inflexion of the article, (*c*) the concord of the adjective, (*d*) the concord of the pronoun.

(a) *Transposed* n- *in the nom. sg.*

In SR. this is frequent[1]:—*an-nem niabach n-airerda* 112, *in nem n-amra n-etherda* 120, *nem n-usce nem n-aṅgel* 635, *muir ṅ-dubtemen, muir ṅ-daiged, muir ṁ-brén* 909, 910, 911, *mór ṅ-delb* 914, *classchetal ṅ-glan* 2211, *tonngur ṅ-dilenn* 2230, *mór n-ɨrenn* 2234, *hilar n-adba* 2473, *mór n-ergal* 4673, *ceól ṅ-grinngel ṅ-glé* 5907, *ceol n-amra n-adamra* 6064, *cech n-ecomnart* 6552, *cech n-olc* 6553, *mór n-arracht* 7080, *mór n-ergal* 7081, *mór ṁ-ban* 7435, *ergna n-imlán* 7440, *teg n-amra n-aurnaigthi* 7672. But without *n-*[2]:—*in leth aili* 275, *glenn golmar* 959, *galar glan* 2025, *teidm duairc* 4157, *gein airmitnech án* 5369, cf. 5392, *galar gér* 6229, *ár tróg diglach* 6499.

Sometimes *n-* is improperly added, e.g., *múr n-uaine* 349, *múr n-óir* 350, *múr ṅ-dermor* 352, *dia ṅ-gne noebda n-adamra* 728, *na curp n-úag* 1108, *cach ṅ-dúil* 2529, *o sruth n-Eofrait* 2663, *sluag n-Egept* 3674, *gnim n-iṅgnad* 4089, *coica n-unga* 4327, ccc *n-uṅga* 4340, *mo cech n-ail* 4451, 4513, *coscur ṅ-glé* 5575, *coscur n-aili* 5581, *droṅg n-ingen drong ṅ-gilla* 6279, *ba ferr cech ṅ-dáil* 7125.

The use of *n-* in chevilles needs special mention. Here it would seem as though it were regularly used irrespective of the gender of the preceding noun, for we find, not only e.g. *buaid ṅ-gle* 39, *reim n-oll* 139, and numerous other instances which it would be useless to enumerate, but also e.g. *gnim ṅ-gann* 3219, *gnim ṅ-glé* 3281, 3593, etc., *gnim n-iṅgnad* 4089, *gnim n-ogdai* 4227, *bág ṁ-buiden ṁ-bras* 4813, *caingen ṅ-glé* 5462, *sliucht ṅ-gle* 3052, and

[1] Here may be noted *dá cét ṁ-bliadan* 1985, *da cét ṁ-bargen* 6309, cf. Eriu i, 205.

[2] Here allowance must be made for the possibility of scribal error.

there are numerous instances of the same kind. So with a copula form, e.g. *ba gnim n-etig* 3211, *is gnim n-amnass* 3602, *ba gnim n-óg* 6965, *ba gnim n-daingen* 7230. In chevilles some neuter nouns like *búaid, érim, réim* are common, and from these the *n-* seems to have spread.

For the eleventh century we have LU. From the later texts there I have noted *mind n-aingel* 12^{b} 11 (the text of the Amra has *mind n-axal*), *síl n-Ádaim* 28^{b} 26, *gné m-broin* 31^{b} 9, *cét m-bas* 33^{a} 40, *cét n-ingen* 33^{a} 40, *Sliab n-Eblinde* 39^{a} 29, *a lleth n-aill* 40^{b} 7, *coiced n-Galéóin* 51^{a} 17, but *ainm aile* 1^{b} 16, *ann maile* (sic) 11^{b} 8, *nuall golfadach* 33^{a} 10, *ude anma* 33^{b} 9, *drem aile* 50^{b} 29, *cóiced Olnecmacht* 51^{a} 17; with improper extension of *n-*, *nach n-dúil* 34^{a} 13, *nach m-ball* 35^{b} 17 (gen. *nach m-baill* 36^{b} 13), *nibi*[1] *nach n-imnáire* 35^{b} 41, so 36^{a} 13; in an old text *gabáil n-gaiscid*[2] 62^{a} 34. These instances show clearly that in the eleventh century the old usage had broken down. It survived longest in place-names, e.g. *Mag n-Ítha* LL. 5^{a} 35, 12^{a} 26, *Síd n-Æda* 20^{b} 12. From PH., Atkinson (p. 809) quotes only one or two instances of the neut.

(b) *The Article.*

As to *a n-* in the nom. and acc. sg., the evidence indicates that by 1000 A.D. it had practically disappeared.

In SR. I have noted only *annem* 112 (which may be a scribal error), *a l-leth n-aill* 5152, *a m-bé* 5974; the masc. and fem. forms are numerous. From LU.[3] I have *a muir* 114^{b} 25 (in SCC.) and *a l-lathe* 117^{b} 37. Masc. and fem. forms are common; *int étach* 3^{a} 19, *int ingnad* 3^{a} 35, *int óenfocul* 6^{b} 7 may be quoted as showing clearly the masc. form of the article. From LG. I have *a cétna* 13^{a} 16, 20^{b} 41; from TT., *a l-láásin* 1944. In *a l-lathe, a l-láa* we have obviously traditional phrases.

In the gen. when the noun became fem. *ind* should be replaced by *na*. But here there is a remarkable persistence of *ind*. The usage, however, varies in different words.

SR. *na hesséirge* 2208, 7700.

[1] After the substantive verb there is the possibility of the influence of *ní fil*.

[2] The same irregularity appears in YBL. 21^{b} 42, so that it may be assigned to the original from which both copies came.

[3] The decay of the neut. is further indicated by the fact that the neut. article in the old Sagas has often been changed, e.g. *darin mag* 60^{a} 8, *isin n-armag* 60^{a} 11. YBL. has the same corruption, so that it may be put down to the original.

LU. *ind esérgi* 35^{b} 28, but *na hesergi* passim in the same text, *in mara* 3^{b} 34, 11^{b} 6, 30^{b} 3, 6, 37^{a} 18, *in tire* 27^{b} 2, *na haisi* 34^{b} 37.

TT. *in mara* 19, etc., *in tire* 153, etc.

Æn. *in mara* 450^{b} 44, 451^{b} 19, 463^{a} 13, 465^{a} 37, 471^{b} 21, *in tire* 466^{a} 17.

PH. *in ecnai, in mara, in tire, ind imdibe* and *na himdibe, in ingreime* and *na hingrema, na gene.*

(c) *Concord of the Adjective.*

As in the genitive of the article, there is here variation.

SR. *aithesc n-uag* 4429, but *aithiusc imnair* 4792, *ecnai imláin* (g.) 7038, cf. 3810, 7058, *fo gairm glain* 1487, *gné gaind* 7577, *i n-glinn Iosaphat imgann* 2006, *do lind glan* 5360, *Mara Romuir* 3987, *mara maill* 4003, *do Muir Romor* 4050, but *do Muir Romuir* 7332, *for in linmuir n-allmár* 2566, *Muir romra Ruad* 3982, *Muir Romuir Ruad* 4021, *nimi náir* 6161, cf. 7560, *nem noithech* 13, *connem n-allglan* 1656, *fo nim noebnár* 782, *do nim glass* 4107, *tir n-uar n-aiñbtech* 4681, *mórthir mainbthech* 4701, *dia tir trebach* 4823, *cosin tir saer suthach slan* 4827, *la síl suilig* 5134.

LU. *trisin ré cian* 13^{a} 9, *ri muir Romair* 17^{b} 13, *muir medrach mend* 40^{a} 13.

TT. *resin dirim n-dlúith n-delganaig* 1575, *goin adbail* 1482, *in mara glasguirm gablanaich* 1407, so 1439, *for muir táidlig* 989, *for muir tondgaraig* 1239, 1372, *ar muir tréin tromanbthenaig Torrian ocus ar ferand forglas firdomain ocus ar tir n-ettrigig n-indsig n-ailenaig* 535, *tir trebarglain* 533, 1441.

Æn. *fri re cen* 457^{b} 38, but *fri re cian* 462^{b} 31, *in tir felltach* 449^{b} 40.

MC. *isin leith iarthardescertaig*, 55.

In PH. I have noted *fri ré m-bec* by *fri re m-bicc*; I have no further collections. But some other instances may be added from LBr.: *a lethi deis* 110^{a} 38, *isin leth descertach* 125^{b} 3, *isin leth descertaig* 125^{a} 50, *Mara Ruaid* 119^{a} 3, 119^{b} 12, *conice Muir Mairb* 125^{b} 15, *do nim nélsoluis* 122^{a} 44, *tir n-amnais* 120^{a} 4, *tir n-aird torthig*, etc., 122^{b} 24.

From the above it is apparent that the old concord survived longest in the genitive.

(d) *Concord of the Pronoun.*

Note e.g. *is é*[1] *a ainm* SR. 6415, similarly LU. 32[b] 18, 3
BB. 203[a] 43, *bid hésó mo dún* LU. 3[b] 8, *isé bás* 36[b] 26, *is e*
doroine BB. 457[a] 20, so 465[b] 21, 31, 479[b] 31, *is e aithesc do*
450[a] 3, *isi in muir* SR. 287, *isi in cétesérgi* LU. 36[b] 33, *issi cé*
tir 27[a] 37 (but *isé cetna tir* 29[b] 27), *cissi lóg* TT. 156, *isi gne ro*
BB. 454[a] 19, *isi do leath coir* 469[b] 38, *isi fregra* 462[b] 37, 44 (
ise fregra 469[b] 20 et saepe).

Coincidence of Cases.

In course of time the nominative and accusative cases f
together completely. Instances of the beginnings of that w
be found below. Connected therewith is the replacing of t
accusative by the dative after prepositions; see below, pp. 243
In *-o*-stems the dat. sg. gradually fell together with the no
In the dual the cases fell together into a single form, pp. 239 sq.

We come now to an examination of the principal changes whi
the nominal inflexion underwent in Mid. Ir. For the most p
the various classes of O.Ir. nominal stems are treated in ord
some developments, however, which are common to more than o
class of stems, have, to avoid useless iteration, been taken togeth

Stems in -ā-.

Genitive Singular.

As we have seen above (p. 205 sq.), according to regular phone
development the gen. sg. would in Mid. Ir. split up into *-e* (
and *-a*, according as the preceding consonant was palatal or n
palatal. A large class of nouns forming their genitive in *-a* is m
up of nouns in *-cht*, e.g. *imthecht*, *imthechta*. Further examp
are: — *anála* (: *gráda*) SR. 2108, *cuṅga* (: *cumma*) 5764, *de*

[1] But *e* is also found before an old fem., e.g. *iss hé a n-arim firchert da se se*
SR. 558, but *bid hi a n-arim firchert* 51, cf. 752, *isse in met sain* 135, but *h*
meit 298; *ba hé méit* TT. 1875, *ba hé trumma* 748, *ise huaisli* BB. 461[b]
Here the *e* seems to represent an old neut. *ed*, cf. *ni hed a n-airim* SR. 7
iss ed ind drim sescat 756, *datha na flesc . . . hed nobid* 2963, *da a*
dec . . . héd robátar ic Solmain 7009, *ba ed sin a mét* LU. 114[b]
ba sed a n-ernail LL. 95[a] 22, *ba sed a n-anmand* LL. 298[a] 43. In O.Ir.
may compare the phrases *ní hed a méit* and *ised a eret*. I have not worked
the problem of the concord of the pronoun, and till that has been done it
not be clear always whether *é* before an original neuter in Mid. Ir. represents
original *é* or an original *ed*.

LU. 47ª 39, TT. 889, 1017, *gabála* LU. 114ª 22, 23, *láma*[1] SR. 2851 (: *dána*), LL. 9ª 32, PH., *lunga* LL. 2ᵇ 27, 28, *selga* BB. 456ᵇ 42, 468ª 11, MC. 7. But after the analogy of nouns in which the ending was preceded by a palatal consonant *-e* may be restored in the gen., e.g. *cuinge* MC. 57, *deilbi* SR. 1794, *déilbe* LU. 35ª 17, *láime* PH., *luinge* LU. 27ᵇ 6, TT. 35, 118, 396.

Nominative and Accusative Singular.

In Mod. Ir. the two cases have fallen together; either the nom. has replaced the acc. or the acc. has replaced the nom. Here I have no extensive collections of examples, so I must be content to give some that I have noted from earlier texts.[2]

SR., acc. as nom.:—*airim* 737, 2775, *árim* 744 (: *gairib*), 752, 756 (: *gairim*), 5613, *airc* 5405, 5410, etc. (but *arcc* 5421), *bréic* 1344, *reir* 3504 (: *fein*).

Nom. as acc.:—*adropart . . . edpart uag* 2617, cf. 5501, *dia tarat Dia primrann* 2661, *denam fri Dia comthocbal* (: *lár*) 2742, *dogní mo chumtubart* (: *rommalt*) 2888, *dénaid . . . arcc* 4301, *tucsat . . . ind arc* 5457, *thuc in narc* 5505, *dofucsat . . . cloch mor* (: *lór*) 5041, *rogellai . . . a ingen* 5837, *dlúm* (: *rún*) 6959, *roheirn dál* (: *ár*) 7225, *doraiga . . . ind flesc* 7501.

From LU. I have a few instances:—Nom. *mórdáil* 5ª 2, *árim* 38ᵇ 18, 39ª 13, *cretim* 50ᵇ 21, *gúais* 62ª 17; acc. *muinter* 15ª 41, *delb* 28ª 26, *breth* 52ª 33, *ócben* 74ª 31.

From Lg., TT., and Nenn. I have not collected instances.

Æn., nom.: *aimsir* 456ᵇ 24, 25, *coimling* 459ᵇ 34, *combáig* 459ᵇ 47, *conair* 463ª 34, 484ª 30, *foirinn* 452ª 37, 38, 464ᵇ 28, 29, *ingin* 449ᵇ 20, *lasair* 465ᵇ 25 (but *lasar* 465ᵇ 29), *luing* 463ᵇ 28, *saint* 462ᵇ 47, 472ª 17.

Acc.: *ben* 455ª 34, *bondaiderc* 468ª 20, *celg* 453ᵇ 34, *ciall* 456ᵇ 1, 458ᵇ 19, *cos* 483ª 8, *delb* 453ª 24, 454ª 22, 455ᵇ 45, 467ᵇ 39 (*dealb*), *foireand* 470ª 23, *ingen* 465ᵇ 37, 467ª 18, 31, 467ᵇ 11, 30, *lám* 450ᵇ 7, 20, *long* 451ᵇ 32, 460ª 6, 7, 462ᵇ 19, *loinges* 467ᵇ 47, *muinter* 458ª 22.

From PH. instances of the nom. are:—*comrair*, *conair*, *deirce* (by *dearce*), *figuir*, *glúais*, *lubais*, *saint* (once *sant*), *tegdais*, *toil* (by

[1] In the glossary to his Æsop, Father O'Leary gives *lámha* as the gen. of *lámh*. The dictionaries give *láimhe*.

[2] Already in O.Ir. there is a tendency in verbal nouns to replace the nom. by the dat., cf. CZ. iv, 70. Such nouns have therefore been omitted.

tol). Instances of the acc. are:—*ben* (by *mnái*), *bréicc* (by *bréc*), *breth* (by *breith*), *delb* (by *deilb*), *dess* (by *deiss*), *digal* (by *digail*), *égen* (by *écin*), *ferg* (by *feirg*), *grian* (by *gréin*), *ires* (by *iris*), *pian* (by *péin*), *tol* (by *toil*), *túath* (by *túaith*).

Change of Declension.

In Mid. Ir. *cretem* becomes masc. and passes into the *-o*-declension; see PH.

In O.Ir. *Máil* followed by the gen. is frequent in proper names, e.g. *Máil cáich*, *Máil patrice*, etc. The gen. is *Máile*, e.g. *Maíl mbracho* Ann. Ul. 621, *Máile dúin* Ann. Ul. 669. Afterwards *Máile* is replaced by *Máil* or *Mál* (aspirating, cf. Ann. Ul. 871, 876, 880, 893, 1012, 1019, 1021). This *Máil* is identical with *máel* f. 'a short-cropped head of hair.' It is curious that it does not aspirate in the nom., but applied to persons it probably came to be felt as masc.[1]

Class (from Lat. *classis*) SR. 597, 705, etc., makes g. *clessi* SR. 492, 4532 (= *claisse* Ml. 107[b] 3), n. pl. *classi* SR. 495, but *classa* PH., *classai* LS. 238. In O.Ir. the acc. pl. is *classa* Thes. Pal.-hib. ii, 46.[2]

In O.Ir. a few nouns vary in the sing. between *-ā*-stems and *-n*-stems; in the plural, so far as they occur, they follow the *-ā*-declension. Such are *bendacht* (from Lat. *benedictio*), *maldacht* (from Lat. *maledictio*), further *dúthracht*, g. *dúthrachtan* Ml. 55[a] 17, and *fortacht* (but the simple *techt* follows the *-ā*-declension). In Mid. Ir. to the oblique *-n*-cases is formed a nom. *bendachtu*. O.Ir. *persan* (pl. *persin*) develops a nom. like an *-n*-stem *persa* or *persu* LU. 5[a] 6, 31[b] 43, PH., *almsan*, *almsine* becomes *almsu*, *almsaine*, and *almsan*, *comrorcon*, g. *comroircne*, develops a nom. *comrorcu*, *dethiden* becomes *dethitiu*, *dethidiu*.

In the sg. (except the old acc.) *rún* f. resembled the neut. *-s*-stem *glún*. Hence in Mid. Ir. it inflects in the plural like *glún*, e.g. *rúini* LU. 35[b] 29, *rúne* 11[a] 44 (but *rúna* 11[b] 6), *rúnaib* SR. 9, 2018 (by *rúnaib* 221, 531, 3368, g. pl. *rún* SR. 325).

[1] That in these proper names *Máel* was originally fem. appears clearly from instances in which it is followed, not by the gen. of a noun, but by an adj. Thus *Maelodhor* Ann. Ul. 819 makes the gen. *Maeleodrae* Ann. Ul. 692, 693. But when *Máile* becomes *Máil* we have the gen. *Maeluidhir* Ann. Ul. 640, *Maeldoraibh* 626, etc.

[2] In Ml. 116[d] 2 *classe* is a gloss on *chorosque ducentibus*. Is it gen. sg.—with the construction of the Irish verbal noun?

Stems in -o-.

Dative Singular.

In the dat. sg. the lost final *u* produced certain changes in the vocalism of the preceding syllable.[1] In Mod. Ir. the dat. has fallen together with the nom. The old vowel changes survived long into the Mid. Ir. period, as will be apparent from the following lists.

SR. As the MS. is considerably later than the date of composition of the text, only instances are given in which the vocalism is supported by the rhyme.

(*a*) *adbur* (: *adbul*) 22, *ingnud* (: *dindchur*) 336, *sossud* (: *fossud*) 568, *torud* (: *rogud*) 620, *druing* (: *uasum*) 855, *immud* (: *cinniud*) 968, *curp* (: *intliucht*) 1154, *ulcc* (: *intliucht*) 1243, *craunn* (: *ubull*) 1254, 1261, *mud* (: *sargud*) 1545, *mud* (: *thur*) 1584, *crisluch* (: *sruth*) 1638, *mud* (: *cumscugud*) 1667, *curp* (: *coemcucht*) 2102, *druing* (: *ornamentum*) 2148, *fut* (: *cucht*) 2640, *biud* (: *diud*) 3088, (: *ruth*) 3108, *cumriuch* (: *ruth*) 3286, *elluch* (: *cennuch*) 3428, *fut* (: *cucht*) 4220, *argott* (: *locht*) 4245, *iarthur* (: *cruth*) 4256, *dligud* (: *inud*) 4448, *diriuch* (: *siniud*) 5171, *druing* (: *Tirum*) 5217, *cráesluch* (: *láeschur*) 5724, *druing* (: *iurn*) 5762, *druing* (: *sunn*) 6139, *indriud* (: *tindrud*) 6771, 7086, *saegul* (: *dul*) 7240, *druing* (: *Caldeorum*) 7304.

(*β*) *cetadbar* (: *bladmar*) 30, *corp* (: *locht*) 1218, 1544, *erchol* (: *dron*) 1873, *sen* (MS. *sin* : *fer*) 2435, *scél* (: *Israhél*) 4113, *primthóisech* (: *-coimsed*) 5388, *dílgen* (: *sirden*) 5612, *inred* (: *roindled*) 5736, *lén* (: *Israhél*) 5773, *tairchel* (: *sel*) 5798, *comchlaidbed* (: *daigrech*) 5888, *nél* (: *Israhél*) 5897, *nél* (: *trén*) 7418.

LU. Texts.

Nenn.: (*a*) *foluch* 3ᵃ 3, *fainiul* 4ᵃ 16, *ferund* 4ᵃ 7, 25, *inbiur* 4ᵇ 6, *luc* 4ᵃ 16.

CA.: (*a*) *cind* 5ᵇ 16, *cenéol* 5ᵇ 24, *cétul* 13ᵃ 16, *clereoch* 5ᵇ 11, *dull* 14ᵃ 30, *deriud* 6ᵃ 35, 7ᵇ 3, 4, *domnuch* 12ᵇ 18, *fir* 7ᵃ 12, *inud* 6ᵇ 5, *mud* 6ᵇ 7, *runn* 6ᵇ 5, 8, 7ᵃ 22, *richiud* 12ᵃ 22, *sallund* 13ᵃ 32, *sathurnd* 12ᵇ 17, *tosuch* 6ᵃ 34, 7ᵇ 3, 11ᵇ 38.

(*β*) *cetal* 14ᵃ 33, *condelg* 8ᵃ 32.

[1] For O.Ir. examples see GC.² 224. The O.Ir. conditions need a more thorough investigation; note such cases as *galar* Wb. 23ᵈ 11, Ml. 61ᵃ 37, *forcital* Ml. 49ᵃ 6, *corp* Wb. 11ᵈ 7, 12ᵃ 12, and the like.

DáBr.: (*a*) *crund* 17ª 1, *étun* 18ª 14.

FA.: (*a*) *ainciud* (leg. *aicniud*) 29ª 40, *airiucht* 27ᵇ 1, *aireoch* 27ᵇ 21, *biud* 28ᵇ 15, *curp* 27ª 31, *crund* 31ᵇ 2, *cumriuch* 30ª 2[illegible], *cumtuch* 28ᵇ 5, *fugiull* 28ᵇ 18, *gurm* 28ª 37, *airthur* 27ᵇ 1, *imm*[illegible] 29ᵇ 26, *ur* 29ᵇ 33, *urd* 27ᵇ 7, *purt* 30ª 18.

Sc.L.B.: (*a*) *curp* 33ᵇ 9, *cumriuch* 32ª 18, 24, 38, *díabul* 32ª 3[illegible]5, 33ᵇ 6, *fugiull* 32ᵇ 1, 3, 9, *galur* 32ª 18, 24, 38, *muineol* 33ª 3[illegible]9, *sægul* 32ᵇ 47, *tosuch* 34ª 6.

(*β*) *aslach* 33ᵇ 4, *fulang* 33ᵇ 1.

Sc.E.: (*a*) *adbur* 35ᵇ 3, *adnacul* 34ᵇ 18, *aicniud* 34ᵇ 45, *condi*[illegible]*ulg* 37ᵇ 7, *curp* 35ᵇ 5, *dligud* 35ª 3, *fugiull* 34ᵇ 14, *fuiniud* 34ª [illegible]4, *inud* 34ᵇ 21, *libur* 35ª 13, *mud* 36ª 17, *tairchetul* 35ª 13.

(*β*) *adbar* 35ª 4, 35ᵇ 11, *díles* 37ª 3.

Aid. Nath.: (*a*) *libur* 39ª 18, 19, *óenuch* 38ᵇ 12, 16, 20, 24, etc.

Aid. Ech.: (*a*) *airiucht* 41ª 25, *beluch* 39ª 38, *brut* 41ª [illegible]20, *curuch* 40ᵇ 39, *ethur* 41ª 16, *ferund* 39ᵇ 8, 41ª 33, *tairchetul* 39ᵇ [illegible]29. Remarkable is *farrud* 40ᵇ 24 = O.Ir. *arrad*.

(*β*) *inad* 39ᵇ 37.

SCC.: (*a*) *argut* 114ᵇ 23, *carput* 113ª 12, 30, 31, 113ᵇ 2, *cind* 114ᵇ 27, *curp* 114ᵇ 28, *étuch* 115ª 17, *erriud* 115ª 17, *iffern* 114ᵇ 42, *méor* 114ᵇ 36, *mulluch* 113ᵇ 16, *purt* 114ᵇ 30.

(*β*) *étan* 113ᵇ 16, *imned* 114ᵇ 31.

CL.: (*a*) *armgasciud* 118ᵇ 39, *clud* 118ᵇ 40, *curp* 118ᵇ 4.

(*β*) *Dubthach* 118ª 36.

LL. Texts.

LG.: (*a*) *cind* 9ª 38, etc., *cengul* 20ᵇ 44, *séolcrund* 13ª 51, [illegible]*fut* 3ª 25, *forud* 9ª 47, *inbiur* 5ª 8, 9, *meor* 9ª 32, *mulluch* 11ᵇ 51, *nert* 20ᵇ 43, *nirt* 23ª 8, *oenuch* 20ª 31, *Usniuch* 20ª 48.

(*β*) *seolcrand* 14ᵇ 15.

TT.: (*a*) *adnacul* 2140, *airiur* 205, 545, 1159, 1644, *airthiur* 301, 464, 633, 1562, *anacul* 1260, 1647, *argut* 39, *attuch* 475, 1947, *brutt* 1039, *cind* 643, 2034, *claidiub* 346, *comruc* 1697, *curuch* 12, 37, *deriud* 697, *desciurt* 101, 338, *dilgiund* 505, *domun* 145, 691, *domon* 1740, *dúnud* 1113 (by *dúnaid* 1111), *ecur* 135, *étuch* 1036, *ferund* 785, 936, 1254, *fidnemiud* 733, *foluch* 2063, *forciund* 1082, *forniurt* 457, *funiud* 504, *gaisciud* 261, 633, *iarthur* 202, 301, 496, 1563, *idul* 1222, *iffurn* 460, 1808, *imniud* 1101, *inbiur* 243, 392, *inriud* 505, 576, 836, *inud* 346, 831, *iurn* 40, *nirt* 212, 257, 430, *oenur* 2076, 2081, *ulc* 1270, *ur* 1014, *purt* 376, 1088, etc., *scíol* 215, 544, 1589, *séon* 1237, *signifiur* 1096, *tarrung* 1513, *teglach*

52, *tempoll* 74, *tempul* 1224, *timthuch* 1035, *tobuch* 59, *tossuch* 1077, *tuarustul* 792, *tuasciurt* 101, 434, 493, 1126, *tuisiuch* 913.

(*β*) *aslach* 57, *cenel* 44, *comrac* 1512, 1513, *doman* 60, *fot* 93, *indred* 1253, *longphort* 1907, *sósar* 18, *timchell* 730, 731.

Texts from the Book of Ballymote.[1]

Æn.[2]: (*a*) *airgit* 466[b] 43, *athusg* 463[b] 42, *cind* 467[b] 37, 472[b] 26, 473[a] 17, *ceniul* 465[b] 40, *cur* 481[a] 20, etc., *crunn* 453[b] 35, 484[a] 39, 484[b] 14, *domun* 452[b] 8, 464[a] 17, *duillebur* 463[a] 24, *dunud* 464[b] 9, *eoch* 453[b] 37, 480[b] 29, 38, *fir* 465[b] 38, 41, 466[b] 35, *feor* 452[a] 21, *fogur* 461[b] 43, *foluch* 453[b] 21, 35, *fordul* 462[b] 19, *gul* 468[a] 42, *iarunn* 463[a] 6, *inud* 455[b] 45, 463[a] 4, *lug* 463[b] 42, *lurg* 455[b] 39, 483[a] 41, *meor* 472[b] 36, *nirt* 469[b] 8, *oenur* 463[a] 29, 460[a] 26, *ur* 449[b] 10, *purt* 450[b] 16, 463[b] 10, *rusc* 461[b] 42, *saethur* 452[b] 39, *sceol* 463[a] 10, 465[a] 19, *tempull* 450[a] 39.

(*β*) *armgaisced* 461[b] 18, *atach* 450[b] 18, 455[b] 4, 462[a] 9, 462[b] 18, 463[a] 16, *bunad* 459[b] 1, *cend* 465[a] 4, *cenel* 453[a] 13, 476[b] 14, 479[b] 26, *cengal* 461[a] 47, *comrac* 452[b] 2, *cæncomrac* 450[b] 5, *cor* 481[a] 14, 483[a] 7, *crand* 463[a] 26, 484[a] 39, 41, *cumdach* 457[a] 35, 457[b] 1, *dunad* 464[b] 20, *ech* 454[b] 10, 12, 14, 480[b] 32, *faslach* 460[b] 41, *folt* 473[a] 39, *fat* 453[b] 11, *fulang* 455[a] 7, *ifern* 464[a] 3, 464[b] 20, *inad* 456[b] 47, 460[b] 10, 464[a] 12, 15, *mullach* 461[a] 18, 464[b] 7, *port* 452[b] 20, *saegal* 464[a] 21, *saethar* 462[b] 6, *scel* 457[a] 19, *tairmesc* 460[b] 11, 465[b] 16, *timchell* 464[b] 4.

In words of more than one syllable, of which the final syllable is short, the change may be explained from the falling together in sound of unaccented short vowels. Thus *u* fell together with *a*, *iu* with *e*. We may see this confusion where the same text is preserved in two MSS. of different dates, e.g. *carput* LU. 58[b] 8 = *carpad* YBL., *ferund* LU. 60[a] 43 = *ferand* YBL., *gaisciud* LU. 60[a] 17 = *gaisced* YBL. In monosyllables like *crunn*, *purt*, and in disyllables with a final long syllable like *ceneól*, the explanation will be different. When once in a large number of nouns the nominative and the dative had fallen together phonetically, there would be a tendency to give up the distinction in other cases too, and this tendency led gradually to the replacing of the dative by the nominative (and accusative) form throughout.

[1] From Nenn. I have noted *niurt* 209[a] 8, *tidhnacul* 203[a] 11, *dunadh* 209[b] 16, *ferann* 209[b] 26; but this list is probably very incomplete.

[2] Forms of more than one syllable (except those with *é* in the final syllable) have been noted only to the end of p. 465.

In BB. we have from Aen. *aradain* 480^{b} 38, *urcuir* 478^{b} 20, *buill* 450^{b} 28, *cuirp* 479^{a} 16, *sloig* 462^{a} 5, *sluaig* 470^{b} 17, *Troianaig* 467^{a} 3, 467^{b} 29, 471^{a} 3.[1] From MC. *meicc* 17, *baic* 63, *scuir* 79; from PH. *bairr* (by *barru* and *barra*), *carpait*, *druil*, *lebuir* (by *libra*), *sacairt*, *sin*. In Ann. Ul. I have noted *geill* 1165, 1207, *seoit* 1231, *Goill* 1262, *fir* 1296. Further I have not collected.

Nominative Plural Masculine of the Adjective.

When the adjective is used substantively it has the same inflexion as the noun. It is only the attributive and the predicative adjective that call for special discussion. Very rarely in the O.Ir. glosses, but frequently in later old texts, the form of the fem. and neut. spreads also to the masc. both in the attributive and in the predicative adjective. In the glosses we have only *nipat fira* (sc. *rétae*) Ml. 51^{b} 8, *ciaptar mora a pecthai* Ml. 98^{c} 4, and *maicc cóima* Wb. 27^{b} 16, if the last passage be not corrupt. From later old texts examples are: *broitt brecca* LU. 55^{a} 12, *broit dubglasa* 55^{a} 16, *dá ech duba* 55^{b} 9, *it ána ind óic* 56^{b} 17, *combitis tornochta* 60^{b} 13, *it cóema na heich* 61^{b} 17. In later Irish a distinction has developed between (α) the attributive and (β) the predicative adjective. This may be illustrated from our texts.

SR.: (α) (a) *na doirsi glain* 457, *beóil ethchich* 1612, *cethirn comlain* 3538, *rig rorúaid* 4834.

(b) *srotha seṅga* 497, *aiṅgeil gléglana* 689, *slóig slána* 709, *noi mís lána* 1057, *anairt slána* 2221, *punainn lána* 3329, *punain seṅga* 3330, *na secht seṅga* 3331, *druid diana* 3419, *meicc ána* 3424, *loscainn riasca* 3933, *múir tréna dermara* 5060, *sloig móra* 5520.

(β) (a) *hit imsláin* (sc. *nime*) 194, *bethi mairb* 1232, *forfacaibthi glenuicht* 1358, *ar troig* 1482, *nidar glain* 1609, *nidat gleóir glethig* 1611, *ciabtar glain* 2421, *robtar snímaig* 3449, *dochuatar iar setaib slain* 3537, *nibdar dimdaig* 3550, *arn idain* 3583, 3626, *nibar troig* 3641, *rosat triuin* 3983, *batar buidig* 4049, *robtar dimdaig* 4051, *tairismig nibat lúamnaig athé* (= O.Ir. *oté*) *feta forhúamnaig* 4395, *imtar láin* 4659, *imtar taicthig* 4661, *nibfor cétludaig* 4672, *mairb huili* 4989, *bidfor coscraig* 4706, *na bid uamnaig imeclaig* 4830, *narbar dúrcridig* 4842, *ecoitchinn eat* 5517, *ba dimdaig* 5519, *indat glain* 6176, *bátar debthaig* 6264, *niptar* . . .

[1] A few more examples will be found under the old neuters, p. 221.

oentadaig 6540, *niptar súinig* 6544, *comtar mairb* 5111.[1] In t
following instances the adjective does not refer to a nom.:—
meirtnig rostacht a menma 3453, *a tichtain buidig* 3531, *fonrala*
mairb mesctha mir 3579, *dosfuc sláin* 5073, *dosrat . . . brónа*
7204.

(b) *cidat mora* 446, *comtar coema comlana* 7652, *biat slána* 416
dar slána 3612, *at mora* 3625, *ciat serba* 4071, *batar somblas*
4072, *duba druiṅg* 889.

In the following passages there is a mixture of forms:—*comchoem*
comluatha gluair 601, *lotar . . . dograig domma fri gorta lobra*
lonna lomnochta 1417, *roptar snímaig . . . truagaib* (a metric
license to get a rhyme with *slúagaib*) *tursig dércóintig* 344
rancatar . . . soera slana somenmaig 3517.

LU. Texts.

Sc.E.: (*a*) (b) *craind dermara* 37ª 29.

(*β*) (b) *cid lomnochta beti* 35ᵇ 41, *duba dano uli* 36ᵇ 18, *e*
eterciana 36ª 48.

FA.: (*a*) (a) *airchindig etrócair* 30ª 25, *brithemain gúbreth*
30ª 44, *rig ecraibdig* 30ᵇ 30, *slúaig digair* 31ª 7.

(b) *ailithrig dúthrachtacha* (another text has *duthrachta*
28ª 41, *slóig dimóra* 30ª 12, *slóig móra* 30ª 29, *cochaill ge*
30ª 31, *slúaig nóema* 31ª 9.

(*β*) (a) *bidat marthanaig* 27ᵇ 31, *cidat línmair* 28ᵇ 14, *it tor*
28ᵇ 27.

CL.: (*β*) (a) *márbtís máirb* 118ª 18.

Sc.L.B.: (*a*) (b) *léomain lonna* 33ª 26, *eóin etecha* 33ª 28.

CA.: (*a*) (b) *focail gnátheha* 7ª 37, 40.

LG.: (*β*) (b) *combtar torsig* 13ª 49, *robatar oentadaig* 20ᵇ 28.

TT.: (*a*) The attrib. adj. is regularly in *-a*.

(*β*) The predic. adj. is usually in *-a*, 151, 184, 548, 587, 5
649, 724, 740, 853, 854, 939, 1050, 1619, 1626, 1653, 17
1715; less commonly *nertmenmaig* 185, 187, 1212, *faltnig* 1
santaig 1636.

Æn.: (*a*) (b) *ruisc cochlacha* 452ᵇ 35, *ruisc gera* 454ª 33, *l*
londa 472ª 12, *fir airdmenmnacha* 475ª 32, *oirriga ana* 476ᵇ 39.

(*β*) (a) *tiagmaid uad anfailtig imeclaig* 450ᵇ 35, 7 *siat imec*
451ª 4, *comdis nertmeanmnaigh* 452ª 15, *codlaid . . . na Troia*
scith a aithle a n-astair 454ª 5, *robitis coimeolaig* 460ᵇ 29, 30, *co*

[1] In 1461 *for ṅgnimrada diamat glain* is as though *gnímae* had preceded -

crechtaig crolintig 461[a] 16, *robtar toirrsig* 470[a] 4, *batar fiamaig frithalmuig* 472[a] 10, *batar toirrsig dubaig* 473[a] 35, 473[b] 7, *batar failtig* 475[a] 11, *batar buidich* 479[a] 17, *batar dimdaig toirrsig* 479[a] 42, *batar dubaig* 483[b] 36.

(b) *robdar scitha* 472[b] 12, *ad rigda ruaigmera ba[r] riga, trena taleara bar taisig, ad glica gætha ba[r] comarlig, ad læchda ledmeacha londgarga bar laith gaili* 476[a] 44, 7 *siad tenna* 454[a] 32.

We see, then, that in Mid. Ir. the tendency is for the attributive adjective to end in *-a*, for the predicative adjective to have the old form; SR. proves that this distinction was developed before 1000 A.D. TT. is a curious exception. There is nothing to indicate that the text is old, so that the only possible explanation is that we have here a literary revival of the older form. As we saw above, in late Old Irish *-a* was used both in the attributive and in the predicative adjective, so that this is a secondary distinction which has no direct connection with anything in O.Ir. The only explanation of the phenomenon which I can suggest is that the predicative adjective, being in less close connection with the noun, adopted the inflexion of the substantival adjective, e.g. *it pecthacha na fir* 'the men are sinful,' became *it pecthaig na fir*, lit. 'the men are sinners.'

In Mod. Ir. the predicative adjective is uninflected. In the Mid. Ir. texts which I have examined I have noted only a few instances of the beginning of this development.[1] They are:—*tri fichit fer . . . ba marb* SR. 5443, *nobetis comarthanach* LU. 50[b] 12, *it sé bliadna sechtmogat robo lán* 14[a] 23, *na bad scitha sind* LL. 85[a] 22, 7 *siad fas* BB. 453[b] 24, 7 *siat aigthigi aduathmar* 463[a] 46, *na naiden ciche as marb* 464[a] 12, *ni sinne as cintach* 479[a] 11, *gurbo gel muighi* 481[b] 9, *scuru . . . do beth fass* 453[b] 21, *ba hogślán a n-étaige* PH. 1039, *dorónais na crandu tirma corba toirthech* 1358, *is findfadach a lama* LBr. 113[b] 47, *dorat iat imślan* LBr. 118[b] 40, *o roptar trén* LBr. 119[b] 31. So with *-i*-stems *comtis leir* SR. 2808, *corba réill éicni* TT. 196.

Accusative Plural Masculine of the Adjective.

The substantive form is *-u*, which develops as in the noun; the attributive form is *-a*.[2]

[1] In SR. little stress can be laid on *atam nocht* (: *mórolc*) 1347, see above, p. 205; *batar toirsech in tuath* 3885 is peculiar. In LU. *batar imtholtanaig na mnd* 43[a] 34 is strange.

[2] See Eriu i, 4.

Nominative and Accusative Plural Neuter.

In Mid. Ir. the O.Ir. *-a*[1] (1) remains, (2) remains, and later becomes inflected like the masc., (3) has assumed the inflexion of the masc. in early Mid. Ir. The following examples will serve to illustrate the general development, though additional material will doubtless necessitate the transference of some of them from one class to another.

1. *adbara* TT. 123. Mod. Ir. *adhbhair.*
athesca TT. 1103, BB. 449[b] 3, 471[a] 4, PH.
biada BB. 450[a] 27, MC. 63, PH. Mod. Ir. *biadha.*
bunada BB. 203[a] 6. Mod. Ir. *bunaidh.*
cenéla SR. 3882, LU. 1[a] 32, LL. 2[a] 27, TT. saepe, BB. 203[b] 29 457[b] 35. Mod. Ir. *cinéil.*
dichetla TT. 1672.
dúnada TT. 1089.
feranna LU. 1[a] 33, 2[a] 22, BB. 207[a] 48, 210[a] 19, PH. Mod. I *fearainn.*
forbonna LU. 118[a] 34.
inada TT. 1699, PH. Mod. Ir. *ionaid*[2] (Dinneen).
lina 'nets' LU. 41[a] 12. Mod. Ir. *lionta.*
mila LU. 11[b] 5, 114[b] 16, BB. 457[a] 1, MC. 7. Mod. Ir. *mi* *ol* and *miolta.*
nerta SR. 693, PH.
nualla LU. 31[a] 12. In Mod. Ir. it has become fem.
óla MC. 75.
ossada TT. 1790. Mod. Ir. *fosaidhe.*
rátha 'securities' LU. 118[b] 20, TT. 311, MC. 23.
scéla SR. 3480, 6134, LU. 31[b] 45, 32[a] 4, 41[a] 11, LL. 20[b] 3, TT. saepe, BB. 453[a] 47, 453[b] 5, etc., MC. 75, PH. Mod. Ir. *scéala* and *scéalta.*
sila BB. 207[a] 36. Mod. Ir. *siolta.*
tinchetla LL. 13[a] 34, 48.
ubla BB. 466[a] 1, MC. 5, 7, 107. Mod. Ir. *ubhla.*

2. *aithbera* TT. 1638 : *aithbir* 1767.
ára TT. 453, 1878, BB. 455[a] 19, 472[b] 11 : *áir* Ann. Ul. 117 O.

[1] Sometimes the O.Ir. short form is found with numerals, e.g. *nói ñgrád* SR. 553, similarly 657, 661, 681.

[2] Father Dinneen gives the g.s. as *ionaid.* Father O'Leary in his glossa to Æsop gives *inide.*

airm TT. 165, 450, BB. 459^{b} 29, 473^{b} 41, 479^{a} 6, as acc. 485^{c} 6, *armu* TT. 456, 672, *armo* BB. 209^{b} 37. Mod. Ir. *arma* and *airm*.

cend (*nóe*) LU. 114^{b} 10 : *cind* saepe.

ceóla SR. 1019, 4504 : *ceóil* SR. 483, *ciúil* PH., *ceólu* SR. 1736, LU. 28^{a} 31. Mod. Ir. *ceólta*.

ethra 'boats' LU. 39^{b} 31 : *ethair* 40^{a} 10.

faebra LU. 39^{b} 31 : *febair* TT. 165, *fēbru* LU. 101^{a} 45. Mod. Ir. *faobhair*.

gráda 'grades' SR. 710, 1646, etc., LU. 30^{b} 15, PH. : *gráid* SR. 666, 669, 1811 (acc.), PH.

3. *comaccomail* LU. 8^{a} 33.

craind LU. 39^{a} 29, TT. 124, *crannu* TT. 1376.

focail LU. 7^{a} 37.

fuidb BB. 479^{a} 6, as acc. 485^{a} 6, *fadbu* TT. 456, 672, *fodbu* BB. 478^{b} 32.

imnid TT. 209.

lestair TT. 164, as acc. BB. 208^{a} 16, *lestru* SR. 7602.

uile 'evils' TT. 107, 779, *ulcu* LU. 32^{b} 33, 37^{a} 37.

roisc LU. 28^{a} 10, TT. 2054, BB. 452^{b} 35, 454^{a} 32, 467^{b} 37.

Neuter Stems in *-ach* and *-ech*.

In Mid. Ir.[1] these stems, so far as they become masc.,[2] pass in the plural into the declension of *-s*-stems, after the analogy of *tige* to *tech*; this transition was probably helped by syncope in trisyllabic forms of *-ech* nouns.[3] See Stokes, BB. xi, 97 sq.; many examples will be found in Hogan's Irish Neuter Substantives, pp. 171–181; the list, however, requires sifting. As Stokes points out, in later Irish this declension spread to other nouns which were not originally neuter. Thus e.g. *sonnaige* YBL. 4^{b} 43 = *sonnaig*

[1] In O.Ir. the change of declension is just beginning; *cumrech* makes *cuimrecha* Wb. 23^{a} 5, *cuimrega* 27^{c} 36, *cuimregaib* 26^{d} 21, but *cuimrigib* 23^{b} 11, 30^{a} 22; *tossach* makes *tosge* (from **tossecha*?) Ml. 96^{b} 5, *toschib* 129^{c} 12.

[2] Some become fem. and are declined like *-ā*-stems. A good instance is *búarach*, the last part of which is identical with the second part of *cuimrech* (cf. Meyer, Contributions s.v. and Mod. Ir. *búarach* f.). The dat. pl. *buairgib* cited by Hogan is no argument against this; *búarach* comes from **búarech*, and in the dat. pl. the vowel was lost while it was still palatal. Other examples are *brothlach*, *brothrach*, *brúirech* in Meyer's Contributions, and *lothach* Windisch Wb. In *mullach* PH. and *brosnach* Meyer there is a variation between the two modes of declension.

[3] Does *cuimrigib* represent a syncopated *cumṅġib* with palatalization of the *g* by the preceding palatals?

LU. 24[b] 12; in Trip. L. 154 different MSS. have *domnaig* and *domnaige*.[1] Cf. also Finck, Die araner Mundart, i, 164, 165.

Other Changes in Declension.

áis n. 'age' becomes *áis, aisse* f.

dithrub g. *dithruib* 'desert' makes in SR. 6344 *in dithruba* by *dithruib* 4069, 4740, and dat. *dithruib* 6336, 6340, 6402, as well as *dithrub*, cf. *dithruib* LU. 1[b] 6. In later Mid. Ir. it becomes *dithreb* (like *treb*), cf. PH., and *na dithrebe* LBr. 122[a] 53, 129[a] 4[illegible] *isin dithreb* 122[a] 43, but *dithruib* 125[a] 37, *dithrub* 128[b] 36, 129[b] [illegible]

drong. In SR. usually keeps its old declension, but the beginning of an inflexion as a fem. *-ā*-stem appears in *druing* (: *druim*) 451[illegible] Cf. also PH.

grád makes also in Mid. Ir. a gen. *gráda*, cf. SR. 653 and PH.

rath 'grace' makes a gen. *ratha* SR. 6061.

Stems in -IO-, -IĀ-.

In Mid. Ir. the different final vowels would fall together, so th[illegible]at by regular phonetic development the result would be through[illegible]ut (except in the dat. pl. as long as the final *b* remained) an indet[illegible]r-minate vowel *ə* preceded by a palatal or a non-palatal consona[illegible]t. The *céile* would give *céile* (i.e. *kḗlə*), *tigernae* and *amrae* wo[illegible]ld give *tigerna* and *amra*. Of the adjective there is nothing more to be said. In the noun, however, two points call for discussion:

(1) In the dat. sg. and acc. pl. masc. (including old neuters so far as they became masculine) *-u* preceded by a non-palatal consonant remained *-u* for a time after *-a* had established itself in the adjective.

(2) As in the noun need was felt for a distinctive plural, a new plural form developed; in the adjective, as the number was shown by the accompanying noun such a formation was unnecessary.

Dative Singular.

In SR. the distinction between substantive and adjective is clear, e.g.:—

(*a*) *éscu* 113, *géscu* 298 (: *dú*), 6916, *timnu* 1516, 4963, 510[illegible] As to *innarba* 4960, 6907 (without rhymes), see below. In 705[illegible] 7026, *ecnu* assonates with nom. *frecru*. Either *frecru* is u[illegible]ed, *metri causa*, for *frecra* (like *innarbu* : *dú* 3732), or we sho[illegible]ld

[1] In Hogan the word is given as neut., but no evidence is adduced from O.Ir. text.

restore *frecra* and *ecna*; *ecna* is an old neut. which in Mid. Ir. became fem. See PH.

(β) *adma* (: *amra*) 452, *amra* (: *glanna*) 580, *glanna* (: *sutralla*) 4344.

In LU. texts, so far as my collections go, the distinction is well preserved: the adjective is regularly in *-a*, the noun in *-u*. In the noun *-a* appears in some old neuters, and is doubtless connected with a change to the fem. Such are *athchumma* 33ᵇ 14, *cumachta* Windisch Wb. (gen. *cumachta móri* 110ᵇ 1), *frecra*[1] Windisch, *erfuacra* 34ᵃ 48, *tacra* Windisch, *innarba* 1ᵇ 4, 31ᵇ 42, 32ᵇ 15, and Windisch, and *soscéla* 32ᵇ 45 (by *soscélu* 35ᵃ 31). Further, *duma* 38ᵇ 16,[2] 21, was probably a neut. which became fem.; the same explanation is probable in the case of *fodai* and *dogra*, by *dogru*, Windisch, though I have no clear evidence of their original gender.

In the LL. text TT. we have *forbu* 1810, 1913, *erchru* 2170, *idnu* 1503, *mochu* 2222, *rigu* 1082, 1264, 2134, 2150, *umu* 39. Of the *-a*-forms *athchomma* 604, 1719, 1720, *cumachta* 1795 and *ecna* 2107 have been spoken of already; *acra* 330 is an old neut.; as to *orbbaid* 381, O.Ir. *orbe* is neut., Mod. Ir. *forba* is masc. In Æn. the occurrences *comartha* 460ᵇ 14, 466ᵃ 18, 25, 480ᵃ 18, *fogra* 459ᵇ 42, *fuagra* 468ᵇ 47, *furfogra* 473ᵇ 12, *fregra* 460ᵇ 38, *indarba* 449ᵇ 5, etc., are all from old neuters; in the acc. pl., however, *-u* is clearly confused with *-a*. In the LBr. texts, PH. and MC., confusion is established for the dat. sg.

Accusative Plural Masculine.

This might be expected to follow the same rule as the dat. sg. As to the adj. the facts are clear. For the noun the evidence points in the same direction. In SR. 7386 *Niniuandai* is not supported by the metre, and may be corrected to *Niniuandu*. In TT. we have *Troiannu* passim, also *Troianno* 218, further *barbardu* 221. In *dindgnai* 557 by *dindgnu* 272 (g. *in dindgnai* 734) I have no clear evidence of the original gender; it may have been an old neuter.[3] In the Æn. confusion has clearly taken place, cf. *Troiannu* 451ᵃ 15, 453ᵇ 46, 456ᵇ 23, 467ᵇ 41, 43, *Latindo* 480ᵃ 2 with *Laitinta* 468ᵃ 24, *Rudulta* 473ᵇ 5, 42.

[1] In Mid. Ir. we find both *is é frecra*, e.g. LU. 34ᵇ 25 and BB. 469ᵇ 20, and *is í frecra* PH.

[2] Though it is accompanied by *mór* (: *brón*).

[3] In 528 we have *rigdamna*, but in 1065 *rigdamnu*. In Ann. Ul. 936 *rigdomna n-Erenn* points to a neuter.

Nominative and Accusative Plural.

As we saw above, in this declension the plural would in Mid. fall together in form with the singular. In Mid. Ir. a n distinctive plural in *-da* is developed. In SR. there are instances. In LU. I have noted only one, *trachtaireda* 33ª In LL. texts it is common:—LG. *iascareda* 22ᵇ 30, *muinceda* 18ᵇ TT. *cernada* 1702, *ancaireda* 1425, *brathbuilleda* 297, *bunn* 1622, *commairgeda* 314, *iascaireda* 13, *lithlaitheda* 175, *techtair* 210; Cath Ruiss na Ríg,[2] *comada* (by *coma*), *crideda*, *degbale* *glasgescida*, *merggida*, *uscida*. In the BB. text Æn. we ha *formnada* 454ª 31, *gesgada* 466ª 25 (but *gesga* 479ª 8), *acair* 450ª 33, *blededa* 453ª 8, *stocaireda* 468ᵇ 47, *tairneda* 451ᵇ Atkinson's glossary to PH. furnishes *comarthada*, *comorba* *fothada*, *tigernada*, *timnada*, *aithneda*, *crideda* (by *cride*), *luige* *merceda*, *oegaireda*, *saileda*, *trachtaireda*.[3]

Sometimes the *d* forms spread to the dat. *fogadaib* BB. 478ᵇ 1 PH. *aithnedaib* by *aithnib* (but *comarthaib*, *cridib*). Sometin *d* appears in the gen.: TT. *biled* 1383, 1412, *tiled* 1413, Æ *tigernad* 476ᵇ 38; this final *d*, however, has no phonetic value.

According to Dottin and Finck[4] this ending spread from acc. pl. of dental stems such as *comla*, acc. pl. *comlada*, *fili*: *file* *slige*: *sligeda*. In Mid. Ir. the acc. form spread to the nom., *comlada* SR. 411, *secheda* TT. 1731, 2045, BB. 461ª 3. And t *tigernada*: *tigerna* = *comlada*: *comla*, *crideda*: *cride* = *secheda*: *se* But there was probably another factor. In Mid. Ir. a fi aspirated *d* became quiescent, as is shown by the fact that i often written where it is not etymologically justified, e.g. *ren* LL. 86ᵇ 46, *caillid* LL. 20ᵇ 36 (but *caille* 22ᵇ 28), *orbaid* TT. 3 *clemnad* BB. 449ª 41, *baindead* 475ᵇ 44, *tigeadh* 457ª 15.

[1] The noun *imda* occupies a peculiar position. Cf. *imdad* LU. 92ᵇ 4, *im* 99ᵇ 30, *imdada* 90ᵇ 28, *imdadaib* 99ᵇ 17, but *imdæ* 88ª 23, 88ᵇ 17, etc. Im noun by the eleventh century there was an extensive transition to the d declension, under the influence of *comla*?

[2] I quote from Hogan's index to his edition.

[3] Further, from *aithis* we find not only *aithisi* but also *aithiseda*, from *mī* not only *mirbuli* but also *mirbuileda*.

[4] Dottin, Mélanges linguistiques offerts à M. Antoine Meillet, p. 41; F Die araner Mundart, i, p. 177. Both scholars see in these forms the antece of the Mod. Ir. pl. in *-ī*, and in my opinion rightly. At least I have beer to discover nothing against the equation, and it seems to be supported by M *ælin* (Finck) from an oblique case of O.Ir. *eladu*.

should then have e.g. sg. *cóiced* (i.e. *cōigə*), *bunad* (i.e. *bunə*), by pl. *cóiceda, bunada.*[1]

-ĭ- and -ī-stems.

As these two classes of stems differ only in the singular, they may be conveniently treated together. At the outset it may be noted that in Mid. Ir. the gen. sg. of -ī-stems and the plural of -ĭ-stems split up into two divisions according as the preceding consonant was palatal or non-palatal. Thus *inse*, g.s. of *inis*, is in Mid. Ir. *inse* (i.e. *inše*), but *bliadne, bliadnae*, g.s. of *bliadain*, and *rigne, rignae*, g.s. of *rigain*,[2] give in Mid. Ir. *bliadna* (i.e. *blīadnə*) and *rigna* (i.e. *rīgnə*). The plural of *súil* is *súili, súilib, súile* = Mid. Ir. *súili* or *súile* (*sūĺə*), *súilib* (*sūĺib*), *súile* (*sūĺə*), but the plural of *cruim* is *crumai, crumaib, crumae* = Mid. Ir. *cruma* (*krumə*), *crumaib, cruma*. The plural of the adj. *maith* is *maithi, maithib, maithe*, and *maith* = Mid. Ir. *maithi* or *maithe, maithib, maithe* or *maithi* and *maith*, but the plural of *cóir* is *córai, córaib, cóir* = Mid. Ir. *córa, córaib, cóir*.

The Singular of -ĭ-stems.

Already in O.Ir. by *bliadni* we find *bliadin* BCr. 32[a] 9, 39[d] 1.[3] In the Mid. Ir. texts which I have examined the only nouns[4] in which I have found the old forms of the dat. and acc. are *aidchi* by *adaig*, and *insi* by *inis*. In the nom. *aidchi* BB. 481[a] 26 = Mod. Ir. *oídhche*, the form of the oblique cases has spread to the nom. An isolated nom. of the same kind is *indsi*, for *inis*, BB. 450[a] 22.

[1] A parallel to this is found in *frecartha*, the Mid. Ir. gen. of *frecra*. In the nom. *frecra* fell together in sound with *adrad*, etc., hence the gen. *frecartha* like *adartha*, etc.

[2] In Mid. Ir. the nom. *rigain* is replaced by *rigan*; for examples see Windisch, Wb. This might be explained from the gen. sg. *rígna*, which in Mid. Ir. might represent the gen. of either *rigain* or *rigan*.

[3] In O.Ir. some nouns, e.g. *méit*, have only the gen. after this declension, but the dat. and acc. like -ĭ-stems. So the borrowed words *canóin*, g. *canóne* Ml. 35[b] 17, d. *canoin* Ml. 46[c] 14, *infinit* g. *infinite* Sg. 154[b] 1; *eclis* has the gen. *æcilse* or *ecolso*, cf. Stokes, Bezz. Beitr. xi, 83. In Bezz. Beitr. xi, 81, *cúil* should be deleted; it is an *-ā*-stem, and the nom. is *cúl*; further, *fuil*, for *fuile* and *fuili* are plural. In *tesbuith* ib. 83, as in the simple *buith*, the old nom. *both* has been replaced by the form of the dat. and acc. On *foehricc* and *taidchriec*, see Thurneysen, CZ. ii, 81. Peculiar are *telchai*, Bezz. Beitr. xi, 83 and SR. 6752, and *tánai*, Bezz. Beitr. xi, 83 and LU. 74[a] 30, for it is improbable that *tdin* was an -ĭ-stem.

[4] Except in the borrowed words *episcopóti* PH., *sacerdóti* SR. 4494, 5156, like *trindóti* Ml. 15[b] 4.

Genitive Singular of -ī-stems.

Change of Declension.

Already in O.Ir. *eclais* (from Lat. *eclesia*) makes the gen. *ecails* as well as *ecolsa*.[1] So *gnúise* SR. 1708, Windisch Wb., PH. BB. 481[b] 28, corresponds to O.Ir. *gnúso, gnúsa*; so further, *dúalch* *súalchi* PH. In Mod. Ir. this transformation has spread further e.g. *súile* for *súla*, *dúile* for *dúla*. The model for this change ma be found in (1) *inis, inse*, and the like; (2) in -*ā*-stems in whi the old nom. has been replaced by the dat. and acc. form; s above, p. 211.

In some borrowed words in O.Ir. the gen. is like the no Such are *abbgitir* Sg. 23[b] 5, 24[a] 10, *argumint* Ml. 64[c] 12, *diga* Sg. 5[b] 7, 7[b] 17, 18, *grammatic* Acr. 13[b] 1, *posit* Sg. 39[a] 1, *superlait* Sg. 40[b] 15, *stoir* Ml. 14[a] 5, *tabernacuil* Ml. 48[b] 1, *testimin* Ml. 104[b] 3. But in Mid. Ir. we have *staire* PH., *tab* *nacuile* PH., similarly *firmaminte* SR. 34, 164, 214, 274.

Nominative and Accusative Plural Neuter.

In O.Ir. the ending is *e*[2]; *muire* = Lat. *maria*. In Mid. Ir. *m* *ire* also appears, e.g. LL. 1[a] 9, TT. 255, but also *mara* LU. 31 3. From *guin* comes *gona* TT. 1582, Windisch Wb.; *trom* *na* appears already in a much older text LU. 60[a] 21. In Mid. Ir. *guin* is fem., cf. *na gona* TT. 2041, 2052, *goin adbail* TT. 14 2; in the plur. it is inflected like a fem. -*ā*-stem, gen. *gon*, *at* *gon* TT. 658, 660, 1759. In *muir*, which in Mid. Ir. is fem., the pl. *mara* comes also probably from -*ā*-stems; that *muire* should also live on may be explained from the influence of *tire*, with w ich it is often associated.

Genitive Plural.

As in -*u*-stems (see below, p. 230) *gnímae* was replaced by *g* *im*, so in course of time *súile* was replaced by *súl*. But in the l tter case the change is later. In -*u*-stems we shall have an exa ple

[1] In Mid. Ir. the gen. *ecailse* leads to a nom. *eclas* SR. 4421, 4923; PH. shows both *eclais* and *eclas*; in Mod. Ir. it is *eaglais*.

[2] If the preceding consonant is non-palatal, then -*ae* might be exp ted, becoming in Mid. Ir. -*a*. In Ml. 26[c] 8 *drummai* might be explained rom confusion of final -*ae* and final -*ai*, cf. CZ. iv, 51; in Mid. Ir. it passes in the -*n*-declension: *drumnann* TT. 1388, *dromnanaib* 1373. In SR. 1736 *buad* *u* is used for *buada* to get a rhyme with *sluagu*.

from the Félire Oenguso, about 800 A.D.; by 1000 A.D., as we shall see from the Saltair na Rann, the change was practically complete. In *-i*-stems the change is only beginning in SR.

The reason for the difference of treatment is apparent. In *-u*-stems a nom. pl. *gnima* and a dat. pl. *gnimaib* would resemble *túatha, cenéla, túathaib, cenélaib*, while *-i*-stems where the final vowel was preceded by a palatal consonant would resemble the plur. of *-s*-stems like *nime* and of *-io*-stems like *céle*. *A priori* it might have been expected that in nouns like *enáma*, where the final vowel is preceded by a non-palatal consonant, the change would be earlier; the following lists, however, furnish little in support of this, except in the *-ī*-stem *bliadain*.

SR.: (*a*) *aidche* 2524, *cétfaide* 2904, *dúle* 22, 1143, 1832, *mirbaile* 328, *sruthe* 127, *sruithi* 1059, 4523, *faithe* 7435 by *fatha* 7471, *bliadne* (: *de*) 4728, but *biasta* 877, 892, 898, *bliadna* 2272 (: *triamna*) 2304 (: *miadbla*), 2332 (: *riagla*), 2344 (: *gialta*), 3386 (: *cialla*), 3412 (: *riagla*), 4011 (: *Caspianda*), 4623, 4956 (: *riagla*), 5683, 6633 (: *riagla*), *cesta* 3591, 7555, *crúma* 890, 7620, *demna* 7620, 7646, *luba* 4405, 7273.

(*β*) *bliadan* 2014 (: *adfiadar*), 6638 (: *riaglad*), *cest* 1133, 2439, 4913. *fiaccail* (: *diartain*) 885 is a metrical license.[1]

LU. Texts.

Scél Túain: (*a*) *lanamna* 16[a] 24.

(*β*) *rend*,[2] 16[a] 12.

FA.: (*a*) *gnússe* 30[a] 40, *demna* 30[a] 33, 30[b] 22, 31[a] 7, 13, *dúla*[3] 27[a] 2, 12.

(*β*) *biast* 30[a] 3.

CL.: (*a*) *flathi* 117[b] 33.

S.Rel.: (*a*) *dúla* 50[b] 24.

GAS.: (*a*) *gente* 52[a] 20.

Sc.L.B.: (*a*) *fádi* 34[a] 19, *éstidi* 31[b] 35, *demna* 33[a] 44.

(*β*) *súl* 33[a] 17, *dúalach* 32[b] 24, *fiacal* 33[a] 39.

Sc.E.: (*a*) *lubi* 37[a] 33.

(*β*) *dúl* 34[a] 6, 35[b] 7.

CA.: (*a*) *demna* 7[b] 14, 10[a] 8.

(*β*) *cest* 11[a] 8, 14[b] 36.

[1] In 7098 it seems that *fáith* should be restored to assonate with *cdich*.

[2] See below, p. 231.

[3] This form is common in PH. In O.Ir. it is *dúle* and *dúile*, d. pl. *dúilib* SR. 1509, 5045.

LG.: (*a*) *aidchi* 13ª 1, 26ª 2.

TT.: (*a*) *geinte* 1031, *airdemna* 963.

(*β*) *bliadan* 693, 1882, 1913, *dúl* 160, 1508, *gon* 660, 1759 *athgon* 658.

Æn.: (*a*) *gente* 463ª 14, 479ª 38, *maine* 449ª 25, 481ª 47 *maithi* 472ª 19, *muire* 456ª 6, 482ª 12.

(*β*) *bliadan* 485ª 9.

The adjective, when used as a substantive, has the same inflexi as the noun. When, however, it is followed by a noun, th already the long forms are very rare. I have noted only *bemm nindraice* Rev. Celt. xv, 489.[1] From the O.Ir. period downwa the common forms are those like *sonairt*, *deithbir*, etc., cf. C iv, 64.[2]

Genitive Dual.

In Mid. Ir. the short form of the gen. pl. makes its way also i the dual: *bliadan* TT. 1810, 1817.

-u-stems.

Nominative Plural.

For the O.Ir. endings *-e*, *-ae*, *-ai*, see Eriu i, 1 sq. In Mid. Ir. the ending develops regularly into *-a*:—*cressa*, *ferta*, *gnima*, *go ha*, *srotha*, etc.

Accusative Plural.

In SR. the O.Ir. ending *-u* appears in a number of instances:—*brichtu* 3850, *cathu* 4077, 5527, *cithu* 683, 807, 6047 (in every instance it rhymes with *bithu*), *lessu* (: *Essu*) 5010; further in the phrase *tria bithu* 168, 200, 684, 1740, 4998, 6048. In other texts *-u* appears in the phrase *tria bithu*: LU. 13ª 43, 17ᵇ 29, 34ᵇ 9, 36ª 15, 37ᵇ 11, 16. Otherwise it is rare: *gnimu* LU. 10ᵇ 23 (the form also appears in the text of the Amra), 17ª 23, *cisu* (: *Esu*) 40ᵇ 10, *brictu* LG. 20ᵇ 3, *cathu* TT. 300, *trachtu* 1086.

The ending *-a* appears already in *ilgotha* Sg. 197ª 11, and in *feda*, Cormac's Glossary s.v. *serb*.[3] In Mid. Ir. it is the usual form.

[1] Another example might be *inna ndam naltae* Ml. 121ᶜ 19; however, *in chon alta*, Trip. Life, 158, suggests that in some compounds *allaid* was inflected like a noun.

[2] But *crúad*, *metri causa*, SR. 4685. In Ml. 74ᶜ 3 *diut* is probably a scribal error for *diuit*.

[3] For some possible instances in Ml. see CZ. iv, 51.

SR.: *catha* 4762, 5012, *datha* (: *sratha*) 53, *gnima* (: *snima*) 4288, *retha* (: *betha*) 5274, *smachtai* (: *targcai*) 162.

LU. Texts.

SCC.: *catha* 114ᵃ 45.

FA.: *cressa* 30ᵃ 30, *deritussa* 27ᵃ 8, *ferta* 30ᵇ 17, *srotha* 29ᵃ 33, *todérnama* 27ᵃ 23, 31ᵇ 8.

Sc.E.: *crechta* 35ᵃ 24, *gnima* 37ᵃ 16, 37ᵇ 14, *fulliuchta* 35ᵃ 16, 21, *réta* 36ᵃ 47.

CA.: *catha* 11ᵃ 20.

LG.: *catha* 6ᵃ 40, 16ᵇ 20, 18ᵃ 14, 19ᵇ 36, *datha* 16ᵇ 23.

TT.: *catha* 956, 1360, 1575, 1789, *crechta* 1886, *feda* 1988, *gnima* 470.

Nenn.: *seanchusa* 203ᵃ 6, 8, *ferta* 209ᵃ 21.

Æn.: *catha* 456ᵃ 7, 462ᵃ 23, *slesa* 461ᵃ 15.

In Eriu i, 3, note, I have suggested that *-a* is the nom. form which, under the influence of *-i*-stems in which the nom. and the acc. were the same in form, came to be used also for the acc. The only alternative would be to suppose that final *-u* became phonetically *-a*, as nom. sg. *bethu* became *betha*. But, apart from the question how it is that *-u* became *-a* here while it remained in *-o*-stems (see above, p. 216), there is a fatal objection to such an explanation. It will be seen that in the acc. as in the nom. there is umlaut of a preceding *-i-* or *-u-*: *feda, ferta, gotha, srotha*, etc. Now, not only is there no evidence, so far as I know, that a secondary *-a* could produce such an effect, but there is evidence to the contrary. For instance, O.Ir. *trumme, dube, unge* became, by the middle of the ninth century [1] A.D., *trumma, duba, unga*, but the *u* of the preceding syllable remained, it did not become *o*. Hence, even if it might be supposed that the final *-u* became by phonetic change *-a*, *guthu* would have become and would have remained **gutha*, it would not have become further *gotha*. *tria bithu*, in which the old form survives, is a traditional formula.

Nominative and Accusative Plural Neuter.

The Idg. ending was *-ū*. In Irish this disappeared, changing under certain conditions *e* of the preceding syllable to *i*.[2] O.Ir. instances are *inna dēr* Ml. 23ᵃ 13, *frisna torus* (leg. *dorus*)

[1] CZ. iv, 477 sq.

[2] Brugmann, Grundriss i², 125.

Ml. 46ᵃ 12,[1] *inna mind* BCr. 41ᶜ, *inna rind*[2] BCr. 18ᵇ 10, Ml. 2ᵃ 14, 145ᵈ 3. This form occasionally appears in later literature, e.g. *secht rind*, SR. 101, 202, 257, *trí tráth* SR. 1041, *na ocht tráth* LU. 28ᵃ 4.

In O.Ir. the ending *-a* also appears, *na doirsea* Ml. 46ᵃ 19, *beura*[3] Sg. 67ᵇ 11. The explanation is simple. In the nom. acc. pl. of neut. *-o*-stems there was a form without and a form with *a*, e.g. *cenél* and *cenéla*.[4] After the analogy of *cenéla* to *cenél* was formed *déra* to *dér*. In Mid. Ir. *-a* is the common ending, e.g. *déra* LU. 7ᵇ 18, 31ᵇ 16, BB. 459ᵃ 22, 478ᵃ 41, *ardelesa* LU. 114ᵃ 42,[5] *lenna* BB. 453ᵃ 13, *renda* TT. 179, *reanna* BB. 451ᵇ 20, *renna* MC. 13, *lenna* 37.[6]

Genitive Plural.

O.Ir. forms like *gnímae*[7] were early replaced by analogical forms like *gním*. In Fél. Oeng., Ep. 397, *dér* already appears. In Mid. Ir. the old form survives only in certain phrases.

SR.: *cath* 873, 4675, *dán* 7212, *dér* 871, 922, *dind* 990, 6805, *firt* 694, *glés* 938, *gním* 626, 698, 2390, *mind* 989, 6806, *nith* 6041,

[1] IF. x, 76.

[2] The dat. *mindaib* Ml. 35ᵈ 16 by *rendaib* BCr. 18ᶜ 4 is because in *mind* the *i* is radical, in *rind* it has come from *e*, cf. R. Schmidt, IF. i, 72.

[3] The vocalism of the first syllable is peculiar. A contamination of **biur* (from **berū*) and *bera*? In *bera*, etc., is the *e* due to the influence of neut. *-o*-stems?

[4] Cf. CZ. iv, 63, 489.

[5] But with change to the masc. acc. *cliasu* 121ᵇ 16.

[6] In Mid. Ir. the masc. *-i*-stem *rind* 'point' follows the inflexion of *rind* 'star,' e.g. *renna* LL. 90ᵃ 37, TT. 1348, *rennaib* LL. 91ᵃ 52 (see also below, p. 231). Schmidt, IF. i, 69, note, derives *rind* from *ro* + *ind*. But to judge from *a da nind* YBL. 98ᵃ 1, it would seem that *ind* is neuter. The acc. pl. is *enna* LU. 65ᵃ 35, the dat. is *indaib* 67ᵃ 17, BB. 470ᵇ 4, 476ᵇ 35, 36. The dat. *indaib* points to a stem *indu-*; in *enna* by *indaib* the *e* must be analogical, *enna* : *ind* = *renna* : *rind* = *lenna* : *lind*, etc.

[7] It has been customary to give the gen. pl. e.g. of *bith* as *bithe*; of the existence of such a form, however, I can discover no evidence. Mid. Ir. *betha*, *srotha*, point to O.Ir. *bethae*, *srothae*; *bethae* (MS. *betha*) should be restored in Fél. Oeng. Prol. 156, where it rhymes with *grethae* (MS. *gretha*), gen. pl. of *grith*. Cf. further *ferte* Wb. 12ᵇ 15, *fertae* Ml. 17ᶜ 9, gen. pl. of *fírt*, and the common spelling of the ending *-ae*, e.g. *rētae* Ml. 15ᵃ 2 (which in Acr. 8ᵇ 1 has become *reta*), *fertae* Ml. 40ᶜ 22. All this indicates that (1) the consonant before the ending was non-palatal; (2) that the root vowel was liable to the umlaut produced by a following *a* or *o*. Hence the current explanation of the form needs some modification, for it does not account for these two things. The following is the account which I would suggest. Idg. **bitegŏm* became **bitoyom*, **bitho*, and, with umlaut, **betho*. But **betho* fell together with gen. sg. *betho* from **bitous*. To get a distinctive ending *-e* was borrowed from the *-i*-declension, and in particular from that class of *-i*-stems in which the preceding consonant was non-palatal. In the new form the consonant before the ending remained non-palatal.

recht 1575, 1615, *rind* 274, 845, 865, 7424 (but *renn* 2259), *sruth* 42, *suth* 7283.

LU. Texts: FA. *todernam* 29ᵇ 27, *trath* 31ᵃ 10; Sc.E. *rind* 37ᵃ 32, *crécht* 35ᵃ 16, 22; Sc.L.B. *todernam* 33ᵇ 17; CA. *gnim* 12ᵇ 27, 44.

TT.: *cath* 823, etc., *crecht* 651, *echt* 1709, *gnim* 301, *mind* 1667, *tét* 138, 1346, 1419.

Aen.: *ceast* ('cestus') 460ᵇ 24, etc., *crecht* 478ᵃ 43, *gnim* 457ᵃ 12, 13.

But in a traditional phrase *tria bithu na mbetha* LU. 27ᵇ 35, etc., *ar dea na muire 7 na srotha* BB. 482ᵃ 12.

As to the vocalism of *firt, sruth*, etc., it may be explained from the fact that in the nouns which the new genitives followed as their model the gen. pl. was the same in form as the nom. sg. In some cases *e* appears, *renn* by *rend* SR., PH., and after the analogy of this *rend* 'points' LU. 16ᵃ 12, 79ᵃ 40, *lend* LU. 48ᵃ 21, *reth* SR. That this *e* has anything to do with the *e* of the older form of the gen. is highly improbable. In *rend* it is probably due to the tendency of the noun to form the nom. sg. *rend* = Mod. Ir. *reann*, cf. *rend* 'point' LL. 91ᵃ 51, 91ᵇ 26; so probably *lend*, Mod. Ir. nom. *leann*.

Genitive Dual.

Glinn da loch, Hy. v, 20.

Change of Declension.

In later Irish *-u*-stems often pass into the *-o*-declension, first in the sing. Already in O.Ir. *fiss* has *fiss* as well as *fesso* in the gen.; the frequent dative *fiuss* resembled *fiur*. Another isolated O.Ir. instance is *tomais* Ml. 20ᵃ 21. Examples from Mid. Ir. are:—

ág, 'battle,' g.s. *áig* TT. 1349, 1997, by *ága* TT. 1584; but n.pl. *ága* TT. 1614.

ammus, n.pl. *amais* (as acc.) BB. 467ᵃ 9.

cless, g. *clessa* and *cliss*; see Windisch Wb. and Meyer, Contributions.

cocad, g. *cocaid* SR. 3042, TT. 822, 855, BB. 467ᵃ 20, 468ᵇ 20, 469ᵃ 26, by *coctha* TT. 852, BB. 468ᵇ 13, 470ᵃ 18; but n.pl. *coctha* TT. 4, acc. *coctha* BB. 456ᵃ 8.

comram, g. *comraim* TT. 1019, 1348.

diummus, g. *diumais* LU. 10ᵇ 17, PH., by *diummusa* LU. 10ᵇ 15.

dorus, g. *doruis* SR., LU. 29ᵃ 8, n.pl. *dorais* LU. 28ᵇ 38. In Mid. Ir. nom. acc. *doirse* = O.Ir. *doirsea* is still common, e.g. SR. 446, 457, LU. 114ᵇ 11, TT. 2094, BB. 462ᵇ 46, 471ᵃ 20.

élud, g. *éluid* BB. 475ᵃ 8, 24, by *eluda* 484ᵃ 31.

immarmus, g. *immarbois* SR. 1438, 4994, *imarbuis* LU. 35ᵇ 19.

inmus, g. *indmais* TT. 1647, PH., by *indmusa* PH.; nom., acc. pl. *indmassa* TT. 1651, 1796, acc. *innmassa*, LU. 6ᵃ 17.

indracus, g. *indracuis* PH.

oipred, g. *oiprid* PH.

ómun, g. *ómain* PH.

peccad, g. *peccaid* LU. 32ᵇ 24, PH., by *peectha* PH., n.pl. *peccaid* PH., by *pecda* LU. 17ᵃ 13, *peectha* PH., acc. *pecda* LU. 32ᵇ 32.

senchas, g. *senchais* SR. 1786, by *senchassa* 6638; acc. pl. *senchusa* LU. 15ᵇ 14.

tét, g. *téit*[1] LU. 8ᵇ 42.

tomus, g. *tomuis* SR. 374, 462.

In the Sagas *Fergus*, g. *Fergusa* has for its voc. *Ferguis* LU. 57ᵇ 3, etc., by *Fergus* LU. 58ᵇ 4, etc.

In Mid. Ir. *triub* 'tribe' is replaced by *treb*, e.g. n.s. *treb* SR. 4433, 4881, 5149, g. *treibe* 4483, dat. *treib* 4193, acc. *déthreib* 7083, dual *di threib* 4624, n.pl. *treba* 4432, 4433, 4437, dat. *trebaib* 4730.

Consonant Stems ending in an Explosive.

Nominative Singular.

For *rí*, *rig* is common in Æn.; *mil* 'soldier' is replaced by *milid*, e.g. SR. 2092, 2701, TT. 372, 1920, Æn. 468ᵇ 25; *escarait* for *escara* LU. 42ᵇ 13.

Dative Singular.

In the O.Ir. glosses nouns like *bethu*, *óentu*, have the dat. *bethaid*, *óentaid*, or *bethu*, *óentu*, cf. GC.² 256 sq. By *cathraig*, *cathair* appears, Wb. 13ᵇ 1, Ml. 74ᵃ 13, Sg. 28ᵃ 8. From *tene* comes *tenid* and *ten*[2] Ml. 31ᵈ 4. In old texts, though I have no examples from the glosses, nouns like *slige* have also a dat. like

[1] An old neuter *-u*-stem. In *na teidi* BB. 478ᵃ 2, acc. *téit* LU. 8ᵇ 42, it has become fem., and is inflected like an *-ā*-stem. Nom. pl. *tri thét* RC. xiii, 438, g. *tétae* Ml. 51ᶜ 4.

[2] The *-i*-stem *fraig*, *frega*, which is associated in certain phrases with *tene*, in Mid. Ir. develops dental forms, cf. Windisch Wb.; similarly *daig*, *dega* 'fire,' cf. Index to Togail Trói.

the nom. In Mid. Ir. texts, so far as my observation goes, the long forms are the common ones in the dat. as in the acc. Instances of the short forms from Mid. Ir. are:—

SR.: *gleo* 6585, *nia* 5283.

LU.: DáBr. *bethu* 17ᵃ 16, Aid. Nath. *cathair* 38ᵇ 27.

TT. *gleo* 1872 (by *gliaid* 2007, 2015).

Æn.: *cathair* (by *cathraig*), *trichai* 450ᵇ 1, cf. *cóica*, LL. 103ᵃ 39, *tricha* LU. 49ᵃ 14.

PH.: *dorchatu*, *óitiu*, and *óite*, *sendatu* (by *sendataid*), *aibb* (by *abbaid*), *gleo*, *coimdiu* (by *coimdid*).

Accusative Singular.

In the Old Irish glosses the form of the nom. occasionally replaces that of the acc., cf. GC.² 257, where add *foirbthetu* Wb. 9ᵇ 10. Instances from Mid. Ir. texts are, e.g.:—

SR.: *bethu* 807, *cin* 3571, 5399 (MS. *cind*), 5484 (but *cinaid* 3576, 3620, 4994), *tene* 314 (but *tenid* 1891[1]), *ceo* 7183, *gleo* 246, 2698, 3895, 4131, *ruiri* 778, *ardruire* 7560, *sechtmoga* 757, *fichi* 5628.[2]

LU. Texts: CA. *ceo*, FA. *illatu* (= *ildatu*) 27ᵃ 10, Sc.L.B. *itu* 33ᵃ 8.

Nenn.: *cathair* (by *cathraig*).

Æn.: *gleo* 480ᵃ 4 (by *gliaid* 460ᵇ 33, 461ᵃ 12), *ara* 472ᵇ 42, *cathair* (by *cathraig*) saepe.

PH.: *betha* (by *bethaid*), *dorchadu*, *cin* (by *cinaid*), *coma* (by *comaid*), *coimdiu* (by *coimdid*).

Isolated instances of nom. for acc. are:—*cara* LL. 82ᵃ 10, *drui* LU. 47ᵃ 24, *Eocho* LL. 9ᵃ 42, *Fiacha* 8ᵃ 4, *lia* TT. 1804, *tricha* LU. 118ᵇ 14.

Transition to the Guttural Declension.

In Mid. Ir. many nouns in *-r* pass into the guttural declension after the analogy of *cathir*, *cathrach*, and the like. Such are, e.g.:—

cassar (Mod. Ir. *casair*), g. *casrach* SR. 902 (by *casra* 8308), g. p. *casrach* 902, dat. pl. *casrachaib* 8170.

dair, *darach*, see Windisch s.v., and add acc. pl. *daracho* BB. 451ᵃ 13. O.Ir. *daur*, *daro*.

[1] Also *cen tein* 1475.

[2] In *dia rohort . . . noi fichit mili . . . ocus cocca ar cet corad* 7233 the nom. pl. *fichit*, if the text is sound, is also used for the acc.

dochair BB. 452ᵃ 30, g. *dochrach* 451ᵃ 26. O.Ir. *dochor*. There is the same change of nom. in Mid. Ir. *deochair* SR. 125 = O.Ir. *dechor*.

lassar, lassair, g. *lasrach* SR. 8188, acc. *lasraig* TT. 408, 409, but *lasra* BB. 450ᵇ 12, acc. *lasair* 462ᵃ 2, gen. pl. *lasrach* SR. 901, but *lassar* PH. O.Ir. *lassar*, g. *lasrae* Ann. Ul. 645.

Temair, g. *Temrach* LU. 52ᵃ 17, acc. *Temraig* 52ᵃ 17.

The same change is found in many loan-words, e.g.:—

abbgitir, g. *abbgitrech*, but acc. *aibghitir* LS. 814.

altoir, altórach, but acc. *altóir* PH.

carcar, carcair, g. *carcrach* SR. 3267, LU. 33ᵇ 11, PH., acc. pl. *carcracha* PH., dat. *carcrachaib* TT. 128, but dat. sg. *carcair* SR. 3283, 3290, PH. acc. *carcair* SR. 3219, 3264, PH., dat. pl. *carcraib* LS. 3637.

cathair, g. *cathrach* LU. 33ᵃ 26, but dat. sg. *cathair* SR. 4516, LU. 32ᵃ 9, dat. pl. *cathairib* LU. 34ᵃ 1.

magister, g. *magistrech* LU. 32ᵃ 5, BB. 207ᵇ 18. O.Ir. gen. *magistir*, Ascoli Gloss. ccclxxi.

manistir, g. *manistrech* LU. 39ᵃ 17, gen. pl. *mainistreach* LS. 2474, but dat. sg. *mainistir* LS. 953, 3295.

numir, n.pl. *numrecha* YBL. 264ᵇ 16.

saltair, g. *saltrach* SR. 7788, but dat. *saltair* PH.

senister, g. *senistrech*, acc. *senisteir* SR. 4236.

senóir, g. *senórach* LS. 3846, 4310.

After the analogy of s.g. *saíl* : *sailech* O.Ir. *ail, alo* becomes *aíl, aílech*, cf. Windisch Wb. and Meyer, Contrib. s.v. So in Mid. Ir. the borrowed *epistil* has gen. pl. *epistlech* LS. 154, but dat. pl. *epislib* MC. 89.

It will be seen that in the sg. the guttural form is rare, except in the genitive.

In O.Ir. *athir* passes into the guttural declension in the plural in the compound *uasalathraig* Ascoli, Gloss. L. In Mid. Ir. such forms are common in the plural of *athir, bráthir, máthir, siur*, by the side of the older forms. Examples will be found below, pp. 237 sq.

Consonant Stems ending in a Nasal.

Dative Singular.

In the O.Ir. glosses nouns in *-u* have besides *-in* also *-e* and *-u* in the dat., cf. GC.² 265, further *Mume* dat. of *Mumu* Ann. Ul. 734 by *Mumu* LU. 56ᵇ 39. From Mid. Ir. I have no collections.

Accusative Singular.

In O.Ir. *aisndis*, g. *aisndisen*, makes both dat. and acc. *aisndis*, *accuis* makes acc. *accuis* Ml. 90[a] 7. In SR. *airmitiu* makes *airmitin* 1744, and *airmitiu* 837, similarly in PH.; *tichtu* makes *tichtu* 1123, 1322, *talam* makes *talam* 31, but usually *talmain*. An acc. *Muma* is found LU. 39[a] 23. I have no further collections.

Change of Declension.

Corresponding to O.Ir. *rétglu*, *rétglann* 'star,' we have in Mid. Ir. *rétla*, *rétlande* LU. 36[a] 24, like *persu persainde* (see above, p. 212). So O.Ir. *dile*, *dilenn* 'deluge,' becomes in Mid. Ir. *diliu*, *dilinde* BB. 22[b] 45. In Mid. Ir. *tichtu* is replaced by *tiachtain*; from this the gen. is *tiachtana* LL. 4[b] 28.

Neuter -n-stems.

Dative Singular.

In O.Ir. forms like *gremmaim*, *céimmim* are regular. In later O.Ir. shorter forms begin to appear:—*fordiuclaimm* Ml. 19[d] 5, 75[b] 4, *maidm* 84[c] 9 (MS. *maim*), *maidm* 85[c] 6, *cindruim* 78[b] 4. In Mid. Ir. the short forms are common, the long forms are exceptional. Thus already in SR. we have *anmaimm* 632, 3854, *rémim* 1634, but *béim* 6920, *céim* (bis) 469, *gairm* 1487, *ingrim* 6480. In later LU. texts we have e.g. *anmm* 32[a] 27, *dréim* 38[b] 37, *foglaim* 4[a] 36, 40, *gairm* 32[b] 34, *gen* 2[b] 45 by *anmaim* (MS. *anmain*) 32[a] 45, *anmum* 42[b] 11. In LG. we have *foglaim* 2[a] 15, 20; in TT. *céim* 1035, 1505, *réim* 1644 by *anmum* 48; in Æn. *gairm* 457[b] 13, *lem* 476[a] 20, *maidm* 483[b] 40, 484[a] 21, *seinm* 454[b] 36.[1]

Nominative and Accusative Plural.

In later O.Ir. *anman*, etc., become, with doubling of the final *n*, *anmann*, etc., cf. CZ. iv, 483. In Mid. Ir. *anmann*, *céimenn*, etc., are the usual forms. For *-nn*, *-nna* appears in later Mid. Ir. From LU. I have no examples. From LL. I have noted *anmanda* 89[a] 11, 101[b] 38. Of BB. texts Æn. has *anmann* 450[a] 26, *garmann* 478[b] 20. Nenn. has *anmanda* 203[a] 47. Of LBr. texts MacConglinne has *anmand*, *cémend*, *mírend*, *nadmand*, *sesbémend* by *anmanna*, *mírenda*.

[1] In MacConglinne there is a literary revival of the longer forms:—*anmam* 93, *imim* by *imm* 81, *lomum* 101. In that curious archaizing composition, The Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, the long forms are also used as nominatives, e.g. *anmaim* 4, *cormaim* 8.

PH. has *anmand*, *comanmann*, but usually *anmanna*, *céimenda*, *lémenda*.[1]

Change of Declension.

In O.Ir. *arbor* is inflected in the oblique cases like an *n*-stem g. *arbe*, dat. *arbaimm*, etc. In Mid. Ir. *arbor* is inflected like a *-o*-stem; for examples see Meyer, Contributions, s.v.

Nouns of Relationship in -r-.

Genitive Plural.

In O.Ir. this ends in *-e*: *athre*, *máthre*, etc.[2] In Mid. Ir. *at* etc., have been replaced throughout by the analogical *athar*, e.g. *athar* SR. 4987, *bráthar* SR. 4470, 7320.

For transition of these nouns to the guttural declension above, p. 234. Examples will be found below, pp. 237, 238.

Neuter -s-stems.

Genitive Plural.

In Mid. Ir. the O.Ir. forms like *slébe* are giving place to sho analogical forms like *sliab*.

SR.: (*a*) *nime* 1114, 7733, *tiri* 506.

(*β*) *dún* 7342, *leth* 3152, *lethglenn* 4720, *primdún* 7342, *sliab* 23.

TT.: (*a*) *grúade* 1555.

(*β*) *sliab* 1440.

Æn. (*a*) *tire* 456[a] 6, *tigeadh* 457[a] 15.

Genitive Dual.

The shorter form also makes its way here:—

SR.: *primleth* 4290; TT. *tir* 2256, but *leithe* 598, etc., *ida* *tige* 1046.

[1] In PH. *ingreim* has partly changed its declension. After the gen. sg. *ingreime* and *ingrema* (*in* and *na*), d. *ingrim* are formed acc. pl. *ingremai*, dat. *ingremaib* by *ingremandaib*.

[2] Brugmann, Grundriss, ii, 696, speaks of an O.Ir. *máthar*, *bráthar*, whi he would derive directly from the Idg. gen. But, so far as I know, such for do not exist; in Sg. 31[a] 12 *máthar* is gen. sg.; in Fél. Oeng. Prol. 10, some M SS. keep the old gen. *bráithre*. In Ir. we must start from *athre*, etc., analo ical transformations of the Idg. forms. Mid. Ir. *athar*, etc., are again analo ical transformations of *athre*, etc.; that these forms should coincide with those w ich the regular development of the Idg. forms would have given in Irish is a cur ous freak of chance, but nothing more.

Apart from these forms I have noted only isolated irregularities. From *dún*, g.s. *dúin* is common by the side of *dúine*.[1] From *sliab*, n.pl. *sliabu* appears TT. 1380 for the common *slébe* or *sléibte* (see below, p. 239). *Glenn* becomes fem., and, after the analogy of g.s. *glinne*, d.s. *glinn*, developes forms of the *-ā*-declension in the plural, e.g., *glenna*, Trip. Life 112, 216, TT. 2234, *glendaib* Trip.L. 96, 100 (by *glinnib* 144), PH.

Nominative and Accusative Plural of Masculine and Feminine Consonantal Stems.[2]

As the development is of the same kind in all these stems, they may be conveniently taken together.

Nominative Plural.

Either (*α*) the old nominative remains or (*β*) it is replaced by the accusative form.

SR.: (*α*) *cinaid* 3625, *córaid* 4660; *carait* 5829; *brithemain* 5516; *athir, senathir* 4990, *bráthir* 3128, 3493, 5813.

(*β*) *cathracha* 5195; *cinta*[3] 1412, *comlada* 411, *druidi* 3849.

LU. Texts.

FA.: (*α*) *nóidin* 27^{b} 24, *brethemain* 30^{a} 44, 30^{b} 29.

Aid. Ech.: (*α*) *Ulaid* 38^{b} 31, 32, *filid* 39^{a} 3; *bráthir* 38^{b} 15.

(*β*) *derbsethracha* 38^{b} 12.

Sc.L.B.: (*α*) *coin* 33^{a} 23.

(*β*) *nathracha* 33^{a} 15; *tenti* 33^{a} 30.

SAM.: (*β*) *sethracha* 2^{b} 22.

CA.: (*α*) *filid* 5^{b} 3.

TT.: (*α*) *cáirig* 101, *rig* 152, etc.; *cinaid* 507, *curaid* 268, etc., *milid* 671, 827, 1848, 1864; *carait* 826.

(*β*) *cathracha* 1385, 1625, 1795; *lámdóti* 1345, *milidi* 227, 618, 854, 915, 1337, 1354, 1602, 1627, 1681, 1861, *rigthi* 1345, *secheda* 1731, 2045, *teinte* 177, *tengtha* 1295.

Nenn.: (*α*) *druid* 210^{a} 48, 210^{b} 5, 31, 32; *brethamain* 206^{b} 22.

(*β*) *righdha* (sic) 209^{b} 25; *namaite* 210^{a} 51.

[1] It seems to occur earliest in proper names.

[2] Of a plural of neuter stems ending in an explosive the only certain instance which I have got is from *dét*. In O.Ir., as Thurneysen has shown (KZ. xxxvii, 423), the plur. is *dét*, later *déta*, and still later *deóit* LL. 98^{b} 22.

[3] *cinnta* already in Ml. 62^{d} 5.

Æn.: (*a*) *rig* 453[b] 8, 456[a] 10, 465[b] 9, 468[b] 43, 475[b] 30, 476[a] 33, 477[a] 11, 478[b] 37, *airdrig* 465[b] 42, *urrig* 475[b] 30, *ruiri*[illegible] 456[a] 10, 465[b] 9; *bidbuid* 469[b] 7, *curaid* 449[a] 36, 453[b] 8, 475[a] 36, 475[b] 30, 476[a] 33, 483[a] 22; *námait* 454[b] 24, 455[a] 41, 471[a] 1[illegible] 479[b] 24; *coin* 473[a] 47.

(*β*) *cathracha* 480[a] 6, 481[a] 46, *nathracha* 454[a] 38, 41, *ri*[illegible] 449[a] 36, 466[b] 37, *airdriga* 475[a] 44 (but *airdrighi* 466[b] 37[illegible]), *urriga* 465[b] 9, 476[b] 39; *druidi* 465[b] 20, *seicheda* 461[a] 3, *tengt*[illegible] 454[a] 33, *traigthi* 453[b] 10; *bráithri* 482[b] 11, *máithri* 479[a][illegible], 481[a] 17, *seathra* 481[a] 18, *seathracha* 479[a] 40.

MC.: (*a*) *rig* 45; *áigid* 13, *filid* 45.

(*β*) *tendti* 105.

Accusative (and Vocative) Plural.

In Mid. Ir. *-a* tends to be replaced by *-u* after the analogy of *-o*-stems, e.g. *rigu*: *rig* = *firu*: *fir*. (In Mod. Ir. the acc. is in part replaced by the nom. From the Mid. Ir. texts which I have examined the only instances of this which I have noted are *cor*[illegible]*aid* SR. 2408, *bidbaid* and *fechemain* in PH.)

SR.: (*a*) *cathracha* 2812, 4754, *nathracha* 3851, *ríga* 72[illegible]2; *sethra* 2978.

(*β*) *bráthriu* 4640 (: *clú*), 3113 (voc.), 4700 (voc. : *dú*); *má*[illegible]*hri* 7471, 7474 is ambiguous.

LU. Texts.

FA.: (*β*) *áigedu* 30[a] 28.

DáBr.: (*β*) *brithemnu* (voc.) 17[a] 35.

Sc.L.B.: (*β*) *cardiu* 33[a] 41.

CA.: (*β*) *aegedu* 12[a] 44, *filedu* 5[b] 25.

TT.: regularly *-u*: *rigu*, *curadu*, etc.

Nenn.: (*β*) *rigu* 207[b] 48, 208[a] 10; *mileadu* 209[b] 37; *cor*[illegible]*olu* 207[b] 44.

Æn.: As we have seen above, in this text *-u* is confused with *-a* in the acc. pl. of *-o*-stems. This confusion will explain the presence of *-a* by *-u* in consonant stems: *daracho* 451[a] 13, *riga* 478[b] 39; *braithriu* 481[a] 19, *derbbraithri* 467[a] 24, *maithri* (voc.) 461[b] 39, *seathra* 467[b] 17, *seathracha* 468[a] 37.

MC.: *ailechu* (: *aineba*) 5; *colbadu*, *imdadu* 97; *conu* (voc.) 23, 29.

Dental Plurals.

In Mid. and Mod. Ir.[1] there is a plural ending in *-te, -ta*. Such a plural would develop regularly in dental stems, in which a consonant (*l, n*, or a dental) preceded, which prevented the aspiration of the dental. Thus *tene* would make in O.Ir. n.pl. *tenid*, acc. pl. *teintea*, d.pl. *teintib*; in Mid. Ir., with confusion of nom. and acc.,[2] it would become nom. acc. *teinte*, or *teinti*, dat. *teintib*. So from *léne*, g. *léned*, would come in Mid. Ir. nom. acc. *léinte*, dat. *léintib*; from *cin* would come nom. acc. *cinta*, dat. *cintaib*. On the analogy of these there were developed from non-dental stems containing *n* or *l*, e.g.:—

lón, n.pl. *lónte*, *lónti* TT. 163, 1264, 1887, d. *lointib* SR. 2507. In TT. 936 *lónti* has spread to the gen. pl.; cf. *tented* BB. 452ᵃ 5, 462ᵃ 7, 471ᵃ 45.

brón 'quern,' d. pl. *bróntib* LU. 68ᵃ 26.

lind, *lintib* TT. 808. Mod. Ir. *linn*, *linte*, etc.

móin (g. *mónae*, *móna*), *mointi* LS. 3663 = Mod. Ir. *móinte*.

fán, *fántu* LU. 114ᵃ 4, *fánta* LL. 101ᵃ 46, *fántaib* LL. 95ᵇ 11 (but *fánaib* TT. 1989).

glenn. As we saw before O.Ir. *glinne*, *glinnib* became in Mid. Ir. *glenna* and *glennaib*, and these became further *glenta* LL. 101ᵃ 46 (*glenta* 7 *fánta*), LS. 3662, and *glentaib* TT. 1989, LL. 95ᵇ 46, PH.

all 'cliff': *alltaib* BB. 451ᵇ 9.

búale, *bualti* TT. 1673. Mod. Ir. *buailte*.

caill 'wood,' *coillti* BB. 452ᵇ 42, *cailltib* SR. 6269, *coilltib* BB. 451ᵃ 12, 463ᵃ 37, 467ᵇ 12. Mod. Ir. *coillte*.

comthinól, *comthinoltaib* LU. 31ᵃ 23.

The only plural which I have found in Mid. Ir. when the *t* would not be deaspirated by the preceding consonant is that of *sliab*, *slebte* LU. 50ᵃ 39, *sléibti* TT. 1406, 1564, BB. 450ᵃ 18, 452ᵇ 42, *slebtib* BB. 451ᵇ 8, 24 (but *slebiu* 450ᵃ 26). Here the dental plural is probably due to association with *glenn* and *fán*.

The Dual.

Nominative and Accusative.

In O.Ir. consonant stems, besides the normal forms such as *doit* (fr. *dóe*) Corm. s.v. *cerball*, *gúalaind* (fr. *gúalae*) YBL. 91ᵃ 24, *liic*

[1] For Mod. Ir. cf. Finck, i, §§ 426, 434, 440, 445, 453; Dottin, pp. 40, 41; Christian Brothers' Irish Grammar, pp. 43, 46, 51.

[2] In *-u*-stems like *slondiud* the O. Ir. nom. and acc. would become alike *slointe*.

(fr. *lie*) LU. 91ª 24, *lurgain* (fr. *lurgae*) YBL. 91ª 29, *malaich* (fr. *malae*) YBL. 91ª 21, *serid* (fr. *seir*) LU. 69ª 29, *sligid* (fr. *slige*) Cormac, s.v. *roth*, there appear, after the analogy of nouns like *fer*, *súil*, and *athir*, in which the nom. acc. dual coincided with the nom. sg., also the forms of the nom. sg. *are* (fr. *are* 'temple') Thesaurus Palæo-hibernicus ii, 249, *ara* (= *arae*, fr. *arae*), *ara* 'charioteer' LU. 57ᵇ 15, *foil* LU. 134ª 4, *tene* Cormac s.v. *beltene*.[1]

In Mid. Ir. both the longer and the shorter forms appear, e.g., *nathraig* TT. 362, *cathmilid* 1256, *rigmilid* 1851, *sechid* 2046, *curaid* 478, *rig* 1078, etc., BB. 454ª 30, *tenid* LL. 99ª 28, by *cing* LL. 99ª 27, *léne* LL. 99ª 22. Unfortunately the forms are not of common occurrence.

Genitive.

Mid. Ir. forms of the gen. have been noted above, pp. 228, 231, 236.

Dative.

In Mid. Ir., beside the old dative forms are found sometimes the forms of the nom.: *forna da thir* SR. 2370, *don dá oenbratan* 7624, *fora dib cualaid* (= *cúladaib*) LU. 113ᵇ 17, *asna da bérla sechtmogat* LL. 2ª 39, *assna da luing sin* 3ᵇ 4, *cona di noemóig* PH. 2568, *don da fer déc* PH. 2687, *don da apstal déc* 3076, *cona dá súil* MC. 89, *cona di lámaind* 91, *for da bairgin* 9. These are forerunners of the Mod. Ir. dual, in which one form serves for all cases.

The Dual of the Article.

In O.Ir. *in* serves for all cases; in Mid. Ir. for *in*, *na* also appears.

SR., Nom.: (*a*) *in da mesraigthe* 158, *in da se rind* 257.

(*β*) *na da gaeth dec* 85, *na dá thuaith déc* 4633, *na da slúag* 5881.

Acc.: (*β*) *na da mesraigthe* 160, *na dá iasc* 7626, *na da mac* 7682, *na di bai* 5433, *na di phiair* 7467, *na di Maire* 7475.

Gen.: (*β*) *na da primleth* 4290, *na da flesc* 4328.

Dat.: *don dá oen bratan* 7624, but *for na da thir* 2369, *dona dib trebaib deec* 4730, etc.

LU. Texts, Nom.: (*a*) *an dá gein* 52ᵇ 23.

(*β*) *na di chruim* 3ª 20, *na dá chruim* 3ª 39, *na da nert* 3ª 39, *na dá chuirr* 5ᵇ 1, *na da apstal* 27ᵇ 20, *na dá draic dec* 29ᵇ 19.

[1] In Bv. 23 *mi* appears not only as the acc. (ter), but also as the gen. in *co cenn da mi*, if the text is sound.

Acc.: *na da chlár* 3ª 15, *na dá cnoc* 118ᵇ 29.

TT., Nom.: (β) *na da ingin* 106.

Acc.: (β) *na da chorcair* 1554.

Gen.: (α) *in da leithe* 598, 1822, 1832, 1926, 1932, 1933, *in da idaltige* 1046.

(β) *na da leithi* 548, *na da ban* 1058, *na da bliadan* 1817.

Boroma (LL.), Nom.: (α) *in da muice* 296ª 27.

Gen.: (α) *in da ingin* 297ᵇ 3.

(β) *na da ingen* 295ª 15, *na da cóiced* 302ᵇ 39, *na da chóiced* 302ᵇ 41, 49.

PH., Nom.: (α) *in da apstal* 1919, *in da gataigi* 2855, *in da muscach* 3042, *in da modh* 7330, *in da noemóig* 2565, *in da assan* 4557.

(β) *na da rig* 1113, *na da apstal* 1627, 1630, *na da sruith* 1932, *na da descipul* 4550, 4556, *na da recht* 4551, 4563, *na da popul* 4577, *na da phopul* 4596, *na da duine* 4628, *na da Muire* 3455, 3586, *na da eclais* 3457, 3587, *na da gné* 3558, 3561, *na dá shualaig* 4603.

Acc.: (α) *in da threband* 2487, *in dá chuid* 7590.

(β) *na dá latrand* 1209, *na da recht* 4554, *na da phopul* 4564.

Gen.: (α) *in da fer déc* 2920.

(β) *na dá ech* 4458.

Dat.: (α) *on dib rachtaib* 6783, *don da fer déc* 2687, so 3076.

(β) *dona dib cenntúrib* 2253, so 4445, 6690, *ona dib rigu sechtmogat* 1408.

Æn., Nom.: (α) *in da marcsluag* 480ª 38.

Acc.: (α) *in da luing* 460ª 27, *in da cath* 476ᵇ 24.

Gen.: (α) *in da lethi* 471ª 45, *in da cathmil-* 484ª 15, *in da sluag* 474ª 46, *in da slogh* 477ª 16.

MC., Nom.: *in dá loan* 77.

Acc.: *in dí chammrand* 5.

Gen.: *in da chaillech* 5.

LS., Nom.: *in da phopul* 1476, *in dá clamh* 1591.

Acc.: *in da fhorba* 1897, *in dá espoc dhéc* 4110.

As to the supersession of *in* by *na*, it may be conjectured that it started while *in* still lived in the nom. pl. masc. of the article. In accordance with that it might be further conjectured that in the dual *na* invaded the nom. fem. and the acc. pl. of the dual before it invaded the nom. masc.; such a conjecture finds support in the distribution of form in SR. But in SR. *na* is firmly established in the gen. Was this through the influence of the gen. pl.? In later LU. texts *na* is the regular form in all cases.

In later Mid. Ir. there is a curious reversion to *in* for all cases. So in Mod. Ir. the dual is *an dá*, *don dá*, etc., for all cases. That there is any historical connection between later Mid. Ir. *in dá*, Mod. Ir. *an dá*, and the O.Ir. forms, is highly improbable; it would involve the supposition that Mid. Ir. *na dá* was purely literary, while in truth *na dá* and *in dá* appear in texts of the same kind but of different dates, such as the Togail Trói and the Story of the Æneid. There is no difficulty in the supposition that when the dual ceased to have different forms for different cases, the similarity of the general dual form to the singular led to the introduction of the singular article, which itself had the same form throughout except in the gen. fem. In our texts it is occasionally doubtful whether we have a survival of the old or the beginning of the new.

Confusion of Dative and Accusative after Prepositions.

As we have seen above, p. 210, in course of time the accusative disappeared in the singular and plural. After prepositions in Mod. Ir. the old accusative is represented by the dative. In the singular a trace of the old distinction remains after a preposition followed by the article, when there is sometimes aspiration, sometimes eclipsis; in different dialects, however, aspiration and eclipsis have spread analogically beyond their proper bounds. In the dual in time the old dative disappears.

Singular.

Here, unfortunately, my collections are very incomplete. I must be content to give what I have noted, pointing to a confusion of the cases, under various headings.

(a) *The Form of the Case.*

In most classes of nouns the dat. and the acc. were the same in form. In *-o*-stems, where they were different, the dat. form in time disappeared, see above, pp. 213 sq. Examples of dat. for acc. are *cosinn oen fiur* (: *asbiur*) SR. 3572, *i lluc* LU. 4ª 16, *foa rusc* PH. 1322, *fo mud* 126. In neut. *-s*-stems the two forms were also distinct; examples of dat. for acc. are *isin sleib* PH. 6295, *isint shléib* 7225, where in the one case the article is in the acc. form, in the other in the dat.; conversely, *tech* is used for *tig* PH. 7572.[1]

[1] In *eter ingen 7 dichelt* LU. 74ᵇ 14 the nom. form is remarkable. It looks a forerunner of the Mod. Ir. rule that in the singular *idir* is followed by the nominative.

(b) *Aspiration.*

After the dative of the article the noun is aspirated, after the dative of the noun there is aspiration of a following closely connected word. In the following instances aspiration appears where in O.Ir. the case would have been the accusative:—*fon chetharaird* TT. 183, *immon mac tharngirthid* 252, *tria guth challaire* PH. 2607. Conversely, with prepositions which governed the dative aspiration is often wanting after the article. Thus on Æn. I have a note that after the article aspiration is not usual. In PH. after the instances of *cossin* quoted by Atkinson, p. 588, there is no aspiration; with *i n-* cf. *isin cathraig* 11, *isin croich* 123, *isin sligid* 929.

(c) *Eclipsing* n-.[1]

In O.Ir. the acc. of the article eclipsed, also the accusative of a noun eclipsed a following closely connected word. To trace the disappearance of this *n-* would need a special investigation. The following are instances which I have noted where it is omitted:—*i n-éentaid aingel* LU. 17[a] 36, *fri dered domain* 18[a] 2, *fri lucht aile* 28[a] 22, *fri forcetol bréthre* 30[a] 11, *i rricht dobran* 40[b] 30, *fond uile domun* PH. 5286, *fri breithir Ísu* 2780, *a n-inad aile* 203, similarly 328, 1740, 2050, 2951, *tre chumachta De* 150, similarly 2008, 3486, 4871, 6085.

Conversely, in Mid. Ir. eclipsis appears after prepositions which originally governed the dative, e.g., SR.[2] *for túaith n-Israhel* 7114, *for clainn n-iraig* 6530, *for crích n-Israhél* 6908, *ria ṅ-Gola ṅ-gér* 5784, *ria ṅ-Dauid ṅ-dian* 5890, *riasin cath ṅ-gúr* 6489; TT. *cosin ṁ-brait* 838; Æn. *co n-grain n-aduathmar* 454[a] 31, *gusin duille n-orda* 463[a] 23, *for each m-buada* 456[b] 43, *i cofleid n-aibind n-oiregda* 453[a] 32, *i cride n-Didaine* 453[a] 42, *os mullach n-Daired* 461[a] 18, *riasin muilli* (= *m-builli*) 461[a] 20; PH. *co n-*, glossary, p. 588, *iarsin m-bethaid* 4669, cf. *iarsin m-belra n-Ebraide* LBr. 114[b] 34.

PLURAL.

In Mid. Ir. prepositions which originally governed the accusative are commonly followed by the dative.[3] Rarely in early Mid. Ir.,

[1] For O.Ir. see Thurneysen, CZ. v, 1 sq.

[2] If the forms are not due to later corruption. From LU. I have noted no instances.

[3] Already in O.Ir. there is confusion after *ar*, cf. GC.[2] 623; after *for* Ml. 74[c] 20, cf. *foraib* = *forru* Ml. 33[a] 9, 42[a] 4, 15, 54[a] 5, 72[a] 11, 72[d] 18, 74[c] 20, 90[c] 25; *suidib* appears for *suidiu* after *cen* Ml. 20[d] 3 (cf. *cenaib* 20[d] 4), *for* Ml. 101[d] 6, *fri* Wb. 31[a] 18, Ml. 121[b] 7, Sg. 61[a] 6, *im* BCr. 18[b] 3, *la* Wb. 8[a] 12, 17[d] 11, 21[b] 11, Sg. 4[a] 9, etc., *tri* Ml. 56[b] 15.

more frequently later, prepositions which originally governed th[illegible] dative are followed by forms without *-b*.

(a) *Dative for Accusative.*

SR.: *co colomnaib* 2644, similarly 5598; *eter nimib* 196, similar[illegible] 3122; *for tonnaib* 2614, similarly 4466, 4766, 5036, 5398, 558[illegible] *frisna nemdaib* 1604, similarly 2094, 3239, 3280, 3394; *i c*[illegible] *cressaib* 152, similarly 1550, 2650, 3548, 6238; *la buidnib* 718[illegible] *dar garbaib gelt* 3441, similarly 7188; *tria ilberlaib* 2762. In t[illegible] next I have not noted the occurrences of the old construction.

LU. Texts.

SAM.: (*a*) *for clannaib* 2^b 2; *i tri rannaib* 1^a 14.

Nenn.: (*a*) *cen armaib* 3^b 43; *etir na clarlestraib* 3^a 12.

(*β*) *for Bretnu* 3^b 40, 4^b 1; *fri Bretnu* 3^b 23, 32, similarly 4^a [illegible]9

CA.: (*a*) *eter scolaib* 11^a 43, similarly 11^a 37; *fri tuath*[illegible]*aib* 14^b 5; *la fonnaib* 6^a 7; *dara suilib* 5^a 19.

(*β*) *amal Grecu* 14^b 43, *eter firu* 5^a 16, similarly 5^b 41, 6^a [illegible] 5, 13^a 7, 14^b 4; *frisna firu* 12^a 6; *la firu* 6^a 6, similarly 6^a 8, [illegible] 9, 10, 9^b 24.

DáBr.: (*a*) *eter airbrib* 17^b 30; *for anmannaib* 17^a 9; *ria tóeb*[illegible]*aib* 17^b 35.

FA.: (*a*) *eter na hairichtaib* 27^b 27; *for ainglib* 27^a 25; [illegible]*fri grádaib* 28^a 16, similarly 28^a 21, 30^b 22; *i m-brágtib* 30^a [illegible]2; *imma m-brágtib* 30^b 12, similarly 30^b 20; *la demnaib* 30^b [illegible]34, similarly 31^a 13, 31; *dara n-gnúsib, dara roscaib* 29^a 7, simila[illegible]rly 30^b 21; *triana tengthaib* 30^a 41, *triana cendnaib* 30^a 41.

(*β*) *eter nóemu* 7 *nóemógu* 28^a 7, similarly 27^b 17; *frisna sro*[illegible]*ha* 29^a 33, similarly 29^b 9, 30^a 21, 31^b 12; *le heolchu* 28^b 36.

Sc.L.B.: (*a*) *eter noi n-gradaib* 33^b 43, similarly 33^b 44; *for*[illegible]*na firénaib* 32^a 26, similarly 33^b 2, 3; *fri scélaib* 31^b 37, simila[illegible]rly 31^b 38, 39, 41, 33^a 3; *i m-belaib* 33^b 8, similarly 33^b 22, [illegible]35; *tria sualchaib* 7 *cáingnimaib* 32^b 30, similarly 32^b 41.

(*β*) *cen choemu, cen cardiu* 33^a 41; *eter biu* 7 *marbu* 32^b 9.

Sc.E.: (*a*) *forsna dóenib* 37^a 40; *hi sualchib* 36^b 34, simila[illegible]rly 36^b 43; *triasna saeglaib* 36^b 8, similarly 36^b 28, 29.

(*β*) *eter pecthachu* 7 *firénu*, similarly 35^b 36, 36^a 16, 37^b [illegible]4; *fria apstalu* 35^a 32.

Aid.E.: (*a*) *frisna næmaib* 41^a 5.

(*β*) *cen eochu* 39^b 14; *sech cisu* 40^b 10.

FCC. : (β) *eter maccu* 42ª 38.
GAS. : (β) *la Goedelu* 52ª 23.
SCC. : (α) *eter nélaib* 113ª 28, *hi tirib* 113ᵇ 40.
(β) *for triunu* 114ª 41; *fri maithi* 114ª 30, similarly 115ª 11; *i m-brosnacha* 114ᵇ 10; *lat chretmecho* 113ᵇ 39, similarly 114ª 33, 115ª 27.

The rarity of (α) forms is in accordance with the higher antiquity of the text, see above, p. 203.

CL.: (β) *la firu* 117ᵇ 25.

On LG. I have a note: "The old distinction is mostly preserved. But *i tirib* 6ᵇ 17, *isna hetrigib* 15ª 28, *i n-dithrubaib* 20ᵇ 25, *im dóitib* 18ᵇ 34, *for Colósib* 18ª 16, *for maccaib* 20ᵇ 24, *la tri maccaib* 8ª 15, *la maccaib* 9ᵇ 51, *la Laignib* 15ᵇ 15, 26ª 8, *re* (= *la*, cf. 3ª 7, 6ª 50) *maccaib* 20ª 11."

For TT. and Æn. I have no complete collections. So far as I can judge from the examples which I have gathered, in Æn. the accusative is comparatively rare; in TT. the acc. is the more common after *etir* and *for*; after *con-* my instances are nearly balanced; the dative prevails after *in* and *ri* (= *la*).

(b) *Forms without* -b *for the Old Dative.*

In SR. this is rare:—*grada* (: *gláma*) 264, *for Laigniu* 2354, *for sretha* (: *letha*) 2362, *iar rúini* 185. In LU. texts it is also very rare:—*forsna crunnu* 28ᵇ 8, *do anmand* (but another text has *anmandaib*) 31ᵇ 2, *dona cleirchi* 41ª 10, *fiad firu* 118ª 34. In TT. we have *co cetheora lanna* 1543, *co teóra féthana* 1552. From Æn. I seem to have no instances. In MC. it is frequent:—*a mecna* 71; *cona aradnu* 81, *cona cethri crú* 89; *do pecdachu* 73, *dona slógu* 59, *do chaelánu* 89, 91; *iar n-deichtimna* 49, *ina lámu* 91, *i cerdu* 43; *o chnámu* 17, *ona biadu* 77; *ós buadu* 51, *osna rosca* 97. For PH. examples will be found in Atkinson's Glossary, s.v. *co n-* p. 588, *do* p. 650, *i n-* p. 746 (where omit 2831 and add *isna crunda* 1260, *ina mbgadu* 6576, *inar n-aingliu* 7260), *ó* p. 826.

In *rosca* MC. the radical syllable shows the vocalism of the old dat., in *crunda* PH. of the old acc. But that we should have here simply a resurrection of acc. forms is most improbable. Rather the growing confusion in later texts points to phonetic decay in the ending of the dative.[1]

[1] For the dat. ending in Mod. Ir. dialects cf. Dottin, Mélanges, p. 44.

Dual.

Here the old acc. is usually retained, e.g., *eter na da mesraigthi* SR. 160, similarly LU. 3ª 15, 28ᵇ 5, 114ᵇ 15, 18, 118ᵇ 29, Æn. 460ª 27, 461ª 36, 467ª 24; *fri dá míle* LU. 29ª 27; *i n-dí raind déc* 5123; *im dá sétig* LU. 52ª 28. The only instance of dat. for acc. which I have is *i n-díb rannaib derbda déc* SR. 208. In accordance with what we have seen above, p. 240, the reverse is the rule, the dat. tends to be replaced by the acc.

The Dative Plural of the Adjective.

In the course of the development of the language the dat. pl. in *-b* has disappeared in the adjective.

SR.: Here the ending in *-b* is the normal form. Exceptions are *sethraib sochraide* 2974, *clannaib aíbni* 3826, *fona crichaib caspianda* 4012, *i n-étgodaib cílecda* 6872.

LU. Texts. Here, again, in the texts which I have examined (which are the same as those used for the dat. and acc. of the noun, pp. 244 sq., with the addition of Scél Túain), the *-b* forms are normal. Exceptions are rare:—*ossaib alta* 16ª 15, similarly 27, *srethaib sainemla* 28ᵇ 6, *óna maccaib aile* 52ᵇ 27.

LG.: On this text I have a note that the dat. seems usually to end in *-b*.

TT.: Of *-b* forms I have noted six occurrences; of the other form, fifty-five.

Æn.: Of *-b* forms I have noted fourteen occurrences; of the other, eight, in five of which there are two adjectives. There is an admixture in *cathaib croda curataib* 459ª 12, *cathbarraib firailli forordaib* 476ᵇ 2, and *forna crichaib comfoicsib uili*, where, unfortunately, I have lost the reference.

MC.: Of *-b* forms I have noted two occurrences (one of them with two adjectives); of non-*b* forms, eight, in three of which there are two adjectives.

VIII.—ENGLISH ETYMOLOGIES. By the Rev. Professor Skeat, Litt.D. (Vice-President).

[*Read at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society on May 5*, 1905.]

Angard, Ogart, Overgart. These M.E. words are all given in N.E.D. They are usually explained by 'arrogant' or 'arrogance,' which suits the context in most cases. In one place, I think *angard* simply means 'excess'; as in "thurgh *angard* of pryde," i.e. "through excess of pride"; *Destr. of Troy*, 9745. It is generally admitted that these words are of Norse origin, but they have not been solved. It is suggested in N.E.D. that *angard* resembles O.N. *āgjarn*, 'ambitious.'

I prefer to consider *overgart* first; and I believe that the suffix *-gart*, also spelt *-gard*, is actually the same word as *gart*, the pp. of the famous verb *gar*, to cause, make, or do. Hence *overgart* simply means 'overdone,' and therefore 'excessive'; or if used as a sb., 'excess.' I find some evidence for this. Kalkar, in his Mid. Dan. Dict., has "*overgöre*, to overdo"; also an old gloss, in Latin and Mid. Danish: "*affatim*, offrflödigen, offuergiort." This shows that *overgiort* could be used as an adverb; and also points to an adjectival use of the word, with the sense 'excessive,' or 'abundant'; which seems to be suitable. Again, Rietz has the Swed. dial. *gör*, 'mature,' also in the form *gjord*, which has the final *d*. And he says that this *gör* is a derivative of *gära*, to do, i.e. of North. E. *gar*.

As to *ogart*, Mr. Mayhew suggests that here the prefix is Icel. *of-*, meaning 'over,' as in *of-gangr*, overgoing, i.e. excess. The same prefix *of-* once occurred in Swedish; Ihre gives *of-stor*, very strong; and Noreen has *of-starkr*, exceeding strong; O. Swed. Grammar, § 57, A. (1). Aasen has Norw. *ov-*, as in *ov-sterk*, *ov-stor*, very strong; and I believe that the M.E. *ongart* (of which only one example is cited in N.E.D., s.v. *ogart*) is either a mistake for *ogart*, or at any rate for *ougart*. The form *angard* I take to be wholly a ghost-word, though cited in N.E.D.; I guess it to

be another form of *ogart*, and to be an error for *augart*. We find the forms *awgart* in Cursor Mundi, 478; *ougard*, *awgarde*, id., 7318; *awgerd*, *awgardly*, etc., Wars of Alexander (glossary). In the last-named glossary I suggested this same explanation of *-gard*, but I erroneously gave the prefix as *af-*. I find, however, Icel. *af-āt* = *of-āt*, excess in eating. Observe that, in Cursor Mundi, 478, *ouergart* and *awgart* both alike mean 'arrogance,' i.e. excess of conduct. I conclude that *gart* meant originally 'done,' and that the prefix *over-* (whence *of-* and perhaps *af-*) denoted 'excess.' I suggest that *angard* should be struck out. The prefix *of-* appears as *uv-* in Swed. dialects (Rietz).

Further, Ross, in his Norweg. Dict., has *gjert*, adv., exceedingly; which he connects with Icel. *gerr*, another spelling of the pp. *görr* (Vigfusson, p. 224, col. 1); but there was also an occasional form *gorðr* of the pp. (Noreen, § 445, 2; note 2). And the Icel. *gert* would exactly give the M.E. form *gart*.

Berth. The N.E.D. says of this word:—"A nautical term of uncertain origin; found first in the end of the sixteenth century. Most probably a derivative of Bear, v., in some of its senses; see esp. sense 37." I believe that it may be, ultimately, from the same root as the verb *to bear*, but that such connexion is very remote; and I think that the explanation is to be looked for in a quarter which has not hitherto been considered.

I take it to be a native word, as the final *th* shows; and the spelling should rather be *birth*, with *i*. I connect it with the M.E. *burien*, to beseem, A.S. *gebyrian*, to beseem, often used as an impers. verb, meaning "it pertains to, becomes, is suitable." Compare further the A.S. *byre*, a favourable time or opportunity, also found as *gebyre*, allied to O.H.G. *gaburi*, a chance, a lot, an event. If the examples of the use of the word be examined, I believe it will be found that the primary sense of *berth* is a fit time or place, esp. a favourable position or 'convenient place.' The E.D.D. explains it as "a position, a settled home"; and further gives the examples:—"He's got a good *berth* for his feet," i.e. a favourable position, a convenient place. And again:—"Get a good *berth* on it with both hands," i.e. a secure position, a convenient grasp. It was esp. a sea-term; thus Captain Smith says: "keep your *berth* to windward"; i.e. take sufficient sea-room. Phillips, in 1706, defined it as "convenient sea-room"; and Falconer as "sufficient space for a ship to swing in"; possibly going back to the sense of what is convenient

or suitable. The phrase "he has a good *berth*" means "he has a place that suits him," a place wherein he is comfortable. The verb *to berth* is defined in N.E.D. as "to place a ship in a suitable position," which is exactly what I mean. It seems to have escaped notice that there may be cognate words in several languages. I connect it with Du. *beurte*, which Hexham explains as "proprietie or convenience"; cf. M. Dan. *bört*, a turn, course, or order in which men do a thing, i.e. a convenient time; M. Swed. *börd*, a turn, of which Ihre gives the example, *thet ær min börd*, it is my turn now; Norw. *byrt*, a duty, a turn (as in M. Swed.); E. Fries. *börd*, a turn, an appointed time, a regular order, a fit moment. The last was especially used as a nautical term; thus *börd-fard* is a regular journey, made at stated times, and *börtschip* is a ship that goes regularly from one port to another and back again. And in the Bremen Wörterbuch we find Low G. *börd*, a regular turn or order; with the very important example *in der börd liggen*, lit. 'to lie in the berth'; i.e. to be lying ready for their turn, said of ships whose turn it is to start. The same authority has *börd-schip* and *börd-schipper*, applied to ships and crews that went regularly every week from Bremen to Amsterdam; and it is indeed a hard case if the English sailor had no knowledge of a word, or no equivalent for a word that was known to every sailor from one end to another of the Dutch coast. I submit, then, that the E. *berth* or *birth* is simply the English form, perhaps with a peculiarly English use, of the Du. *beurte*, M. Dan. *börd*, M. Swed. *börd*, Norw. *byrt*, E. Fries. and Low G. *börd*. These are obviously allied to the A.S. *ge-byrian*, to suit; Du. *gebeuren*, to happen, befall; Dan. *bör*, one ought to do a thing; Swed. *böra*, ought, shall, also to be fit or proper; G. *gebühren*, to be due to, to fit, to suit, to become. And I further think that all these are derived, with mutation, from the weak grade of the root-verb *beran*, to bear. The N.E.D. gives the M.E. verb under the form *bir*, to behove, the latest example being from the Scottish Lives of the Saints. Mr. Mayhew says:—"As to the spelling, cf. *herd* from *hyrde*, *stern* from *styrne*, and *kernel* from *cyrnel*."

Birr, a strong wind. This is duly given in the N.E.D., and is derived from the weak grade of *beran*, to bear. It is also noted that it rightly means a *favourable* wind. I would connect it with A.S. *gebyre*, a favourable opportunity, and the verb *gebyrian*, discussed above under **Berth**. I take *birr* and *berth* to be closely related words.

Boast. I once suggested (wrongly) that *boast* may be English, and allied to the A.S. *bog-ian*, to boast. But there is, at any rate, a derivative from *bog-ian* in A.S., given in Bosworth, though wrongly explained. He has *bog-ung*, 'crookedness, perversity,' a sense due to *būg-an*, to bend, and perhaps the true original sense. But, in his example, it is clear that the sense is 'boasting,' as it is joined with *up-ahefednes* or 'pride.' However, the word occurs in a gloss, which settles the matter. In Mone's Quellen, p. 435, l. 92, we find: "*ostentationis*, boinge." And *ostentatio* means 'boasting,' not 'perversity.'

Buffet. "Little Miss Muffet Sat on a *buffet*," is the variant quoted, s.v. *Buffet*, sb. (2), in N.E.D. of a rhyme which is familiar to me with the reading *tuffet*, meaning a tuft of grass, as shown in a picture by Millais. This *buffet* is explained to mean a three-footed stool, of unknown origin. But just as *touffette* is the deriv. of *touffe*, a tuft, so *bouffette*, which Hamilton's modern F. Dict. explains as 'a tuft,' is from *bouffe*, which Cotgrave explains as "a swollen, or swelling cheek." The reference may be, I think, to the rounded or puffed out top of a stuffed hassock; and if so, the derivation may be from M.F. *bouffer*, "to puff, to blow, to swell up," Cotgrave.

Bunney. Duly given in the Eng. Dial. Dict., but without an etymology. It not only means a chine, but a culvert, or conduit for water. The final *-y* in such words often arises from the French suffix *-é*. The word seems to me to be precisely the O.F. *bouné*, 'tuyau, canal'; Roquefort. Cf. O.F. *boune*, borne; Roquefort. [He probably should have written *bonné* and *bonne*.] In Picard and Normandy and in the Rouchi dialect the E. word *bourne*, a boundary, limit, F. *borne*, appears as *bonne*; see Moisy and Hécart. Unfortunately, Roquefort gives no authority for the form. But it resembles mod. Prov. *bournèu*, *bornèu*, *bournèl*, *bornèl*, *bournè*, *bournèc*, given by Mistral with the sense 'tuyau de conduite,' which he connects with *borno*, *borgno*, 'creux, cavité, canal voûté,' etc. I am unable to proceed further. (Partly printed in N. and Q., 10 S. i, 489.)

Cape. The curious M.E. verb *cape*, to look up, occurring only in Chaucer, is duly explained in N.E.D., but only s.v. **Gape**, from which it is distinct, as is there pointed out. A cross-reference is advisable, and should be noted for the Supplement.

Carsar. In Wright-Wülker's Voc., 652. 7, is the entry:—"*Scarificator*, Anglice, carsare." The form *carsar* is not in N.E.D.,

but is interesting as being an older form of M.E. *garcer*, one who scarifies, from M.E. *garcen*, to scarify, mod. E. *gash*. The M.E. *garcen* is from O.F. *garser*, Late L. *caraxāre*, to gash, cut, incise, from Gk. χαράσσειν, to incise. The form *carsar* is from O.F. **carser*, intermediate between *garser* and *caraxāre*.

Coble, a kind of boat. Explained in the N.E.D. as of Celtic origin, and allied to Bret. *caubal*. I note here that Legonidec gives the Breton form, as in use at Vannes, precisely as *kōbal*. He adds that there was a variant form *kōbar* in more general use. The latter is the origin of F. *gabarre*, a lighter (Cotgrave); so that *coble* and *gabarre* are the same word. The mod. F. form is *gabare*.

Crewel. It is noted, in N.E.D., that this word is commonly found in the plural, though most of the examples given are in the singular. The Whitby glossary has: "*Crules*, worsted of all colours for fancy work." *Crewel* is explained as "thin worsted yarn," but the original sense was rather a 'hank' or 'skein' of such yarn; and the usual English application of it to the yarn itself was due to the fact that the English did not rightly catch the sense of the French word. It would be a natural mistake, as it did refer to the yarn itself for all practical purposes. It is well used in a quotation dated 1865:—"She threw down her basket of *crewels*," i.e. her variously coloured skeins of yarn. The word may be explained from the O.F. *escroelles*, *escrouelles*, lit. 'small shreds' or 'portions,' hanks, or skeins. Godefroy has: "*escrouelles* de laine," portions of wool, A.D. 1336. It is a dimin. of O.F. *escroe*, *escroue*, a shred, a word of Germanic origin, from M. Du. *schroode*, a shred. [It is therefore quite distinct from O.F. *escrouelles*, scrofula, which is also represented in E. by *crewels*; see N.E.D.] The E. *crewels*, pieces of yarn, is a doublet of *scrolls*; and the shorter forms seen in "green *crue*" and "*crewe*" are not scribal errors (see *Crewel*, i, β), but correct forms, being doublets of *escrow* and *scrow*, a shred of parchment. [Compare also *scroyles*, meaning (1) scrofula, (2) miserable rascals.] Roquefort even has O.F. *escroue*, a piece of cloth; *escroe*, a piece of cloth, strip of parchment; also "cordon," i.e. a twist. Hence a *crewel* may perhaps have been a 'little shred' of yarn, the precise sense in practical work, though usually applied by the English to the yarn itself.

Crimp. Said to be unknown in O.E. But in Wright-Wülker's Voc., col. 328, l. 26, we find: "*Calamistratis*, gecrymptum."

Calamistratus means "crisped, or curled with a curling-iron." The N.E.D. has: "*crimp*, b. to wrinkle or crumple minutely"; the extract, dated 1772, speaks of "the Italian method of *crimping* crapes." I think the *y* is correct, from the weak grade (*krump*) of the strong verb found as *krimfan* in O.H.G.; so that *crimp* is much the same as *crumple*. So also, Rietz gives Swed. dial. *krympa*, to wince; *krympa*, sb., a drawing together, from the str. vb. *krimpa*.

Curl. The adj. *crulle*, curly, is known from Chaucer. It seems worth while to note that the two English variants, *curl* and *crul*, have parallel forms in Scandinavian. Aasen gives Norw. *kurle*, a curl, as a by-form of *krulle*. As to Du. *krullen*, to curl, Franck connects it with E. Fries. *krillen*, to bend, to make crooked; from a Teut. base **krel*, of which **krul* (**kurl*) is the weak grade. The second grade (**kral*) appears in G. *kralle*, a crooked claw or talon.

Dog. The use of *dog* or *fire-dog* to mean 'andiron' is of French origin. The F. name is *chenet*, i.e. 'little dog.' Hatzfeld says that the heads of the andirons often represented the heads of dogs.

Frisk, Frisky. It is remarkable that the adj. *frisky* is older than *frisk* as a sb. or verb. It seems to me possible that *frisky* was an E. adaptation of the O.F. *frisquet*, given by Godefroy as meaning 'brisk or lively,' and noted also in Moisy's Glossary of the Norman dialect. Compare the E. spelling *friscay* in the sixteenth century. The shorter form *frisque* was used in the same sense, and accounts for the E. adj. *frisk*, i.e. frisky, which is now obsolete. This O.F. *frisque* is certainly from the O.H.G. *frisc*, which not only meant 'fresh,' but also brisk and lively. So also the E. Fries. *frisk* and Du. *frisch* mean 'fresh, vigorous, lively'; and we may confidently connect *frisky* with *fresh*. Palsgrave has: "*Fresshe*, gorgyouse, gay, or well besene"; and gives *frisque* as one of the French equivalents.

Hazy. The N.E.D. notes that the adj. *hazy* is nearly a century older than the sb. *haze*; so that the sb. may have been taken from it. No satisfactory origin has been found for it. But I have accidentally come across an O. Low G. word which resembles it. The Bremen Wörterbuch has: *Aas*, carrion (as in G.); whence *aas-natt*, or *so natt as een Aas*, used of anything that is both wet and dirty; in Lübeck they also say *asig*, meaning wet or dirty, especially of weather; as, *asig Weer*, wet and dirty weather; and in Mecklenburg the verb *asen* means to do wet and dirty work. The Supplement also gives the example: *de Strate is asig*,

the street is dirty. The glossary by Berghaus says that *aasig* means dirty or wet; also, that it was freely used in the port of Hamburg amongst sailors as a term of abuse, with much the same sense as the E. *beastly*. He also notes the phrase *aasig We'er* for dirty and wet weather. I think it just possible that our sailors picked up the phrase *aasig We'er* for 'wet and dirty weather' in the port of Hamburg, and prefixed an *h* to it on their own account. The original sense of *hazy* was thick and misty, as applied to the weather; afterwards, it came to mean dim and indistinct. There would then be no doubt as to the etymology, since *aasig* is an adj. formed from the G. *aas*, carrion, fully explained in Kluge as a derivative of the verb *essen*, to eat. The literal sense of *aasig we'er* comes very near the E. phrase 'beastly weather'; which is not inappropriate, from a nautical point of view. I offer this as a mere guess.

Inkle, a kind of tape. The origin suggested in the N.E.D. is the Du. *enkel*, single; with the remark that historical connexion is wanting. This can only be supplied from Dutch sources; but I wish to point out meanwhile that we have further evidence as regards the form of the word. First, the Du. word is also spelt *inkel*. For, in the W. Flemish Glossary by De Bo, we find: "*Enkelooge, Inkelooge* (i.e. single eye), that which is called *omoog* in Dictionaries." This Du. *omoog* is the F. *picot*, "purl on the edge of lace." But secondly, we have the important fact, not recorded in N.E.D., that the E. word *inkle* was also spelt *enkell*. In the Wills and Inventories from Durham (Surtees Soc., 1860), we find, at p. 103 (A.D. 1582), mention of "x lbs. suing skene thred," and of "brod *enkell*." In the same, at p. 236 (A.D. 1593) we have: "v lbs. whyt *inkell*." The double spelling thus occurs both in E. and Du., though we cannot safely draw any conclusion from this fact. More remains to be discovered.

Ledger. The oldest quotation in N.E.D. is dated 1481, with reference to "a large copy of the breviary." It occurs 80 years earlier; see Wylie's Hist. of Henry IV., iv. 198, where he cites "19 portos, 3 *liggers*" as occurring in 1401. As *portos* meant a small copy of the breviary, no doubt *ligger* here means a large one.

Loach, a fish. From F. *loche*, of unknown origin; Norman dial. *loque*. The Late L. name appears as *alloca*. This Late L. *alloca* is scarce, though noted by Diefenbach. In Mone's Quellen und Forschungen, I find, among some lower Rhine glosses, the entry:

"*Alloca*, quappe." But the G. *quappe* means a burbot, or eel-pout; and the E. *loach* sometimes has the same sense; see N.E.D. The above entry is at p. 299, l. 41. And again, at p. 303, l. 4 "*Alloca, piscis*, eyn quaep." It is only possible, however, to derive F. *loche* from a Late L. form **alocca*; and not from *alloca*. I have not yet found the more correct form; but Florio's Ital. Dict. has: "*Locca*, or *Locchia*, a cob, or gudgeon fish." Also Mistral's Prov. Dict. has both *aloco* and *loco* for 'loach.' If we compare Prov. *aloco* with Ital. *locca*, we may fairly deduce a Late L. **alocca* as affording the true original. Of this form *alloca* may well be a misspelt variant. These forms, **alocca*, *alloca* represent quite a different word from *alosa*, *alausa*, a shad. But they have been confused, since the entry "*Hec alosa*, a loch" occurs in Wright's Voc., ed. Wülker, 705. 1; and again in a note to Prompt. Parv., p. 310.

Mugwort. I have supposed this to mean *midge-wort*, as suggested by Mr. Cockayne. The A.S. form *mucgwort* is spelt with *u*, whereas the A.S. for *midge* is *myeg*, with mutation. The possible connexion is better seen in E. Friesic; Koolman gives *mügge*, a midge, and *müggerik*, mugwort; both with the same mutated vowel (*ü*).

Neap. I can find no good account of the origin of the *neap* in *neap-tide*. The spelling *neap-tides* occurs in Phillips, ed. 1658; and the Cent. Dict. says that the spelling *neape* occurs in Greene. The M.E. form is *neep*. The A.S. form is given as *nēp-flōd* in Wright's Vocabularies, where it occurs thrice. The two latest of these forms are of indecisive value, as they seem to have been due to the oldest form *nēp-flōd*, occurring in the Corpus Glossary. But as the Tudor E. spelling with *ea* shows that the *ē* was open, it is clear that, in this instance, *ē* is the Mercian equivalent of A.S. *ā*, mutated form of *ā*, from a root **nīp* (for **neip*). This root-verb occurs in M.E. *nīpen*, to pinch, or compress; see "*Nypyn*, premo, stringo," Prompt. Parv. This is cognate with Du. *nijpen*, to pinch, tweak, twinge, whence *neep*, sb., a pinch, or a nip. The mod. E. *nip* is from the weak grade of the same root. Hence a *neap-tide* is a pinched or scanty or limited tide; and we see its direct connexion with the root *neip*, to pinch. Franck remarks that there were two parallel Teut. roots with the same sense, viz. **kneip* and **neip*. Hence Dutch has both *knijpen* and *nijpen*, the sense of 'pinch'; and the allied sbs. *kneep* and *neep*. Low G. has *knīpen*, to pinch, and *kneep*, a pinch. The Swed. *knipta*, to

pair of pincers, appears in Du. as *nijptang*, in E. Friesic as *ēptange*, and in G. as *kneipzange*. *Neap-tide* is really compounded of two sbs., like E. Fries. *nēp-tange*.

I find nothing exactly corresponding to the E. use except an obscure remark in the Low G. Dict. by Berghaus, s.v. *knäp*, *kneep*, or *knepe*. He gives this enigmatic account:—"*Ik hebb dat Water d' Knäp afluurt*, nämlich dem Meere bei Springfluthen, etc." This seems to refer to the neap-tide, and *afluurt* seems to mean 'watched' or 'waited for'; but I cannot construe the dialectal example, not understanding the *d'*.

Parch. The etymology of *parch* still remains unknown. Dr. Murray's note upon it briefly shows that the explanation of it as a by-form of *pierce* is not satisfactory as to the sense, and I think the suggestion of an explanation from the O.F. *perzecher*, to dry thoroughly, is unsatisfactory as regards the form. I here venture to propose a new etymology altogether, which attempts to satisfy both sense and form. My notion is that the verb *parch*, to dry, was formed from the O.F. *parche*, in the sense of parchment; so that it originally meant to make like parchment, to harden. At any rate, it is worth while drawing attention to this O.F. *parche*, which Godefroy ignores. It is well authenticated in three ways—(1) in a very early quotation; (2) by its occurrence in Spanish, as a borrowed word; and (3) by its occurrence in prov. French. For (1) Bartsch has the lines: "Or est issus Noe de l'arche, si con gel truis escrit el *parche*," i.e., then Noah went out of the ark, as I find written in the parchment, i.e. in the MS.; col. 303, l. 15; ed. 1887. And (2) the Span. *parche*, the parchment end of a drum, is simply borrowed from French. And (3) in a Vocabulaire du Haut Maine, by C. R. de M. (Paris, 1859), I find that a kind of pea that is elsewhere called *pois sans parchemin* is there called *pois sans parche*; shewing that *parche* was a term especially applied to the outer pellicle of a pea; just as, in modern English, *parchment* is especially applied to the husk of the coffee-bean (see N.E.D., *Parchment*, § 3). Perhaps we may connect the F. *parche*, in the sense of 'the pellicle of a pea,' with the earliest example of the English verb in 1398:—"Saresines put peper into an ouen whan it is new igadered and *percheth* and rostith it so, and benemeth [take away] the vertu of burginge and of springinge," i.e. of sprouting. Here it actually means 'to harden a husk.'

Pear. The L. *pirum* and *pirus* (for **pisum*, **pisus*) may be cognate with Gk. *ἄ-πιον*, *ἄ-πιος* (for **ἄ-πισον*, **ἄ-πισος*); see Prellwitz.

Pony. I have already suggested the etymology from O.F. *poulenet*, a little colt. In connexion with this I may quote the M.F. *poulener*, "to fole as a mare"; in the supplement to Palsgrave, p. 952, col. 3.

Puke, said to be the name of a dark-brown colour, usually identified with *puce*. It is agreed that *puce* is lit. 'flea-coloured' or brown; but, as that is derived from L. *pulicem*, flea, it seems impossible that *puke* can be the same word. The Northern F. form of *puce* is *puche*. The evidence certainly seems to show that *puke* sometimes meant 'puce-coloured,' but this may have been due to confusion, and may not have been the original sense. An early example occurs in the Paston Letters, iii. 153: "I wolde . . . . haue that same gowne off *puke* furryd with whyght lambe." Here *puke* may refer to the stuff of which the gown is made; and it is worth notice that Hexham (following Kilian) gives M. Du. *puyck*, "wollen cloth"; a sense which will suit the above passage perfectly well. And I think we may connect this M. Du. *puyck* with the mod. Du. *puik*, excellent, choice, first-rate, of the best quality. Unfortunately, the history of the Du. *puik*, cognate with Low G. *pūk*, N. Fries. *pūk*, W. Fries. *puwik*, is very obscure. Koolman notes that the E. Fries. *pūk*, choice, fine, is specially used of cloth and linen. Cf. "Sixteene yeardes of *fine pewke*"; Wills and Inventories, ed. J. Raine (Surtees Soc.), i. 289; A.D. 1587. In Shakespeare's epithets "*puke*-stocking, caddis-garter," the reference may be to the stuff itself, although Baret (1580) explains *puke colour* as "between russet and blacke," which would serve just as well as a definition of *puce colour*.

Rabbit. The earliest quotation in N.E.D. is dated 1398. I find it occurs just ten years sooner. In Grose's Antiquarian Repertory (1807), i. 78, there is a list of things provided for a feast in the 11th year of Richard II., i.e. 1387–8. Along with the poultry consumed are mentioned "six kiddes" and "viij dussen *rabettes*"; and in the third course they had "*rabetts* rosted."

Racket, a noise. Perhaps of imitative origin. But it may have been partly suggested by the noise made by anything unsteady, and that consequently rattles. There is a remarkable parallel to it in the Limousin *raqueto*, a rattle (Mistral), which is quite

a distinct word from the mod. Prov. *raqueto*, a tennis-bat or racket. Hécart records the Rouchi *raque*, the noise made by clapping hands. I think the true root is a Teut. form **rakk-*, assimilated from **rank*, the second grade of a Teut. **renk*, orig. **wrenk*, to be unsteady, to waggle about. Cf. E. Fries. *rik-rakken*, to be unsteady; Dutch *wrikken*, to shake; Swed. *rankig*, unsteady, waggling; Swed. *runka*, to shake, to wag; Swed. dial. *rukka*, to shake (with *kk* for *nk*); E. *rock*, to shake, to be loose; see *Rock* in my Etym. Dict. Rietz gives the root-verbs *rinka*, to shake, to rock, pt.t. *rank*, supine *runkit*. If this be right, *racket* was orig. the noise made by something that *rocked*.

Many more related words might be cited; as Low G. *wrakkeln*, to make unsteady, *wrukkeln*, to waggle, to loosen by movement; G. *rank*, crank (said of a boat).

There is a similar form, with an initial *t*, in O.F. *traquet*, which meant (1) the clapper of a mill, as in mod. F.; and (2) a rattle such as a watchman uses; see Godefroy.

Raddle. The N.E.D. has *raddle*, a cart-rail. It seems to be simply a diminutive of *rade*, a cart-rail, which is a native word. See **Rathe.** Or perhaps *raddled* is from the A.S. pp. *radelud*; Birch, Cart. Saxon., iii. 44.

Rathe, a cart-rail (N.E.D.). Also spelt *rave* (with *v* for voiced *th*); and sometimes *rade*. The etymology is practically given by the following entry in Wright's Voc., 267. 33, where the parts of a waggon are described: "Tabula plaustri, *wān-gehrado*." This form further suggests that *raddle*, a cart-rail, is a word of native origin, a diminutive of *rade*, and not borrowed from French. It seems quite possible that this A.S. *gehrado* is allied both to *hurdle* and to L. *crātēs*. The weak grade of the root **qert*, to weave, twine, appears in Gk. κάρταλος, a (woven) basket, and O.N. *hurð*, a hurdle; also in the A.S. dimin. *hyrd-el*, whence E. *hurdle*. From the second grade we have a Teut. base **hard*, whence the A.S. *ge-hrado*, for **ge-hard-o*, by metathesis. The L. *crātēs* is from the same root. A *rathe* was once an arrangement of woven twigs.

Repudiate. It is usual to connect the L. *repudiāre* with the impers. verb *pudet*. But Brugmann, in his smaller Vergleichende Grammatik, p. 145, suggests that the syllable *-pud-* may be a weakened form of the *ped-* seen in acc. *ped-em*, the foot. If so, the orig. sense of *repudiāre* was 'to kick a man back,' or to kick him out. We have a clear example of this *-pud-* in *tripudium*, a religious dance.

Rezzle, a weasel; see E.D.D. The E.D.D. does not give the etymology. It is evidently of Norse origin; from Icel. *hreysi-visla*, a kind of weasel, lit. one that haunts a *raise*, or a pile of stones. Rietz gives the Swed. dial. forms *rössle-vesla*, *ressel-vissla*, etc., from Swed. dial. *rös*, Swed. *sten-röse*, a heap of stones. The E.D.D. gives *raise*, a cairn, tumulus, esp. in Lakeland; which seems to be precisely the Icel. *hreysi*; and, if so, is not allied to the verb *to raise* in any way.

Samovar, a tea-urn (Russ.). Lit. 'self-boiler'; from Russ. *samo-*, self, and *var-ite*, to boil.

Shear-water, the name of a bird. See Newton's Dict. of Birds, p. 830. The bird's habit would better be expressed by 'skim-water,' as is there shown. My belief is that the word *shear* really has that sense, and that *shear-water* may easily have been adopted from Dutch or Friesic. The Du. *scheren* not only means to shear, but also "to glide, move on swiftly (said of birds)"; Calisch. So, too, E. Fries. *scheren*, (1) to shear; . . . . (3) to move oneself, fly, hurry, sail, move backwards and forwards, hover, etc. Koolman gives as an example: "de swâlkes *scheren* afer 't *water* hen und wër," the swallows skim over the water backwards and forwards. Professor Newton tells me that *shear-water* occurs in Ray's first Collection of Words (1674); and next in the English edition of Willughby's Ornithology (1678), p. 334.

The name *cut-water* for *Rhynchops nigra* (N.E.D.), first appearing in 1732, is probably a mere imitation of *shear-water*, wrongly understood; for the same bird is also known as *the Skimmer* (N.E.D.), or *Black Skimmer* (Cent. Dict.); which is a true description.

Shoo! The interjection *shoo!* used to frighten away poultry, etc. (see E.D.D.), is of considerable antiquity. In Wright-Wülker's Vocabulary, col. 610, l. 22, is the entry:—"*Scon*, interjectio, Anglicè *showe*, ut dicitur: gallina lirida, *scon*, Anglicè, pykeled hen, *show*." Thus the M.E. form is *show*, and it was addressed to hens. Cf. id., col. 593, l. 15:—"Liridus, i. diversi coloris, Anglicè, *Pykeled*." And it is further apparent that the word printed *scon* should be *scou*. According to Labourasse, in his Glossary of words used in the French patois of the department of the Meuse, the peasants there still use *cho!* as an interjection to frighten away fowls.

Strand (of a rope). The form should rather have been *straind* or *streend*, as it is from an older form *strain*; the *d* is excrescent. *Straine* occurs in Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii, p. 108:—"for the

straines of one of our cables were broken." At p. 847 it is spelt *strand*:—"we found our cable broken; only one *strand* helde." The spelling *strain* represents the Du. *streen*, explained by "skain" in Sewel; but it also means precisely the strand of a rope; G. *strähn* or *strähne*. I make this note for the sake of the quotation from Hakluyt.

Tan, to beat. The word *tan*, in the sense 'to beat,' is known also in France, in the department of the Meuse, according to Labourasse. He gives *tanner*, in the sense of 'beat.' Doubtless, from the *tanning* of hides. Indeed, De Bois' Glossary of the Norman dialect has: "*tanner la peau*, to tan one's hide."

Testament. In Brugmann's Kurze Vergleichende Grammatik, 1902, p. 120, it is pointed out that the Oscan form of the Latin ablative *testamento* appears as *tristaamentud*. From this it is inferred, at p. 220, that the Latin *testis* has lost an *r*, and stands for **terstis*, from an older **tristis*. And further, that **tristis* is derived from *tri-*, related to *trēs*, 'three,' and the verb *stāre*, 'to stand.' If so, the orig. sense of *testis*, i.e. of **tristis*, was 'he who stands by as a third,' i.e. a third person who stands beside two others, and is thus a witness of their conference. We may compare this with our *umpire*, formerly *numpire*, from O.F. *nomper*, L. *non par*, used like the L. *impar* to signify an arbitrator, a third person called in to decide a difference between two others. We may compare *tri-stis* with L. *super-stes*.

Tuffet. "Little Miss Muffet Sat on a *tuffet*." I do not find *tuffet* in the Cent. Dict. But it answers exactly to the Norm. dial. *touffette*, meaning, according to Moisy, "bouffette, petit houppe, nœud de rubans," i.e. a little tuft, a bow of ribbon. It is obviously the dimin. of *touffe*, a tuft. In the word *tuft*, it is certain that the *t* forms no part of the F. *touffe* from which it is derived, and we must either explain it as excrescent or look upon *tuft* as a contraction of *tuffet*, which is the simpler alternative.

Twiddle, to twirl idly. This is a Norwegian form; from *tvidla*, to mix by stirring round and round; given by Aasen as a dialectal variant of *tvilla*, with the same sense. And *tvilla* is an assimilated form of *tvirla*, with the same sense, omitted by Aasen, but recorded by Ross. The last is the mod. E. *twirl*, a Scand. word; the frequent. of the verb seen in A.S. *þver-an*, to turn round and round as in churning or mixing up. See **Twirl** in my Concise Dict. Prob. *tvirla* > *tvilla*, by assimilation; then *tvilla* > **tvilda*, and then *tvidla*, by metathesis.

Twirl. Recorded by Ross as Norw. *twirla*, to stir round a[illegible]d round. The frequentative of the Teut. **þweran-*, A.S. *þwera[illegible]*, to churn, stir round.

Under way. "Often written *under weigh*, but erroneously [illegible]; Cent. Dict. No reason is given for the erroneous spelling. T[illegible]e difficulty really resides in the un-English use of *under*. This [illegible]is because the phrase is borrowed from Dutch. Hexham (165[illegible]) has: "*Onder-wegh*, under-way, or upon the way." Here *under-way* is an English spelling of the Dutch phrase; while 'upon th[illegible] way' gives the true sense. So also G. *unterwegs*, on the wa[illegible] between two places. See the uses of Du. *onder*.

Upbraid. The equivalent A.S. verb is only noted in the A.[illegible] Dict. by Clark Hall, who gives *ūpgebrēdan*, with a reference t[illegible] Wulfstan's Homilies, ed. Napier, p. 249. Here *brēdan* is a late[illegible] form of *bregdan*, whence the mod. E. verb *to braid*. The passag[illegible] is:—"Se modiga deofol . . . . wyle with þinre sawle campj[illegible] and þe *upgebrēdan* ælc þera þinga, þe þu with god agylte þu[illegible] modignysse"; the proud devil will fight against thy soul, an[illegible] upbraid thee as to each of the things that thou hast transgress[illegible] in against God through pride.

Whinyard, a kind of hanger. I have already shown that [illegible]it is a word of imitative origin; from E. *whine*, Icel. *hvīne*, to whist[illegible]e through the air. But I was in doubt as to whether the suff[illegible]x represented the E. *yard*, or the F. suffix *-ard*. It is really th[illegible]e latter. For Skelton has *whyn-arde*, Bowge of Courte, l. 36[illegible]; Minsheu has *whinnearde*; and Cotgrave has *whineyard*. For th[illegible]e *y*, compare *bowyer*, *lawyer*, and *sawyer*.

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
1905-6.

IX.—THE ETYMOLOGY OF *AWL*.

By W. A. Craigie, M.A.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Philological Society on November* 3, 1905.]

The real origin and history of this word have been greatly obscured by a confusion which has arisen between its Old English forms and those of an entirely different word. In consequence of this, the precise history and meaning of the other word have also been misunderstood.

The modern *awl* is the direct representative of Old English *æl*, which also appears with the spellings *al* and *eal*. The shortness of the vowel which is suggested by these variations is supported by comparison with O.N. *alr* (mod. Icel. *alur*). This makes it also most natural to assume a short vowel in O.H.G. *ala*, with later lengthening in M.H.G. *āle*, mod. G. *ahle*: cf. M.Du. *āle*, mod. Du. *aal*. The O.E. word also agreed with the O.N. one in being masculine, as is shown by the occurrence of the accusative *ánne æl*.

In O.E. the word occurs only as a translation of, or gloss on, Lat. *subula*, and is found especially in renderings of the biblical texts cited below. In early M.E. there are few traces of it, but it appears in the Ancren Riwle as *el*, and the plural occurs in the Ayenbite as *eles*, the form in both cases being a normal one. In the Wyclif Bible and the Palladius it occurs as *al* (and *all*) or *nal*, the latter being an instance of the common transference of *n* from the article to the noun. In the fifteenth century the forms are *all*(*e*) and *nall*(*e*), and the latter is not infrequent in the sixteenth, but *aule* appears in Coverdale (1535), *aulle* in Elyot (1538), and *awle* in Cooper (1565).

It will thus be seen that the modern spelling *awl* is of comparatively late origin, and that its resemblance to O.E. *awel*, which has misled etymologists, is entirely accidental: the correct spelling would in fact be *all*. What O.E. *awel* really meant will be shown below, after the full evidence for the early history of *awl* has been presented. This is as follows:—

a. 1000. *Laws of K. Ælfred* (ed. Liebermann), 28 = *Exod.* xxi, 6: þurhþyrlige his eare mid æle. [Variants are: mid ǽle, mid eale, *and* mid ane æle.]

c. 1000. Ælfric's *Exod.* xxi, 6: þirlie his eare mid anum æle. —*Lev.* xxv, 10: þirlige his eare mid ale.—*Deut.* xv, 17: Nim þonne anne æl and þurhsting his eare.

c. 1000. Ælfric's *Colloq.* in Wright-Wülcker, 99: Hwamon . . . sceowyrhton æl oþþe seamere nædl.—*Gloss.* Ibid., 106: *Subula*, æl.

c. 1225. *Ancren Riwle*, 324: A wummon þet haueð forloren hire nelde oðer on sutare his el, he secheð hine anonriht.

1340. *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, 66: þer is a feloun þet heþ þe tonge . . . more boryinde þanne zouteres eles. zuyche men byeþ anlykned to þe þornhog, þet ys al y-wryȝe myd prikyinde eles.

c. 1380. 'Wyclif,' *Exod.* xxi, 6: He shal thril his eer with an alle [*var.* an al, a nal].—*Deut.* xv, 17: Thow shalt take a nal [*var.* an al, an all], and thril his eer.

c. 1420. *Palladius on Husbandry*, II, 199: With an al [*var.* a nal], as craftely as ye mowe, So make hit holgh.

14—. *Metrical Vocab.* in Wright-Wülcker, 628: Baryngsexe, sole, nalle (gl. *subula*), corduane.

a. 1450. *Higden's Polychron.* (Rolls series), VIII, 249: Prikkede thro alle the body with nalles, neldes, and pynnes.

1483. Caxton, *Golden Leg.*, 127/2: It is harde to the to stryue ayenst the alle or prycke. (O.E.D.)

1496. *Fysshynge with Angle* (1883), 14: Shomakers nalles in especyall the beste for grete fysshe.

1530. Palsgrave, 247/1: Nall for a souter, *alesne*.

1535. Coverdale, *Job* xl, c (= xli, 2): Canst thou put a rynge in the nose of him, or bore his chaftes thorow with an aule. (1539, Cranmer, *ibid.* with a naule.)

1538. Elyot: *Subula*, an aulle that cordyners doo vse for a bodkyn. (In Cooper, 1565, the spelling is *awle*.)

It is needless to trace the history further, but it may be noted that the Cornwall and Hartland Glossaries (of 1880 and 1891) give the form *nale*, which obviously represents O.E. or M.E. disyllabic forms in the sing. or plural.

As is indicated above, the O.E. word which has been incorrectly associated with *awl* is *awel*, and the close resemblance in form is the only reason for the mistake; as soon as the glosses in which *awel* appears are examined, it becomes obvious that it has no connexion in meaning, any more than in form, with O.E. *æl*. Most frequently it glosses Lat. *fuscinula*, which occurs in the Vulgate (*Exod.* xxvii, 3, *et al.*), and is rendered 'flesh-hook'; but it also occurs as a gloss on *harpago*, *tridens*, and *ungula*. In M.E. it assumes the forms *aule*, *eaule*, *eawle*, *ewel*, and *owel*, *oule*, *ouȝle*, and the context in most cases clearly indicates that a hooked instrument of some size and strength is intended. The word is by no means uncommon, being especially frequent in religious poetry as one of the instruments of torture wielded by the devils. In this connexion it comes down as late as Chaucer, after which it seems to disappear from literature. The following examples will serve clearly to establish the general sense of the word, and to dispose of any association with *awl*:—

c. 725. *Corpus Gloss.* (ed. Hessels), A 756: *Arpago*, awel *vel* clauuo. *Ibid.*, F 370: *Fuscinula*, awel. *Ibid.*, T 286: *Tridens*, awel.

c. 1000. Ælfric's *Gloss.* in Wright-Wülcker, 127: *Fuscinula vel tridens*, awul.

c. 1000. *ȝerefa* in *Anglia*, IX, 264: Man sceal habban . . . eac mete, awel, & to odene fliȝel, etc.

a. 1100. In Napier's *O E. Glosses*, **7**, 378, and **8**, 384: *Fuscinula*, awele. *Ibid.*, **46**, 43: *Ungulæ*, awlas.

c. 1225. *Ancren Riwle*, 212: Heo bodieð hwu þe deoflen schulen pleien mid ham mid hore scherpe aules . . . & mid helle sweordes.

c. 1225. *Leg. Katharine*, 2178: Heo . . . tuhen hire tittes up of hire breosten bi þe bare bane wiðe eawles of irne.

c. 1275. In *Old Eng. Miscellany*, 83/330: þe feondes . . . luþre heom biledeþ mid pykes and myd eaule. *Ibid.*, 153/223: Ten þusend deoflen . . . nymeþ eaules & heom to-tereþ.

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c. 1100. In Phillips' *Fragment*, etc. (1838), 4: *Fuscinula*, ow
(Followed by *Uncinus*, hoc.)

c. 1250. *Owl and Night.* 80: þi bile is stif and scharp
hoked Riȝt so an owel [*Jesus MS.* ewel] þat is croked.

a. 1300. *Body & Soul* in *Poems of Walter Map* (Camden So
339: With hote speres thoruȝ [he] was stongen, and w
oules al to-rent.

a. 1300. *St. Patrick's Purg.*, 170 (in *S.E. Leg.*, 206): W
Irene Ovles and pikes heo to-drowen him wel faste; 2
with ovles swiþe kene; 234, with hokes and with ouȝl
248, mid ovles heom to-drowe.—In the version from
Ashm., 43, printed in Horstmann's *Altengl. Leg.* (187
the corresponding passages have *oweles*, and in line
oweles is used instead of *crokus* in line 265 of the Laud te

a. 1300. *St. Brandan*, 486 (in *S.E. Leg.*, 233): Euer-ech c
is owel op oþur.

c. 1300. *St. Blase*, 84 (in *S.E. Leg.*, 487): Beneþe þer st
I-nowe Tormentours wiþ oules kene & al his flesh to-dro

c. 1386. Chaucer, *Somnour's Tale*, 22: Ful hard it is w
fleisch-hok or with oules To ben y-clawed, or to brei
or bake.

a. 1400 (?). *Vocab.* in Wright-Wülcker, 576: *Creagra*, an ow
(*Creagra* occurs in the Vulgate, 2 *Chron.* iv, 11, *et al.*)

The word appears to be peculiar to southern texts, and wo
normally have given a modern *owl* (= ōl, riming with *soul*) or
but I have not succeeded in finding any trace of it in the Engl
Dialect Dictionary under any of the possible variations of spellir

X.—CONTRIBUTIONS TO OLD ENGLISH LEXICOGRAPHY. By Professor A. S. Napier, D.Litt. (Vice-President).

On June 3rd, 1904, and June 2nd, 1905, I read papers before the Philological Society on a number of Old English words, and Dr. Furnivall suggested that I should print my notes in the Transactions of the Society together with any additional material I thought fit to incorporate.

Of the words here given the majority are hitherto unrecorded words and compounds; a considerable number, however, are to be found in the dictionaries, but without references; whilst other words, again, though given with references in the dictionaries, I have included for various reasons. In each case I have indicated whether the word is to be found in the three modern dictionaries, Bosworth-Toller (= BT.), Hall (= H.), or Sweet (= S.).

I have not, as a rule, included words, even though they may not be given in *BT.*, *H.*, or *S.*, if they are to be found in the glossaries to published texts, such as *ÆS.*, *Assm.*, *LSc.*, *NGl.*, *RBS.*, *WW.*, etc., or in Zupitza's *Altenglische Glossen zu Abbos Clericorum Decus*, *ZfdA.* xxxi, 1; Liebermann's *Gerefa*, *Ang.* ix, 251; W. S. Logeman's *De consuetudine monachorum*, *Ang.* xiii, 365, etc. I have further not intentionally included words to be found in recent articles on O.E. Lexicography, such as Swaen, *ES.* xxvi, 125; xxxii, 153; xxxiii, 176; xxxv, 329; Wülfing, *ES.* xxvi, 449; Pogatscher, *AfdA.* xxv, 1; Stevenson, *Trans. of the Philol. Soc.*, 1895–8, p. 528, etc., though I may in isolated instances have overlooked the fact that words given by me are cited there.

On the other hand, I have included a few words to which attention has been called by various scholars, but which, owing to their being scattered about in periodicals, may have escaped the notice of many.

As to the date, the large majority are taken from MSS. of the eleventh century, but I have also included words from a few

twelfth-century MSS., as in many cases these are copies of eleventh-century originals, and in most instances were probably in use before 1100.

Most of the words for which I give MS. references are taken from eleventh-century homily MSS.; a considerable number of the quotations are from my edition of the O.E. version of Chrodegang's *Rule*, now being printed for the E.E.T. Soc. Some interesting words (*sceppe*, *scor*, *stott*, etc.) are taken from a number of eleventh-century entries relating to Bury St. Edmunds on the flyleaves at the end of a MS. in the Library of C.C.C. Oxford,[1] which I propose to include in the same volume.

1. List of Signs used.

* prefixed to a word denotes that it is not included in any of the three dictionaries, *BT.*, *H.*, *S.*, or that its meaning is different from that there given.

[ ] in which one or more of the dictionaries (*BT.*, *H.*, *S.*) are enclosed, denotes that the dictionary or dictionaries thus enclosed do not contain the word in question, and *further* implies that it is recorded, *though without any reference*, in the dictionaries not thus included. Thus [BT., H.] means not only that the word is not to be found in either *BT.* or *H.*, but also that it is given in *S.*, though without a reference.

[ ] in which one of the O.E. words is enclosed, denotes that the word in question is a spurious one, e.g. [**beddærn**, cubiculum].

[ ] in which one or more letters in the quotations are enclosed, indicates that the letter or letters have been supplied and are not in the MS., e.g. *mona*[*n*] and *lange*[*a*] under **ānihte**.

† prefixed to a word or quotation means that the MS. from which it is taken dates from the twelfth century.

2. List of Manuscripts quoted from.[2]

Vesp. = Vespasian D. 14, British Museum (early twelfth century).
Otho = Otho B. 10, British Museum.
Jun. 22 = MS. Hatton 114 (formerly Junius 22), Bodleian Library.
Jun. 23 = MS. Hatton 115 (formerly Junius 23), Bodleian Library.
Jun. 24 = MS. Hatton 116 (formerly Junius 24), Bodleian Library (first half of twelfth century).
Jun. 85 = MS. Junius 85, Bodleian Library.
Bodl. 340 = MS. Bodley 340 (formerly NE. F. 4, 10), Bodleian Library.
Bodl. 343 = MS. Bodley 343 (formerly NE. F. 4, 12), Bodleian Library (about 1150–1170).

[1] See note to *scorn*.

[2] Except where otherwise stated the MSS. date from the eleventh century. MSS. from which only isolated quotations are taken are not mentioned here; in such cases the full title of the MS. follows the quotation.

Theod. = MS. Bodley MS. 865 (containing Theodulf's Capitula), Bodleian Library.
Chr. = MS. 191 (formerly S. 12, and containing Chrodegang's Rule), Library of C.C.C. Cambridge.
S. 2 = MS. 41 (formerly S. 2), Library of C.C.C. Cambridge.
S. 4 = MS. 140 (formerly S. 4), Library of C.C.C. Cambridge.
S. 5 = MS. 162 (formerly S. 5), Library of C.C.C. Cambridge.
S. 6 = MS. 178 (formerly S. 6), Library of C.C.C. Cambridge.
S. 8 = MS. 198 (formerly S. 8), Library of C.C.C. Cambridge.
S. 9 = MS. 302 (formerly S. 9), Library of C.C.C. Cambridge.
S. 14 = MS. 419 (formerly S. 14), Library of C.C.C. Cambridge.
S. 17 = MS. 303 (formerly S. 17), Library of C.C.C. Cambridge (first half of twelfth century).
Ii. 1, 33 = MS. Ii. 1, 33, Cambridge University Library (twelfth century).
Ii. 4, 6 = MS. Ii. 4, 6, Cambridge University Library.
Lambeth = MS. 489, Lambeth Library.
St. E. = Bury St. Edmunds documents in MS. 197, Library of C.C.C. Oxford.
Trin. = MS. B. 15, 34, Library of Trinity Coll., Cambridge.
Verc. = Vercelli MS.

3. List of Books referred to.

ÆG. = Ælfric's Grammatik, Zupitza, Berlin, 1880.
ÆH. = Homilies of Ælfric, ed. B. Thorpe, London, 1844–6.
ÆS. = Ælfric's Lives of Saints, ed. Skeat, E.E.T. Soc., 1881–1900.
AfdA. = Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum.
AL. = Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, ed. B. Thorpe, London, 1840.
Ang. = Anglia.
Archiv = Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen.
Assm. = Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben, B. Assmann, Kassel, 1889.
BlH. = The Blickling Homilies, ed. R. Morris, E.E.T. Soc., 1874–80.
CD. = Codex diplomaticus ævi Saxonici, ed. J. M. Kemble, London, 1839–48.
CP. = King Alfred's WS. Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care, ed. H. Sweet, E.E.T. Soc., 1871.
CS. = Cartularium Saxonicum, ed. W. de Gray Birch, 1885–93.
ECPs. = Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter, ed. F. Harsley, E.E.T. Soc., 1889.
ELC. = Land-Charters and Saxonic Documents, ed. J. Earle, Oxford, 1888.
ES. = Englische Studien.
FNGl. = Glosses from MS. Rawlinson G. 57 (1st half of twelfth century), now being published in Archiv by M. Förster and A. S. Napier.
GesAgs. = Liebermann, Gesetze des Angelsachsen, Halle, 1898–1903.
GrD. = Dialoge Gregors des grossen, H. Hecht, Leipzig, 1900.
KL. = Kluge's Angelsächsisches Lesebuch, 3rd ed., Halle, 1902.
KlZs. = Zur Geschichte der Zeichensprache, F. Kluge, in Techmer's Internationale Zeitschrift für allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, vol. ii, Leipzig, 1885, p. 118 sqq. (quoted by paragraph).
Lcdm. = Saxon Leechdoms, etc., of Early England, ed. O. Cockayne, Rolls Series, 1864–6.
LSc. = Defensor's Liber Scintillarum, ed. E. W. Rhodes, E.E.T. Soc., 1889.
MH. = An Old English Martyrology, ed. G. Herzfeld, E.E.T. Soc., 1900.
MLN. = Modern Language Notes, ed. A. M. Elliott, etc., Baltimore.

MPh. = Modern Philology, Chicago.
Narr. = Narratiunculæ Anglice conscriptæ, ed. T. O. Cockayne, London, 1861
NGl. = Old English Glosses, A. S. Napier, Oxford, 1900, Anecdota Series.
NRT. = History of the Holy Rood-tree, A. S. Napier, E.E.T. Soc., 1894.
NSCh. = The Crawford Charters, ed. A. S. Napier & W. H. Stevenson, 189- Anecdota Series.
OET. = Oldest English Texts, ed. H. Sweet, E.E.T. Soc., 1885.
PBB. = Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, heraus- von Paul und Braune, etc.
PGH. = Die Bouloneser angelsächs. Glossen zu Prudentius, A. Holde- Germania xxiii, 385 sqq.
RBS. = Die angelsächs. Prosabearbeitungen der Benedictinerregel, A. Schrö- Kassel, 1885–8.
SHy. = The Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church, ed. J. Steveno- Surtees Soc., 1851.
SS. = The Dialogue of Salomon and Saturnus, ed. J. M. Kemble, London, 18- 48.
Wst. = Wulfstan, A. Napier, Berlin, 1883.
WW. = T. Wright's Anglo-Saxon and O.E. Vocabularies, re-edited by Wülc- London, 1884.
ZfdA. = Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.

(See also p. 336.)

***āberan**, to do without. *Hym wæs laþ to forlætenne þone leof- Hælend, 7 hy uneaþe mihton his neaweste aberan*, Trin., p. 96, l. 15 (also in MSS. Ii. 4, 6, f. 390, l. 9, and Faustina A. 9, f. 162, l. 19). If we may assume the prefix *a-* to stand for early West-Saxon *on-* (as in *ādrædan*, etc.), this verb might be identified with O.H.G. *inberan*, N.H.G. *entbehren*, with the same meaning. Or had the original from which all three MSS. are derived words to the effect that they could scarcely endure (*aberan*) the loss of his presence?

āblēran, to uncover, to bare? [BT., H.]. *Ge forseoþ eower cynn 7 eowre yldran . . . . þonne ge tysliaþ eow on Denisc ablered- hneccan 7 ablendum eagum*, ES. viii, 62 (from Jun. 23, f. 61).

æcerceorl, a farmer, farm labourer. It is in the dictionaries, but only from a gloss (WW. 310[36]). *Þe willaþ ealle ut a[n]felda, 7 ealle æcerceorlas 7 ealle wineardwealas* (= *Te cuncti in publico, te in agro rustici, aratores, ac vinitores*) *dæghwamlice tælan, gif þu . . . . wilt wunian mid wifum*, Chr., p. 109.

***æcerweorc**, work in the fields. *Agresti, bonus = fra[m] hys æcerweorce*, PGH. 391 (the line in Prudentius, *Cathemerinon* iv, 60, runs: *agresti bonus exhibebat arte*).

***æfencollatio**, the 'collatio' (read before compline, cf. *Ben. Reg.*, c. xlii). *Gif hwylc broþor biþ þe þa gesettan tida forgymeleasaþ . . . . 7 to heora æfencollationem ne cymþ*, Chr., p. 96. Another word used in this sense is *æfenræding*: cf. Ang. xiii, 449.

***æfengereordung**, evening-meal. *Ad cenam agni = To æfengereordunga lambes*, SHy., p. 82.

***æfenoffrung**, evening sacrifice. *Sy minra handa upahafu þe gecweme æfenofrung* (Ps. 141 [2]), Chr., p. 46.

***æfterfylgendnys**, a succession. *Successibus = mid æfterfyligendnyssum*, SHy., p. 11.

***æftresta**, last. *þis syndon þa ðreo Frigedagas þe man sceall fæsten on twelf monþum: se æresta on Hlydan, 7 se nyhsta ær Pentecosten, 7 se æftresta þe byð on Iulius*, Ang. xi, 3 [69].

***ælmesæcer**, field the produce of which was given as alms, first fruits. *Frumwæstmas hataþ sume men ælmesæcer se ðe us æresť geripod bið*, S. 14, p. 365, l. 16.

***ælmesdōnde**, doing alms. *Hafa æghwar gymene 7 swiðost ælmesmanna . . . . ꝑ þu an þam byfgendlican dæge mid oðrum ælmysdondum gehyre æt Drihtne*, Chr., p. 157.

ælmesful, charitable [BT.]. *þa mæn þa ðe doð god 7 beoð ælmesfulle, þa beoð Godes bearn geciged*, Jun. 85, f. 31, l. 1.

***ælmeslāc**, giving of alms. *þa bead se biscop Mamertus þreora daga fæsten 7 þæt man halidom sceolde wyrðlice styrien 7 mid ælmeslacum georne God gladian*, Jun. 22, f. 98, l. 7.

***ānetnes**, solitude. See **ānetnys**.

ārāt, excessive eating. Cf. Cosijn, PBB. xx, 101, and Pogatscher, AfdA. xxv, 4. The meaning is 'excessive eating,' as Cosijn pointed out, not 'early eating.' Not in BT.; in S. without reference; and in H. with the two references to Wst.: 135 [3] and 290 [32]. Further instances are: Verc., f. 11 (see below, s.v. **heamolscipe**); *Uton us nu ealle þe geornor warnian 7 forlætan urne gedwolan 7 unrihthæmedo 7 ærætas 7 oferdruncennessa*, etc., Verc., f. 110, l. 9; *7 uto forlætan morðor 7 man 7 oferhigdo 7 æfsta . . . . 7 unrihthæmedo, ærætas 7 ealugalnessa*, etc., Verc., f. 116, l. 8 (this is the same passage repeated, which occurs Verc., f. 11, cf. **heamolscipe**); *Unrihthæmed 7 ærætas 7 ealogalnesse 7 oferfylle 7 unsibbe*, etc., Jun. 23, f. 145, l. 3; *On gytsunge 7 on manslyhte, on ærǽte 7 on oferfylle*, etc., Ang. xi, 102 [88]; *On ærǽte oþþe on oferdrince*, Ang. xii, 514 [10]. The context of these passages shows that *ārāt* is, as suggested by Cosijn, synonymous with *oferāt*, and means 'over-eating,' not 'feasting early,' as in S., or 'the ecclesiastical offence of eating before communion,' as in H.

-āre, -oared [BT., H.]. *Ænne sceg̃ lxiiiiāre* (64 oared), NSCh. 23 [8] (cf. note on p. 128).

***āren**. See quotation under **nōwend**. The *æren scip* (= *carabus*)

cannot be a 'brazen ship'; is it from *ār* 'an oar'? The *-en* ending presents difficulties.

***ætfeorrian**, to remove. *Ne ætfeorrige man hine sylfne æt þam preostlican tidsangum þam godcundlican lofum*, Chr., p. 156.

***āfyrrednys**, removal. *Hi sona æt Gode gegearnodon mid þam fæstene ece hæle 7 þæs færlican deaðes afyrrednysse*, MS. Cleopatra B. 13, f. 54 b, l. 13.

***āga**, possessor. See quot. under **nunfæmne**. The dictionaries have *unāga*, a pauper.

āgālian, to become slow, powerless [BT., H.]. S. has *āgālod* 'remiss, neglectful.' See below, s.v. **cyneþrymlic**.

***†agene**, awns. *Agene = aristas*, FNGl. 119.

***āgyltnys**, guilt. *Seo awerigednys þe ða ærestan men þurh heora agyltnysse geworhtan . . . . is nu adwæsced 7 adilgad*, Bod. 340, f. 150, l. 9, and S. 8, f. 193 b, l. 17.

***alrscaga**, alder-copse. *Of stanforda on alrscagan, of alrscagan on eorðgeberst*, NSCh., p. 2 26.

andfeax, bald [BT., H.]. *Andfexe* (var. lect. *-feaxe*) *weorð ðæra swyðe manege þe mid oferrence glengdan hy sylfe*, Wst. 46 1.

andlanges (with adverbial *-es*) [BT., H.]. Cf. NSCh., p. 57.

***ānetnys, ænet-**, solitude. *Þa se halga wer eft gehwearf to þære stowe þære leofan anetnysse*, GrD. 105 27 (MS. C.). MS. O. *ænetnesse*, and MS. H. *ænettes*.

***anlīcung**, similitude, likeness. *Haligra fædra anlicung 7 efenlæcing* (= *similitudo patrum*), Chr., p. 115.

***ānnihte**, one day old. *Se ðe bið acenned on annihtne mona[ðe], se bið lange[s] lifes . . . . Gif he bið acenned on .iii. niht[um] monan, se leofaþ lange*, etc., Lcdm. iii, 160 18.

ansȳn, appearance. This is given in BT., H., S. as feminine only, but it also occurs as masc. or neuter. See quot. under **hellheort**, where the genitive *ansynes* occurs (Bodl. 340, f. 145, l. 6, and f. 149, l. 12). Cf. further, 7 *forðan he, se engel, on swa egeslicum onsyne æteowde ȝ þæra wearda mod sceolde beon þy forhtra*, Bodl. 340, f. 149, l. 7. Note that *mod* here seems to be used as a masculine.

apuldre, apple-tree. Cf. NSCh., p. 52.

argang, ars-, stercus, latrina, anus [H., S.]. BT. has *arsgang* without ref. *Ne recð he na swiðe hwæþer he of deorwyrðum mettum 7 drincum þæt meox his arganges 7 his micgan gesamnige*, Chr., p. 113. Cf. *latrinarum = arganga* (thus in both the Digby and Brussels MSS.), NGl. i, 3917. Cf. also the following[1]: *Wæþ*

[1] To these instances from Lcdm. my attention was called by Professor Toller.

þon þe mon þurh his argang blode út yrne, Lcdm. i, 4[19] and 82[8] (in the second case one of the MSS. reads *arsgang*). In the following instances from the twelfth century *Peri Didaxeon* it is written *ars-*: *Hwilum þurh þa nosa hym yrnþ þæt blod, hwilum þan[n]e on arsganga sitt, hyt him fram yrnaþ*, Lcdm. iii, 138[5]; *Gif hyt byð of þan þerman, þanne myht þu þurh þane arsgang* (= *per egestionem*) *hyt gecnawan*, ibid. 138[16]; *þanne he to arsganga gæþ*, ibid. 140[18]. Have we here two distinct words, *ar-* and *ars-gang*? Both seem well authenticated. In the instances from Lcdm. i, 4 and 82, the *ars-* form certainly gives better sense.

[**āswefecian**, to root up, eradicate.] Cf. note to **swefecere**.

***āswornod**, confused, confounded. *Þonne stent ðæt deade flæsc aswornod 7 ne mæg nan andwyrde syllan*, Verc., f. 23[b], l. 3 (S. 2, in which this passage also occurs, has *onswornod*). Cf. *aswarnian*, 'to be confounded,' and *aswarnung*, *aswærnung*, 'confusion,' cited in BT. from the Psalms. It is presumably the same word as *suornodun*, *suarn-* = *coaluissent* in the Epinal, Erfurt, and Corpus Glosses and in WW. 364[44].

***†ātimplian**, to provide with spikes? *Ða deofla . . . settaþ* (the devils in hell place the wicked) *embe hwile on ufan þære byrnendan þele, þe ðar gegearcod is. Þy* (for *þeo* = *seo*) *þele is eall atimplod mid attrenum pilum 7 scearpum tindum*, li. I, 33, p. 435, l. 22. This verb throws light on the sb. *timple*, which occurs in a list of weaving implements in the *Gerefa* (Liebermann, Ang. ix, 263, and GesAgs. i, 455): *He sceal . . . habban . . . fela towtola, flexlinan, spinle . . . pihten, timplean* (for *timplan*?), *wifte*, etc., and, taken in conjunction with the verb, seems to mean some instrument connected with weaving and provided with teeth or spikes. Liebermann, in Ang. ix, 257, confesses that he can make nothing of the word, whilst in the GesAgs. he renders it by 'Karden' (i.e. carding-instruments) with a query. A more recent suggestion was made by O. Ritter in Archiv, cxv, 164; he connects it with the dialectal weaving term *temple*, which denotes an instrument of adjustable length provided with pins at either end and used for stretching the cloth on the loom. French *temple* and German *Tempel*, *Tömpel*, occur in the same sense. The O.E. form he assumes to be an early borrowing from a Latin *templa* with the vowel change as in O.E. *gimm* from *gemma*, whilst the modern dialect form, which occurs as early as the *Cathol. Anglic.*, he regards as a later borrowing from the French. Cf. IdgF. xix, 361.

āwannian. Cf. **wannian**.

***bæðærn**, bath-house. *Gyf þu hwæt be bæðernes tacne tæcan wille, þonne strie þu mid þinre swiðran hande bradlinga* (MS. *bralinga*) *ofer þine breost 7 ofer þinne innoð, swilce þu þe þwean wille*, KlZs. 95.

***bēagwīse**, the form of a crown or ring. See quotation under **oflǣthlāf**.

***bēansēd**, bean-seed. See quotation under **hogg**.

***bearnēacnod**, pregnant. *Þa was heo bearneacnod of ðam Halgan Gaste*, Bodl. 340, f. 1, l. 25, and S. 8, f. 1^{b}, l. 7. The same homily occurs in Verc., f. 25, but the reading there is *bearnēacenu*.

***bebyrging**, burial. *Ðær wæs þa sumre tide ylding to gefyllanne þa liċþenunge his bebyrginge*, GrD. 84^{5} (MS. H.).

[**beddærn**, cubiculum.] Though rightly rejected by BT., H., and S., this word is still to be found in Bosworth and Ettmüller, and attention was called to it as late as 1886 by Sohrauer in his *Kleine Beiträge zur altenglischen Grammatik*, p. 39. We first meet with it in Somner, who has '*bedd-ern*, i.e. *beod-erne*,' and *beod-erne* he explains as meaning both *refectory* and *cubiculum*. Benson gives '*bedd-ern=refectorium*' and '*beod-erne=refectorium, cubiculum*.' Lye has *bedd-ern* and *beod-ern*, but assigns to both the meaning *refectorium* only; his references are '*Ælfr. gl.* 20. *R.* 107,' which correspond to WW. 328^{32} and 184^{28} respectively.[1] In the latter case we get the following consecutive glosses: *Cubiculum = bedcofa*; *Refectorium = beodern*; *dormitorium = slæpern*. Here we have obviously the source of the error: the *ern* of the second and third gll. resulted in the formation of a **bed-ern*, whilst the proximity of *cubiculum* to *refectorium* led to both meanings being assigned to *beod-ern* in Somner and Benson, and to *bedd-ern* in Bosworth.

beddclāðas, bedclothes [BT.]. *Judith . . . . bewand ƿ bodig mid ðam beddclaðum*, Assm. 111^{306}. See also quotation under **werreaf**.

[1] According to the explanation in Lye's preface the reference '*Ælfr. gl.*' means '*Ælfrici glossarium ad calcem dictionarii Gul. Somneri*,' but this is not quite correct. It is true, i.e. that '*Ælfr. Gl.*, p. 60,' does refer to the Rubens glossary printed at the end of Somner (= WW. 104–191), the number being that of the page in S., but the simple reference *Ælfr. gl.* without a number, or *Ælfr. gl.* followed by a number but no '*p*,' means Ælfric's glossary (= WW. 304–337 = ÆG., pp. 297–322). Thus, for instance, '*deorfellen roc, Ælfr. gl.*, 20,' does not occur at all in the Rubens glossary, but corresponds to WW. 328^{18}. Lye's R. refers to MS. Junius 71 (the copy of the Rubens glosses made by Junius, whence Somner printed them).

***bedȳfan**, to submerge. *Heo wearð þa gelædd to sumre ea 7 on wætere bedyfed*, GrD. 73 [24] (MS. H.). The dictionaries have the uncompounded *dȳfan*.

behammen, studded with nails [BT., H.]. See quotation under **gehammen**.

***behātland**, land of promise. *Þanon wæs geworden ƿ ure Drihten længest geheold Philisteas 7 Chananeas . . . . gelæddum his folce to þam behatlande* (= his people having been brought into the land of promise), GrD. 204 [12].

[**behȳdignes**, a desert.] See my note in MPh. i, p. 393.

belȳfān, to believe; **belȳfed**, believing [BT.]. The NED. states that "the present compound (i.e. with the *be-* prefix) appears in the twelfth century," and the earliest instance it gives is from about 1200. But it certainly occurs early in the eleventh century. *Witodlice þa þe on God belyfað, hi sind þurh ðone Halgan Gast gewissode*, ÆH. i, 114 [8] (Bodl. 340, f. 30[b], and Jun. 22, f. 20, both read *gelyfað*); *Maria 7 Martha wæron twa geswystru swiðe on God belyfede*, ibid. i, 130 [8] (MS. Bodley 340, f. 44, has *belyfende*); *Eala þu Drihten God, þe Danihel on belyfð, mycel eart þu 7 mihtig*, S. 6, p. 159 (first half of eleventh century). Early twelfth century instances are not rare. The two following are from Vesp. D. 14: *He æteowde his unhæle 7 hwu he fulluht underfeng 7 ciricen hrærde 7 þæron beleſde*, Assm. 194 [41]; *Hwy noldon ge beleſen on hine?* MPh. i, 594 [4]. Cf. further *þ is eall Godes folc, þe on God nu gelyfð* (S. 17 has *beleſð*), Assm. 27 [71]; *To Iudea lande, þe on God gelyſdon* (S. 17 and Otho B. 10 have *belyfdon*), ibid. 104 [74]; *Ic þe hælniȝe þurh þinne God 7 þurh his Sunu 7 his þone Halgan Gast, þe þu on beleſst*, ibid. 177 [266] (from S. 17). The following are from Bodley 343 (*circâ* 1150–1175): *Þurh ðene almihtiȝæ Drihten ðe we on bilyfæð*, NRT. 6 [19]; *Moniȝe scylen on God bilyfæn*, ibid. 34 [13].

***†bēodrēaf**, table-cloth. *Ælfwine minum oðrum suna ic geann anes heallreafes 7 anes burreafes, mid beodreafe 7 mid eallum hræglum swa ðærto gebyrað*, CD. iii, 294 [36]. It is from MS. 111 in C.C.C. Cambridge, and is in writing of the twelfth century,[1] but is no doubt copied from an older original.

***beþrȳn**, to press. Cf. **þrȳn**.

***bewrixlian**, to change. *He bewrixlede him sylf þære stowe eardunge*, GrD. 119 [21].

[1] Cf. ELC., p. 369.

[**biccen(e)**, caninus.] Cf. **byccen**.

***bifigendlic**, terrible. See quotation under **ælmesdōnde**.

bisceophām, bishop's estate. Cf. NSCh., p. 132. [BT.] H. gives one reference to ELC.

bisceopung [BT., H.], confirmation. *Ðas seofanfealdan gyfa soðlice wæron on urum Drihtne . . . 7 se Halga gast hi todæleð . . . ælcum be his mæðe 7 be his modes geornfulnesse, ealswa biscopas on biscpunge to Gode sylfum wilniað georne*, Wst. 51[16]; *Miclum is us to warnienne . . . ȝ ure folc ne wurðe losad þurh nane orsorhnysse butan fulwihte 7 bisceopunge 7 predicunge 7 andytnysse*, Chr., p. 76.

bisen (-ne?), blind [BT.]. Cook gives the three instances from the Lindisfarne Gospels (Matth. ix, 27 and 28; xi, 5). Other examples are: *Soðlice þa þa se Godes wer hæfde gedon 7 gefylled his gebedu, he asette 7 awrat Godes rodetacen ofer þæs bysenan mannes eagan*, GrD. 77[29]; † *And feale þe ic hæfde to me atogen, bisne 7 healte, lame 7 reoflen—ealle he heo fram me ateah*, Vesp., f. 95 (printed Archiv, cvii, 318, and MPh. i, 602[6]).

***blæchorn**, inkhorn. *Ðonne þu blechorn habban wille, þonne hafa þu þine þri fingras, swilce þu dypan wille, 7 awend þine hand adune 7 clyce þine fingras, swilce þu blæchorn niman wille*, KlZs. 116.

blægettan, blagettan, to weep [BT., H.]. *He . . . . þa ongan trefrian þone ylcan hlydendan 7 blægettendan* (so MS. C.; MS. O. has *blagettyndan*) *cniht*, GrD. 278[12].

***blōdlǣstīd**, time for letting blood. *Nis nan blodlæstid swa god swa on foreweardne Lencten*, Ledm. ii, 148[2].

***bōc**, beechnut. Not in the dictionaries in this sense. *Gif hit þonne gebyraþ on geare þæt naðer ne byð on þam earde ne æceren ne boc ne oðer mæsten þæt man mæge heora flæscþenunge forð bringan*, Chr., p. 23.

***brādlinga**, adv., in a flat, outspread manner. *Gyf þu biblioðecan habban wille, þonne wege þu þine hand 7 rær up þinne þuman 7 sete þine hand bradlinga to þinum leore*, KlZs. 29; *Hymneres tacen is ȝ mon wæcge bradlinga his hand*, ibid. 33; *Þonne wend þu his hand bradlinga adune*, ibid. 41. Cf. further KlZs. 50; 59; 64; 95; 108.

***brǣclian**, to make a noise. *Þa þære æfterfylgendan nihte aweox þær 7 bræclade mara sweg 7 hefegra*, GrD. 236[12]. Cf. *gebrec*, 'noise, clamour.'

***brēdan**, to cherish = N.E. *breed* [from *brōd*]. Sohrauer, in 1886, pointed out three instances of the word, viz., WW. 22[36]; 403[39]; and ÆH. ii, 10[17], and the third of these is quoted in the NED.

***Breotanrīce**, kingdom of Britain. *Swa he* (Christ) *nu dagum Breotanrices fægran iglandes Eadweardе cyncge sealde* 7 *geuþe*, St. E., f. 107.

brȳdniht, wedding-night [BT., H.]. *7 þa þære forman brydniht, þa hi twa wæron on þæm brydbure*, MH. 14[36].

***†brynstān**, brimstone. *For þære fægere wifmanna lufen heo sculen drigen brynstanes stænc on helle*, Vesp., f. 163. The earliest quotation in the NED. is from the *Cursor Mundi* (*circâ* 1300).

bufancweden, above-mentioned [BT., H.]. *Ðæs bufancwedenan mannes mægnu . . . . se bufancwedena wer*, GrD. 14[1]; *þysum bufancwedenum gelice*, ibid. 90[27].

***bufansprecen**, above-mentioned. See quot. under **fǣrærning**.

***byccen**, adj., of a goat, goat's. *Ælce geare to preosta gescy finde man biccene heorðan 7 feower gemacan sceona finde man ælcum* (= *Calceamenta vero omnis clerus annis singulis, pelles buccinas, et solas, paria quatuor accipiunt*), Chr., p. 74. This *biccen* (for *byccen*) is a derivative of *bucc(a)*, 'he-goat, buck,' and is identical with O.H.G. *buccħn*, 'hircinus.' The Lat. *buccinus* is a derivative of the Late Latin *buccus*, itself an adaptation from Old German. I think it is very probable that this is the source of the supposed *bi̊ccen(e)*, 'caninus' (from *bicce*), in Somner, Benson, Lye, Bosworth, and BT., which must therefore be rejected. This MS. was certainly used by the earlier dictionary compilers.

bȳcnol, showing, indicating [BT., H.]. *Indices* = *bicnole*, PGH. 398.

***byrnete**, a barnacle. Zupitza, in Archiv, lxxix, 89, called attention to the original MS. of the so-called *Rubens Glosses* (edited in WW. 104, from Junius's transcript in the Bodleian), which is now in Antwerp,[1] and pointed out a number of glosses omitted by Junius in his copy and hence wanting in WW. Amongst these is the following: *Lolligo .i. piscis maritimi* (so MS., read *-mus*), *uno anno piscis, alio auis, hoc est byrnete*. Z. compared the *barneta* of Gervasius of Tilbury. Cf. also NED. s.v. *barnacle*.

***†byrstig**, afflicted by loss or calamity. *Þa gode mænn synden byrstige 7 gedrefde 7 unfere, þe læste heo to swyðe blissoden on heora lichames hæle*, Vesp., f. 160[b]; *Byrstige 7 unfere*, ibid., f. 161[b]. [BT.] H. has it in the sense of 'præruptus, fractus,' and S. in that of 'broken,' their source being *Hpt. Gl.* 454 (cf. NGl. i, 2037).

[1] Twenty-four leaves of this MS. are in the British Museum, Addit. MS. 32,246.

***cæpse**, a box (from Lat. *capsa*). *Wyrcaþ eac . . . . ane niwe cæpsan eowrum lacum to fætelse*, S. 6, p. 150.

***camplic**, warlike, military. *Hit is ungerisenlic ƿ preostas camplice wæpen werion*, Chr., p. 101.

***candelmæssedæg**, candlemasday. *On ðam feowerteogoðan dæge fram his acennednesse, þe we cweþaþ candelmæssedæg*, Trin., p. 250. The earliest quotation in the NED. is from the *Ancren Riwle* (*circâ* 1225).

carcernweard, jailor [BT., H.]. *Þa æfter twelf dagum com se carcernweard*, MH. 24[15]; *Þa gelefde se carcernweard Gode*, ibid. 24[19].

***cēaslunger**, contentious, quick to strife. *Se hordere sceal . . . beon syfre 7 na druncengeorn ne ceaslunger ne weamod . . . ne myrrend* (= *Cellerarius debet . . . esse sobrius, non uinolentus, non contentiosus, non iracundus . . . non prodigus*), Chr., p. 30. The first part of the compound is evidently *cēas*, 'strife,' and the second part an adjective, *lunger*, meaning 'quick.' This adjective, though not hitherto recorded in O.E., occurs both in O. Sax. as *lungar*, 'strong,' and in O.H.G. as *lungar*, 'quick,' and the corresponding adverb *lungre* is well known in O.E. poetry.

***ceasterlēod**, fem., **-lēode**, pl., citizens. *He* (Jonah) *him sƿiðe ondred 7 þæder* (to Nineveh) *faran ne dorste, for ðam þe God wæs ƿiðe yrre þære ceasterleode*, Verc., f. 108[b], l. 1; *Þær ure bidaþ ure ceasterliode* (There await us our fellow-citizens), *ƿ syndon engla 7 heahenglas*, ibid., f. 72[b].

***†cēpnian**, to wait for, to await eagerly. *Ic sceal þærute geornlice cepnian ƿ þe God behaten hæfð*, S. 17, p. 175, l. 6. Cf. M.E. *copnien*.

***cildbearn**, child. [1] *Swa swa hit awriten is in Dryhtnes naman þæt æghƿylc wæpned cildbearn þe wif ærest acynde, sceolde beran* (so MS., read *beon*) *ærest Gode gehalgod*, Verc., f. 91, l. 5. It is, of course, very possible that, in the MS. from which Verc. has copied, *cild* was glossed by *bearn*, or *ƿice versâ*, and that the gloss was subsequently taken into the text, thus forming an apparent compound.

cildclāðas, swaddling-clothes. BT. has only one instance, another will be found below under **fæmnenlíc**. On the gender (masc., not neut.) cf. Pogatscher, AfdA. xxv, 8, who gives two further instances from the glosses.

[1] Luke, 2[22].

***cimbalglīwere**, cymbal-player. *Hu Bonefatius foresæde to sweltenne þone cimbalgliwere*, GrD. 61[20].

cīs, fastidious. Cf. **snȳtan**. The dictionaries have it, but BT. has only one ref.

†clappian, 'to throb' [S.]. Lye, etc., BT., and H. give a *clappan*, *clappian*, without reference. The following appears to be the earliest instance of N.E. *to clap*. Cf. O.E. *clæppettan*. *Þis synda[n] þa tacnu þæs sares* (viz. headache); *þæt is, ærest þa ðunewenga clæppaþ, 7 eal þat heafod byð hefi*, Lcdm. iii, 88[4].

cnafa, a boy [BT.]. In ES. ix, 36, Kluge quoted an instance from the *Liber Scintillarum*, and H. has it with the reference 'Ang., xiii, 450.' In MLN. iv (1889), p. 279, I gave a further instance from the Psalter in the Cambridge Univ. Library (MS. Ff. 1. 23, p. 289), where *da potestatem puero tuo* (Ps. 85, 16) is glossed by *syle mihte cnafan þinum*. Cf. also **mægcnafa**.

***colsweart**, coal-black. *Þonne wannað he 7 doxaþ; oðre hwile he bið blǽc 7 æhiwe. Hwilum he bið collsweart*, Verc., f. 23[b], l. 7. For *blǽc*, 'pale' (it has the accent in the MS.), S. 2, p. 277 (where this passage also occurs), reads *blāc*, which is the more correct form.[1]

***cornsǣd**, corn-seed. *Se eacswylce gemænigfealdað feawa cornsæda in unarimede wæstmas æcra*, GrD. 253[1].

***corona** wk. m., crown. *7 hie genamon þa milite 7 geworhton þyrnene coronan 7 setton on his heafod*, Verc., f. 5[b], l. 2; *Þa eode he, ure Dryhten Crist, ut beforan þa Iudeas, hæfde he þa þyrnenne coronan on his heafde*, ibid., f. 5[b], l. 20; *On þone drihtenlican dæg he geseah . . . . þa fæmnan Sancta Marian, seo wæs beorhtre þonne sunne, 7 on hire heafde heo hæfde þone coronan þæra twelf steorrena*, S. 5, p. 385, l. 13.

***coðig**, diseased. *Hit is need ȳ hi ma[n] ascirie of þære geferrædene eallswa coðige sceap* (= *oues morbidę*), Chr., p. 98.

***crammingpohha**, viscarium. *Gif wif wunað mid werum, þær bið wen deofles crammingpochan* (= *Si cum viris feminæ habitaverint, viscarium diaboli non deerit*), Chr., p. 110. A 'cramming bag' is a curious rendering of *viscarium*.

***crēas**, rich, elegant (of dress). *Ne beo ge to creasum reafum* (= *cultis uestibus*) *gefrætwade, ac medemlicum, be eowres lichaman þe[a]rfe*, Chr., p. 151.

***crēaslic**, rich (of food). *Hit is gewuna on manegum preosthiredum*

[1] It is of course possible that the Verc. *blǽc* stands for *blǣce*, an admissible variant of *blāc*. The *blēc* given in BT.; NED. i, 910 (s.v. *bleach*), etc., as a variant of *blāc* is incorrect; cf. Osthoff., ES. 32, 181.

ƿ mid miclum ungeseceade 7 ungefade (= inrationabiliter atque indiscrete; sume þa preostas þe woroldwelan habbaþ . . . . scolon maran 7 creaslicran fodan [= maiorem annonam] habban on mynstre. Chr., p. 20. In his edition of the Brussels Aldhelm gll. (ZfdA. ix), Bouterwek says in his note to *creasnys* (see next word): "Zu dem sonst unbekannten worte *creasnys* vgl. in dem gl. Hannov. *creaslicran* reg. can. 12." The MS. referred to is MS. Hannov. iv, 495, and is an eighteenth century collection of O.E. words from various sources, and there can be little doubt that the Corpus Christi Chrodegang MS. is the source of the *creaslicran*: the form agrees, the *reg. can.* agrees, as it is a *Regula canonicorum*, and the 12 fits, as it is the number of the old press mark S. 12.

crêasnes, pride, elation—richness or elegance (of dress); **heortan crêasnes**, cultus cordis [BT.]. *Creasnes* occurs as a gloss to *elatio* in the Digby and Brussels MSS. of Aldhelm (cf. NGl. i, 1108). Cf. further, *Openon gewutelinegum haligra gewrita us is geypped ƿ we mid heortan creasnysse (= cultu cordis) sceolon God secan swiþor þonne mid reafes pryton. For þi þonne warnion preostas ƿ hi þurh ungemetlice reafes creasnysse (= cultum uestium) ne geunwurþion heora hades arwurðnysse*, Chr., p. 103; *Ne wene nan man ƿ an reafes oferflowennysse 7 creasnysse (= in fluxu atque studio uestium) synn ne bec*, Chr., p. 104.

Cristennes, Christianity. Not in BT.; H. and S. have it in the form *cristnes* from OET. 176[4]. *Soþlice þa þe Crist ne lufiaþ, hu magan þa cweþan ƿ hie sien cristene? Ac us gedafnaþ anra gehwilcum ƿ he us* (read *hine*?) *ahebbe on þa soþan cristennesse 7 forlæte þa weorc þe se earma feond mæn læraþ* (so MS. for -eþ), Jun. 85, f. 29[b], l. 5.

***cristnere**, baptizer. *On þone ilcan dæg biþ þara eadigra weora tid . . . . 7 Sancte Petres þæs cristneres*, MH. 92[1].

***†culling = antenna?** My friend, Mr. W. H. Stevenson, kindly called my attention to the following interesting glosses in MS. 17 in the Library of St. John's College, Oxford. The MS. is dated 1110, and the glosses, which are written on the lower margin of fol. 74, seem to be in a contemporary hand. This part of the MS. contains Beda's *De temporum ratione*, but the glosses are in no way connected with the Latin text. They are as follows:—

antenna, culling.	*fannus*, suhha.
cariscus, morfleoge.	*silurus*, sprot.
millago, egeswin.	*glaucus*, hwitling.
esox, cypera.	*dentix*, hacod.

That they are from an older original is rendered probable by the miscopying of *ruhha* as *suhha*.

***cwānung**, lamentation. *Granung* 7 *cwanung*, Jun. 22, f. 114, l. 11.

***cwyldberendlic**, pernicious. Cf. **cwylmb-**.

***cwylmberendlic**, pernicious. *Þonne syndon soðlice twa cynnryno unrotnesse, an halwendlic* 7 *oðer cwylmberendlic*, Verc, f. 111ᵇ, l. 7. In S. 5, p. 418, there is the same passage, but S. 5 has *cwyldbærendlic*.

***cycenþēnung**, service in the kitchen. *Se ærcediacon* 7 *se prauost . . . . moton beon aspelode fram þære cycenþenunge*, Chr., p. 25.

***cyllfylling**, the filling of a vessel. *Þa þa hi naht ne gehawedon flowan þæs eles of þam elebergum* 7 *swa þeh þone Godes wer gesawon him befeolan mid þære cyllfyllinge*, GrD. 250[27].

cynebend, a diadem, crown [H., S.]. In BT. it is given, without any reference, on the authority of Somner, Benson, and Lye. *Þa eode Pilatus þa eft inn* 7 *het þone Hælend swiðe swingan*, 7 *þa his þegnas geworhtan* 7 *gewundan þyrnene beah for cynebænd* 7 *him on ƿ heafod settan, forðanðe ƿ bið cyninga þeaw* 7 *casera ƿ hi oft habbað gyldenne heafodbænd ymb heora heafod*, Bodl. 340, f. 240ᵇ, l. 20 (also in S. 8, fol. 182ᵇ, l. 14).

***cyneþrymlic**, glorious, wonderful. *Mitte þe hit þa þære eadegan tide nealæhte þætte Dryhten lichomlice wolde wesan geboren, swiðe cyneþrymlica tacen him beforan samod siðedon. Ærest geeode to þam* [dæ]*ge þe he on geboren wæs, þæt nænige men mid wæpnum gefeohtan ne meahton, ac hraðe þæs hie mid wæpnum feohtan woldon, hiora earmas agaledon,* 7 *hira handa him gelugon,* 7 *hie sylfe wæron to sybbe geliðewacede,* 7 *gefeohtan ne meahton*, Verc., f. 54ᵇ (line 5 from bottom).

cyrelif. *Gehicgon hig eac ƿ hig gehealdon . . . . heora clænnysse ungewemmedum lichaman, oððe witodlice beon geferlæhte þære gefæstnuncge anes gesynscypes, butan þam canonican þe on cyrelife sittað* (= *exceptis his canonicis qui victu et vestitu potiantur*[1]), Chr., p. 127. The exception from permission to marry seems to refer to those who receive *stipendia* of food and clothing from the bishop; those who were maintained by the bishop being debarred from marrying. It is not clear why the English translator did not follow the

[1] The words *exceptis . . . . potiantur* do not occur in the printed text of Chrodegang (Migne lxxxix, p. 1087, cap. 64), nor in Isidore's *De eccles. Officiis*, whence this chapter is taken.

Latin, nor how he understood the passage; does *cyrelif* mean 'chosen life'? At any rate, it differs in meaning from the instance in Alfred's will (cf. BT. and ELC., p. 461).

cyrichata, church-persecutor [BT.]. It is both in H. and S., in the former with a ref. to Wst. 298[14]. On this reference Wülfing, ES. xxx, p. 339, remarks, "Die stelle bei Wulfstan scheint der einzige Beleg zu sein." But it also occurs in the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* (Wst. 164[11]) *Godes wiðersacan 7 cyrichatan hetole 7 leodhatan grimme*; and again Wst. 67[18]; 266[27]; 310[1].

***†cyrichege**, churchyard. *Deade he byrige on Godes cyricheige*, Ii. 1, 33, p. 439, l. 12.

***cyricland**, church-land. *Ic þe bebeode . . . ꝥ þu ut ne gange of ðinum agnum ryne . . . ne þu na geþrystlæce ꝥ þu ure cyricland on ænigum þinge derige* 'the river is commanded to flow in its proper channel), GrD. 193[25]; *Þa syððan gestilde se flod 7 gecyrde fram þan cyriclande*, ibid. 194[3].

cyricsōcn, ↳ going to church. It is in the dictionaries, but BT. and H. only assign to it the meaning 'church-privilege, sanctuary.' *Lufian cyricsocne dæges 7 nihtes*, Wst. 112[17]; *Uton lufian cyrcsocne oft 7 gelome*, ibid. 150[13]; *Lybbað eower lif on syfernesse 7 on fæstenum 7 on halgum gebedum 7 on ciricsocnum*, S. 5, p. 545; *ꝥ synt ure gelyfedan cyricsocna*, Jun. 85, f. 26; *ꝥ we georne cyricsocna began*, Ii. 4, 6, p. 446. Also Wst. 171[20]; 281[5].

***cȳsstycce**, portion of cheese. *Þonne sylle man to middægþenunge twam 7 twam an tyl cyssticce 7 sumne smeamete, ... 7 on æfen twam 7 twam an cyssticce 7 sume smeamettas*, Chr., p. 23.

***cȳðing**, a statement. *Me lysteð þa word minre kyðinge gelædan to þam dælum Valerie þære mægðe*, GrD. 86[14]. (So MS. H., MSS. C. and O. have *segene*.)

***dǣdbētere**, a penitent. *Ne mæg ma[n] na dædbeterum þis don*, Chr., p. 133.

***dægredlēoma**, light of dawn. *Soðlice þa se dægredleoma beorhte scymrode, þa Drihten . . . . of helle aras*, Chr., p. 41.

dēaðþēnung, ministrations to the dead. *Hu mæg ic ðe ana gedefelice deaðþenu[n]ga gegearwian nymðe mine broþor 7 efneapostolas hider sin gesammode?* S. 2, p. 282; *Ða þreo fæmnan þam* (=to whom) *Maria hire deaðþenunga bebead*, ibid., p. 283. The dictionaries have it from the gll., viz. WW. 393[34], where it glosses *exequias*.

***dēmedlic**, to be judged. *Hi sylfe witon . . . . ꝥ hi eac sculon þrowian hwæthugu demedlices* (= *aliquid judicabile*), GrD. 336[20].

dengan, to beat, knock [H., S.]. In BT. without reference, on the authority of Somner, Benson, and Lye. *Ælcum gemete þonne ne sceal arung beon þære gyltendan geogoðe, ac swiðor ma[n] sceal heora sidan, þæt hi ne heardian, mid gierdon gelomlice dencgan* (= *sed potius eorum latera, ne indurescant, virgis assidue tundenda sunt*), Chr., p. 96. It is the N.E. *to dinge* (cf. *singe, twinge*, from *sengan, twengan*), the earliest quotation for which, either vb. or sb., in the NED. is from Cotgrave, 1611.

***dēofolscipe**, devil-worship, idolatry. *Swylce eac wæron us to leohtfatum gesette Cristes apostolas, þa wæron onsende on þysne middaneard . . . . for ði þonne ỻ hi sceolon menn trymman 7 læran 7 fullian, 7 deofolscype nyðerian*, S. 9, p. 207.

***dōc**, a bastard. *Bigener = aworden uel doc*, WW. 194 [27]; *Nothus = suðan wind oððe dooc, hornungsunu*, ibid. 456 [9]. Cf. also **dōcincel** and Zupitza's note to it (ZfdA. xxxiii, 238). Z. points out that *dooc* (WW. 456 [9]) is evidently synonymous with *hornungsunu*, and glosses *nothus* in the sense of 'bastard.' The *dooc*, 'south wind,' in Somner, Lye, Bosworth, Ettmüller, and BT. is obviously derived, as Z. points out, from this gl.

[**dōc, dooc**, the south wind.] See last word.

***dōcincel**, a bastard. *Nothus = docincel*, ZfdA. xxxiii, 238 (cf. Zupitza's note). This is a gloss to Beda's metrical life of St. Cuthbert (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xciv, p. 587), and the passage runs:

> "Pictorum infesto dum concidit Ecgfridus ense,
> Et nothus in regni frater successit honorem."

The reference is to Aldfrið, the illegitimate brother of Ecgfrið. Cf. also **dōc**.

***doxian**, to grow dark coloured. See quotation under **colsweart** and NGl., note to i, 532. Kluge called attention to this vb. in ES. xi, 511.

***drincgemet**, measure of drink. *Gif þonne . . . gesceote . . . ỻ unwæstmbernys on eard becymð, ỻ ma[n] ne mæge ỻ drincgemett bringan forð*, Chr., p. 24.

drūt, beloved one [BT., H.]. *Ænlicu Godes drut, seo frowe þe us Frean acende*, Be domes dæge, 291. Cf. Kluge, PBB. ix, 446; Zupitza, ES. xi, 431; and Archiv, lxxxvi, 408.

***dryhtealdorman**, bridesman. *Brydguman 7 bryde mid gebedum 7 mid ofringum mæssepreost sceal bletsian . . . . 7 þa drihtealdormen hi healdon*, Chr., p. 134.

drȳiege, a sorceress [BT.]. In Ang. vi, 178. Platt recorded it from the *Shrine*, 56; this has been more recently printed by Herzfeld in MH. and the passage in question will be found p. 28[3]; *þa cwædon Romwære þ heo wære dryegge ond sinlæce.* Another instance of the word occurs in Verc., f. 17[b], l. 7: see quotation under **lyblæca**.

dumbness, dumbness [H., S.]. In BT. without ref., on the authority of Som., Ben., Lye. *Ure Drihten gehælde þone earman wodan fram his wodnesse 7 fram his dumbnesse*, Jun. 22, f. 58[b], l. 5. The earliest quotation in the NED. is from Wicliff (*circâ* 1380).

***†dȳgan**, to die. *For þæn ðe ic nu dezen sceal*, NRT. 14[28] (cf. note, p. 38). Cf. also Björkman, *Zur dialektischen Provenienz der nordischen Lehnwörter im Englischen*, p. 12.

***dyrnmaga**, presider over sacred, secret rites. *Mysteriarches* = *dyrnmaga*, PGH. 397.

***†ēaghlid**, eyelid. In Ælfric's Grammar, ed. Zupitza, p. 298[4], *palpebræ* is rendered by *bræwas*, over which is written in MS. F., in a hand of the twelfth century, *egælid*. An O.E. *ēaghlid* is not recorded, and the earliest instance in the NED. dates from about 1240.

***ealdcȳðð**, old acquaintance. In BT., H., S. only in the sense of 'old country, old home.' *Þa bædon ða cwelleras, for heora ealdcyððe, þ hi moston him heran unforboden flæsc*, ÆS. ii, 72[20].

***ealdhrīðer**, old ox. *Into Leomynstre iiii aldhryðra 7 into Bromgeardе i hryðer*, CS. iii, p. 652 (eleventh century).

ealdhrīþerflǣsc, flesh of an old ox? [S.]. Cf. WW. 127[33]. Succidia = *ealdhryterflæsc*. The Rubens MS. really has *ealdhryþer flæc* (þ, not *t*, and the *s* left out). Cf. E. Maunde Thompson, *British Archæological Association*, 1885, p. 148. BT. and H. give *ealdhryterflæsc*, 'side of meat cut off' (BT.), 'flitch of bacon' (H.).

***ealdordēofol**, chief devil. *Þonne þu gesyxt þone ealdordeofol þe liðð on hec gebunden . . . . . 7 syððan heo biðð gelædd to þam ealdordeofle Satanas*, S. 9, p. 72.

ealfara, a pack-horse [BT., H.]. *Þonne wæs þriddehealf þusend mula ðe þa seaman wægon, 7 xxx þusenda ealfarena 7 oxna þa ðe hwæte bæron, twa þusenda olfenda*, Ang. iv, 147[200] (*Epistola Alexandri*). See also Addenda.

***ealugālnes**, drunkenness. Instances will be found in the passages quoted from Verc., ff. 11 and 116 (under **ōretōt** and **hēamolscipe**). Also *Unrihthæmed 7 ærætas 7 ealogalneisse 7 oferfylle 7 unnibbe 7 dyrne geligre*, etc., Jun. 23, f. 145, l. 3.

***earfoðrihte**, incorrigible. *Gif he þonne þwur sy, oððe unandgyttol, oððe earfoðrihte*, Chr., p. 63.

***Ēastorsunnandæg**, Easter Sunday. *Ic an heofonaz astah an þone halgan Eastorsunnandæg*, Wst. 222[21].

***ēastþēod**, Eastern people. *Ond we þær settan 7 geendebyrdedon ure gerefan þæm eastþeodum*, Ang. iv, 142[63] (*Epistola Alexandri*).

***ēaðbylhnys**, the being easily moved to anger. See quotation under **forhealdnes**.

***ēaðcnāwe**, easily recognizable. Though quoted by Sohrauer, *Kleine Beiträge zur ae. Grammatik*, 1886, this word is not recorded in BT., H., or S. *Seo oðer coniugatio ys ful eaðcnæwe*, ÆG. 147[8].

***ecglinga**, edgewise? *Ðonne þu candelbryd habban wille, astrehtre þinre winstran handa, ofsete hy eclinga mid þinre swi[þ]ran*, KlZs. 28; *Stric þu eclinga mid ægðere hande ofer æðerne earm*, ibid. 107. Cf. Kluge's note on p. 130.

***efenapostol**, fellow-apostle. *Ne mæg ic ꝑ ana don, ac her cumaþ mine efnapostolas to me*, S. 8, f. 351, l. 25; *Ic bere þisne halgan lichoman mid minum efnapostolum*, S. 2, p. 284. Cf. also quotation under **dēaðþēnung**.

***efenblīðe**, equally rejoicing. *Ne wepaþ git me na swa ic dead ay, ac beoþ me efenblīðe*, MH. 28[8].

***efenhāda**, one of equal rank, a colleague. *7 eac ic geleornode ꝑ ic nu secgan wylle, of þære gesægene mines efenhadan, þæs biscopes*, GrD. 43[22] (MS. H. reads *sumes bisceopes mines efenhadan*). The *efenhadabisceop* in BT. and H., which is founded on the passage, must of course be deleted.

***efenhēafda**, a fellow-mate. *Þa wæs oðer man, þæs mannes efenheafda, þætte him sceolde an hund peninga; þa nolde he ðæs borges nænne dæl alætan. Mid þy ðe ðæt geascode se ðe hira bega hlaford wæs, þæt he nane liðe þam his* [fol. 79[b]] *efenheafdan gedon wolde, þa het he hine æghwylcne scilling agifan*, Verc., f. 79, l. 22.

***efenhlēoðrian**, to sing together. *Gyf þonne þa deoflu þæt ongyta þæt heo* (the soul of a dead man) *sceal beon on heora geferscype, þonne beoþ hi ealle efenhleoþriende 7 swyðe bliðe*, Jun. 22, f. 103, l. 19.

efenmæsseprēost, fellow-priest [BT., H.]. *Þis wundor me sæde Speciosus, min efenmæssepreost*, GrD. 283[3].

***efenmedome**, equally worthy. *Sunu min, myltsa me 7 onfoh deaðe ꝑ þu si efenmedome þinum broðrum*, MH. 134[3].

efenmihtig, equally mighty [BT., H.]. *He wæs æfre efenmihtig 7 he gyt is*, Wst. 16[7].

efensārgung, sympathy [BT., H.]. *Heo wende ȳ hit ma wære bysmrung þonne efensargung*, GrD. 180 [6].

***†egeswīn = millago**, a kind of fish? See note to **culling**. Ducange gives '*millago*, uno pesce che vola sopra l'aqua.' Can it be for *ēgswīn*, a synonym for *mereswīn*?

elcora, elcra, adv., otherwise, else. This form used adverbially is not recorded in BT. or H.; under *elcor* S. gives 'once *ellcra*.' It occurs glossing *secus* in NGl. i, 3202, and I there gave an instance from Jun. 86, f. 41. I can now add two further examples: *Ðanne wæs his seo æðeleste rest on his earan* (read *hæran* with M. Förster[1]?) *oððe elcora on nacodre eorðran* (r. *eorðan*), Jun. 86, f. 79, l. 10; *Ne gedafenaþ cristenan men ȳ he elcora* [*do*],[2] Jun. 86, f. 79[b], l. 1. These passages occur in BlH., p. 227 [11] and 227 [14], but in each case the Blickling MS. has *elles*.

eletredde, oil-press [BT., H.]. *Þa þa se Godes wer ȳ geseah ȳ of þære eletreddan nænige gemete ænig dæl eles ut eode . . . . 7 þa wearp ȳ wæter mid his handum on þa eletreddan*, GrD. 251 [2].

***ēoredmenigu**, multitude. *Þa þa . . . se an deofol wearð hire of adrifen, þa færinga geeode on hi micel eoredmeniu*, GrD. 73 [32] (MS. H.); *He swa micele swiðor . . . befealh his gebedum, swa micele swa he onfunde on anum lichaman him ongean standan þone ormætan truman þara deofla eoredmenigeo*, ibid. 74 [21].

eorðærn, cave, tomb. It is not confined to poetry, as indicated in S. *Þonne is þæt þridde þæt lihteð eall geond eorðærn*, Verc., f. 89[b], l. 6; *Apogium = eorþern*, WW. 350 [15].

***eorðbyrgen**, grave. *On þam sixtan dæge þeostru wæron gewordene ofer eorðan fram ðære sixtan tide oð ða nigoðan tide, 7 stanas wurdon tobrocene, 7 eorðbyrgenna wurdon opene*, S. 5, p. 384, l. 6.

***eorðdenu**, cave, fissure in the ground, tomb. *Þonne ealle eorðware up arisaþ of ðæm ealdum eorðscræfum 7 of ðæm ealdum eorðdenum*, Jun. 22, f. 113, l. 19.

eorþgebyrst, landslip. Cf. NSCh., p. 54. [BT.] H. gives one ref. to ELC., p. 379.

eorðscræf, cave, tomb. It is not confined to poetry, as indicated in S. Cf. quotation under **eorðdenu**.

***eorðstyren**, fem., an earthquake. See quotation under **mynsterstede**.

[1] Archiv, xci, p. 201.

[2] *do*, supplied from Blickling MS. Jun. 86 now reads *cristan* for *-tenan*, but the word has been inked over by a later hand, and probably originally read *-tenan*.

eorðwerod, inhabitants of the world [BT., H.]. *For ðam . . . . bið eal astyred ge heofonwered, ge eorðwered, ge hellwered*, Wst. 25 [21]; and 203 [5].

ēstan, with dat., to indulge [BT., H.]. *Wa þam hirdum þe estað heom silfum, swa heom betst licað*, Wst. 190 [17].

***ēðrāde**, easy to guess. Cf. M. Förster, ES. xxxvi, 326.

***†fægennes**, joy. *Þa ongunnon hi ealle to wepenne for fægennesse*, S. 17, p. 121 [6], p. 128 [8], p. 176 [24], and p. 177 [33]; *Ðæt wif wærð þa ofwundred of swylcere sundfulnesse 7 þærrihtes beot hire handan togædere for fagennesse*, ibid., p. 123 [2]; *He . . . . ongan to wepenne for fægennesse*, ibid., p. 124 [30] and p. 173 [35]. The earliest quotation for *fainness* in the NED. is from the Cursor M. (*circa* 1300).

fæmnenlic, maidenly, virgin-like. Recorded, without references, in BT., H., S.; BT. gives Som., Ben., Lye as his authorities. *Ða ðu forhogedest mine bebodu . . . . 7 þa ðu wære of neorxnawange ascofen 7 ic þe wolde eft miltsian, þa* (S. 8 reads ꝑ for *þa*) *ic fæmnelicne* (S. 8, *fæmnenlicne*) *innoð gesohte 7 ic wæs mid cildelaðum bewunden*, Verc., f. 60, l. 9. (This passage also occurs in S. 8, f. 45[b], l. 4.)

***færærning**, rapid marching, quick riding. *Þa þæs bufansprecenan ealdormannes here mid færærninge* (= *cursu rapido*) *becom to sumre ea . . . . þær hi ealle ungunnon heora hors mid heora sperescæftum þerscan*, GrD. 14 [24].

faldgang, going to the fold [H.]. *Sceote man ælmessan . . . . æt sulhgange penine, swa æt faldgange penine*, Wst. 170 [20] (MS. E.).

feldhrīþer, a field ox [H.]. BT. has it with the ref. "Chart. ad calc. C. R. Ben." (derived no doubt from Lye, who has it with this ref.), which is the Bury St. Edmunds inventory in MS. C.C.C. (Oxf.), 197. Cf. quot. under **scoru**.

***feltūngrēp**, dunghill. *Wyrse is þæt mon ðæs ofer riht bruce, þonne hine mon on feltungrepe wiorpe: on þære grepe he wiorðeð to meoxe*, Verc., f. 58, l. 19. On *grēp* (*grēpe, grȳpe*), see Kluge, ES. ix, 505, where he refers to this instance of *feltungrep*. To the instances of the uncompounded *feltun* in BT. may be added CP. 197 [24].

fenester, a window (Lat. *fenestra*) [BT., H.]. *Ac hit* (the water) *wæs weaxende oþ ꝑ hit becom upp to þam fenestrum*, GrD. 220 [15]; *þ wæter weox upp to ðam fenestrum*, ibid. 220 [22].

feohgafol, usury [H., S.]. BT. has it without reference, on the authority of Som., Ben., Lye. *Ne higion hi on feohgafole* (= *Usuris nequaquam incumbant*), Chr., p. 126.

feohspēda, riches, wealth [BT., H.]. *Þa gebroðra ahton myccle feohspeda for worulde*, GrD. 273 [2].

fēondgyld, an idol. The word is recorded in the dictionaries, the source being Ps. 105 [24] (ed. Thorpe), and in S. it is marked as only occurring in poetry. But it is also found in prose: *Þa hie Þa eorðan delfende deoppor ofdune becomon, þa gebroðru fundon þær sum æren feondgyld*, GrD. 123 [124]; *þa gefealh he þær in . . . 7 him swiþe ondred þa feondgyld þe þærinne wæron*, ibid. 189 [2]; *Þ flæsc þe hi heora feondgyldum onsægd hæfdon*, ibid. 232 [15].

feormfultum, a contribution of provisions. BT. has only one instance; another will be found below, s.v. **sceppe**.

***ferele**, f. (Lat. *ferula*), a rod. *Þa þa he ongeat þa beran, sloh hi 7 þærsc mid þære telgan* (MS. O. has *færelan*. The Lat. has *ferula*), GrD. 229 [21]; *Hi ondredon þære ferelan slegas* (so MS. C. MS. O. has *færelan sleges*. The Lat. is *ictus ferule*), ibid. 229 [23].

***†fingermæl**, finger-measure. NRT. 22 [8].

***firenlustgeorn**, wanton. *Ne syn we to gifre ne to frece ne to firenlustgeorne ne to æfestige*, Wst. 253 [5].

***fiscnoð**, (i) sheet of water (containing fish), (ii) a catch of fish. The dictionaries only record *fiscnoð* in the sense of 'fishing.' Instances of (i) are: *Ða wæron twegen gebroþra welige on life 7 hæfdon ænne fixnoþ on anum bradum mere . . . ac þær wurdon eft æt þam wæterscipe menigfealde ceastu 7 manslihtas 7 micele gefeoht for þam fixnoþe* (or does it mean here 'right of fishing'?). *Hwæt þa se bisceop wearþ geunblissod for þam blodes gyte 7 abæd þa æt Gode þ he worhte þone wæterscipe to wynsumum yrþlande, 7 þ wæter sona gewænde of þam fixnoþe, 7 wæs se mere awend to widgyllum felda, swa þ man erode ealne þone fixnoþ*, Trin., p. 110; *Hit getimode swa, þa ða se Hælend wæs her on life mid mannum, þ he stod mid ðam folce swa wið ænne fixnoð þ wæs an brad mere, Genesareð gehaten*, ibid., p. 351, l. 6; *He het hy aweorpan heora net on fixnoðe*,[1] ibid., p. 352, l. 2. Instances of (ii) are: *Ne bærst heora net on ðisum fixnoðe for ðære getacnunge þe we ær sædon*; 7 *þes fixnoð getacnaþ þa halgan gelaðunge, þ is eall cristen folc*, ibid., p. 359, l. 9; *For ðan þe se fixnoð, æfter his æriste, getacnode soðlice þa gesæligan cristenan*, ibid., p. 359, l. 20; *þa þa Petrus geseah swylcne fixnoð mid hym, þa feol he sona to þæs Hælendes cneowum*, ibid., p. 361, l. 15; *His geferan ealle . . . wæron eac afyrhte for þam fixnoðe swiðe*, ibid., p. 362, l. 9.

[1] Does it here mean 'into the water' or 'for a catch'? The Latin (Luke v, 4) has *in capturam*, and the W. Sax. version *on þone fiscwer*.

***flðercian**, to flutter (from *flðere*). *Soðlice him com to sum swyþe sweart 7 lytel fugel . . . . Se ongann flogettan 7 flþercian ymb his ansyne*, GrD. 100 [19].

flǣscbana, murderer [BT., H.]. *Se flæscbana þe to his cwealme gecoren wæs, spearn hine*, GrD. 254 [26]; *Þa se wælhreowa flæscbana . . . . hæfde ꝥ getogene sweord on his handa*, ibid. 254 [33]; *Se ylca flæscbana þam wæs alyfed ꝥ he sloh þone arwyrðan deacon lifigendne*, ibid. 294 [19].

***flǣscsand**, portion of meat. *Gif ma[n] næbbe smeamettas, sylle man twam 7 twam twa flæscsande*; 7 *to heora æfenþenunge sylle man twam 7 twam ane flæscsande oððe oðre smeamettas*, Chr., p. 23.

***flǣscþēnung**, mensura de carne. See quotation under **bōc**.

***flēamdōm**, flight. *Ða fleah se Siba* (= Sheba, cf. 2 Sam. xx) *mid fleamdome aweg*, Jun. 23, f. 63[b], l. 14.

***fleardere**, a trifler. *Warnige he eac ꝥ he þurh geþafunge ne wurðe þæra fleardera gefera*, Chr., p. 31.

***flinten**, adj., of flint. *Heo wæron stænenre heortan 7 flintenre*, Wst. 252 [1] (MS. A.).

***folcwide**, popular saying. *Swa eald folcwide cwyð* (= *ut uulgo dicitur*), Chr., p. 110.

***folcgedrēfnes**, tribulation. *7 mycel folcgedrefnesse bið ðonne ær domesdæge*, Verc., f. 81, l. 5.

forandæg, early part of the day [H., S.]. In BT. on the authority of Som., Ben., Lye. *Ælc man scencð his gode win on forandæge 7 ꝥ waccre þonne hi druncene beoð*, Archiv, 102, p. 30. As I pointed out in my note to this passage, the same word occurs in ÆH. ii, p. 70 [26]: *Ælc man sylð on forandæge his gode win*, only Thorpe divided wrongly *onforan dæge*.

***forbyrdig**, forbearing. *Her* (in this present life) *he is swiðe forebyrdig ofer us, ac he is þær* (in the future life) *swiðe reðe*, AL. ii, 394 [5] (from MS. S. 18, p. 222). The same passage occurs in MSS. Vercelli and S. 2: *Her he is swiðe forebyrdig for us, ac he bið eft us swiðe reðe*, MS. Verc., fol. 16[b], l. 6; *Her he is swiðe forbyrdig for us, ac he bit eft us swiðe reðe*, S. 2, p. 254.

***forclas**, prongs? *Þonne is gered on halgum bocum þæt swa micel swa fram heofones hrofe is to ðysse eorðan, þæt seo hell sy swyloe twa deop, 7 nis hy na unwiddre. Þæt hus is mid swiðe egeslican fyre afylled 7 helle hus hafað forclas miccle*; *se nama is to gepencenne ælcum menn, buton hys heorte mid deofles stræle seo þurhwrecen*, Bodl. 340, fol. 38[b], l. 1. This same passage (also with the reading *forclas*) occurs in Verc., fol. 63[b], l. 16. I have assigned to the word the

meaning 'prongs,' as it is probably adapted from the Latin *furcula*, and in mediæval pictures of hell the devils are provided with such instruments. From the same Latin *furcula* seems to come a verb *twīfyrclian*, 'to bifurcate, fork off from, be different from,' which occurs in Chr., p. 164: *Soðlice þeah ælc leasung hæbbe sume gelicnysse þære soðnysse, þeah twyfyrclað 7 todælð seo arwyrðnys (= differt tamen dignitas*, etc.) *þæs soðan wisdomes fram licetunge leasre lare.* This verb is not in the dictionaries, but BT. has an instance of the corresponding adj. from ÆG. 288[10], var. lect., *twifyrclede = bifidu*- BT. cites from the Chron., A.D. 1106, *fyrcliende*, 'dividing into two

fordēmedlic, condemnable [BT., H.]. *Ac gepenc . . . . h swiðe fordemedlic ƿ byþ, þe ne byð butan hete 7 niðe gesprece* GrD. 208[9]; †*Dampnosa = fordemetlice*, FNGl. 68.

***†forelcian**, to put off, delay. *7 eac for þan ƿ sume þa gecor- þe sume dæle dwelige*ð, *beon þurh heora deað afyrhte 7 gemanede Godes þenunga þe heo forelcodan*, Vesp., f. 162, l. 9.

***forestapol**, going before. *Preuio = forestapulum*, PGH. 396.

forewarnian, (i) to warn beforehand, (ii) to take warn- beforehand [BT., H.]. S. gives the second meaning with ref. 'Gl.,' which no doubt means this instance. Instances of (i) are: *Be ðam treowe Crist sylf forewarnode ægðer ge Adam ge E-*, Verc., f. 107, l. 8; *Ealle þas þing him wæron ætywede to ðam ƿ hi sceoldon us forewarnian*, S. 5, p. 437, l. 8. An instance of (ii) occ- in the Abbo gll.: *Uideas = forewarna þu*, ZfdA. xxxi, p. 9[160].

***forhealdnes**, inchastity. *Manna forhealdnessa, ƿ is unrihthæm-*, Jun. 85, fol. 3[b], l. 2; *Paulus ðær geseah ondryslic weald ða- mænaga gasta ðe manna hyrtan beswicað: ƿ is tælnessa gast, 7 for- healdnyssa gast, 7 hathyrtnyssa gast . . . . 7 eaðbylhnys- gast*, etc., ibid., f. 5[b], l. 15; *Ne gewemmað eowre lichaman ður- forhealdnesse*, Verc., f. 119[b], l. 10. Cf. WW. 420[11], *incestus forhealden*; and also BlH. 185[27], *Swa se wer hit wrece þ, gif hi- wif hie forhealde þ.*

***forhwyrfednys**, perversity. *Ðu lufadest ealle forhwyrfednesse word*, Jun. 22, f. 104[b], l. 5.

***forligerwīf**, prostitute. *Þu eart meretrix, þæt is forlegerwif*, MH. 140[19].

***†forsacennys**, denial. *Se eadige apostel Petrus sone æt God- forgeofenysse onfeng, þe he swyðe biterlice weop þære þreofealdan forsacanysse synne*, Ang. xi, 386[363] (from Vesp., f. 115).

***†forsacung**, denial. *He wæs unrot for þære forsacunge ƿ h- hæfde Crist forsacan*, Furnivall vol., p. 91[25] (from Vesp., f. 164).

***†forsellan**, to sell. *Wa þan þe for sceatte forsylð hine sylfne*, Vesp., f. 15, l. 10.

***forstrogdnis**, *Precipitationis = forstrogdnisse*, Jun. 27, f. 55 (Gl. to Ps. 51[6]. It is printed by Lindelöf, Die Handschrift Jun. 27, Helsingfors, 1901, p. 21).

***forswarung**, perjury. *Forswarung, þ is mæne aðas*, Chr., p. 62.

***forðgelēorodnes**, departure, death. *Hi arison 7 mid him sungon for þære bade his ændes 7 forðgeleorodnesse*, GrD. 282[11].

forðman, man of rank [H., S.]. In BT. on the authority of Som., Ben., Lye. *He cwæð þ sum forðman wære on Myrcna lande*, Jun. 23, f. 38[b], l. 11.

***forwēned**, suspectus. *Suspecta = forwened*, PBB. xxx, 12[106]. It is a gl. to Beda's *Vita Cuthberti*, xxxvii, 15. The dictionaries have the word in the sense of 'insolent.'

***forwēnednes**, insolence. *Insolentiam = forwenednessa*, Archiv, lxxix, 89 (from the *Rubens Glosses*; cf. note to **byrnete**).

***forwundorlic**, very wonderful. S. has the adverb. *Petrus cwæð, Is þ forwundorlic wise* (= *res mira*), GrD. 240[4], 255[25].

fōtsīd, adj., extending to the feet [BT., H.]. See notes to **fōtsīþgerif** and **fōtsīþsticcel**. Cf. **lendensīd**.

[**fōtsīþgerif**, stoppage of a footpath.] The authority for this word, which appears both in BT. and H., is a gl. in the Rubens Glossary, which was printed by Somner, p. 55: *Limes fot sid gerif* (= WW. 107[11]). The MS. actually has *Limus fot sid gerif*, and as Lübke pointed out (Archiv, lxxxvi, 399), the lemma *Limus* is from Isidor, who defines it as '*vestis, quæ . . . . ad pedes producitur*'; we must therefore separate with L. *fōtsīd* (= reaching to the feet) and *gerīf* (= a garment), related to *rēaf* (cf. M.H.G. *geröube*). Cf. **fōtsīþsticcel**.

[**fōtsīþsticcel**, a cloak.] The authority for this word, which appears both in BT. and H., is a gl. in the Rubens Glossary, which was printed by Somner, p. 69: *Clamis, hacele vel fotsiðsticcel* (= WW. 153[9], where the *sticcel* is corrected to *sciccel*). The MS., however, has *fotsid sciccel*, and means 'a garment reaching to the feet' (cf. Lübke, Archiv, lxxxvi, 399). Cf. **fōtsīþgerif**.

***fracoðword**, insulting word. *He . . . . him sæde, hu manigne teonan 7 orwyrdu* (MS. O. *-rðu*) *þara nunnena fracoðwyrda* (MS. O. *-worda*) *he geþrowode*, GrD. 152[7].

***framfæreld**, departure. *Þa hyrdas ða spræcon him hetweonan æfter ðæra engla framfærelde*, ÆH. i, 40[5].

frēawlitig, very beautiful (BT., H.). *Be ðam garsecge is wildeora cynn þa hattan catini; þa syndon freawlitige deor*, Nasr., p. 38[15].

***freolsniht**, night before a festival. *Þa cildra þe beoð begiten on Sunnanniht 7 on þam halgan freolsnihtum, hi sceolan beon geborene butan engan*, S. 4 (Priebsch, *Otia Merseiana*, i, 137[50]).

frēondspēd, abundance of friends. The word is in the dictionaries, from *Genesis* 2330, and it is marked in S. as only occurring in poetry. It is, however, also to be found in prose: *Beð þæt eghwylcum men micele selre 7 wislicre þæt he hine gehealde on his freodome gesundne 7 unfæcne, þeah þe he his freondspedum treowige, þonne he scyle æfter þam bendum þæs freodomes ceapian*, Verc., f. 77b, l. 13.

Frīgeniht, Thursday night (BT., S.). H. has it without reference. The earliest instance in the NED. is from the *Ancren Riwle*. *Se wes sume Frigeniht in cyrcean*, MH. 136[25] (tenth century). *On þere Frigenihte þa ærforan Eastron bi þ, hæfde ure Hælend, ær þan þe he þrowode, mid þa langeume spræce mid his leorningenihtes*, Trin., p. 104[3] (this passage also occurs in MS. Camb. Ii. 4. 6, p. 399). *Sunnanniht[um] ne mænenihtum ne Wodnesnihtum ne Frigenihtum*, Wst. 305[9].

frignung, question (BT., H.). In S. it is given as a hypothetical form. *Eft eðer sum 7 frignung me is on mod becumen*, GrD. 137[1].

***friðsumian**, to make peaceful, protect? *Ealle friðsumaþ [illegible] on eallum his rihtum*, Sievers, ZfdA. xxi, 189, and Rieger, Trans. of Royal Soc. of Lit. xi, 508 (from MS Titus, D. 27, f. 55[b]).

***frēferword**, word of consolation. *Ne he nan freferword ne [illegible]*, GrD. 344[8].

***frumdysig**, first offence, initium peccati. *Þa þegnas 7 þa [illegible] 7 þa ungeðyhtsumnesse sona on þam frumdysige [illegible]*, Nasr., p. 28.

frumtīd. [illegible] (BT., H.). *Þæt gæð þæs ærestan lifes [illegible]*, [illegible].

***fyllan**. [illegible] (H., S.). BT. has it, without ref., from Sax. Leech. *Þa þe þeoh hwæthwugu hæfð sare hine sare hrend, [illegible]*, [illegible] to the text, which [illegible].

from one of which it was printed by G. Stephens, *Tvende Old-engelske Digte*, 1853, p. 94).

***†fulhtnian**, cf. **gefulh-**.

***†fullforðian**, to fulfil. *On untrumnesse wurð Godes mihte fulforðod*, S. 17, p. 127, l. 5.

***fulwihtwæter**, baptismal water. *Þa sona eode þær blod 7 wæter ætsomne ut of þære wunde. Þæt tacnode hælo middangeardes, þ ðurh his blod fulwihtwæter gewyrþan sceolde*, Verc., f. 8ᵇ, l. 2.

fylling, a filling, completion [H.]. BT. has *fyllung* without reference, on the authority of Som., Ben., Lye. S. has *fylling* without ref. Cf. below s.v. **sceppe**.

***gælslic**, luxuriosus. *Gælslic þing is win, 7 druncennys is hlides full* (= *Luxuriosa res est vinum, et tumultuosa ebrietas*, Prov. xx, 1), Chr., p. 120.

gangsetl, privy [H.]. In BT. without ref., on the authority of Som., Ben., Lye. *Hit is yfelsoð þ þas uplendiscan wif wyllað oft drincan 7 furþon etan fullice on gangsetlum*, ES. viii, 62 (Jun. 23, f. 61).

***gāstbrūcende**, practising in the spirit. *And ealle þa godnysse þe he bebreac he wæs gastbrucende*, ÆS. ii, 4 [34].

geæðan, to swear. The dictionaries only record the past participle, *geæðed mann*, 'a sworn witness,' from Edgar's Laws (AL. i, 274 [18]). *He hit swutele mid aðsware geæðde 7 geswor, þus cwæðende*, "*Ic Petrus and bisceop on þære Antiochiscan cyricean geæðe 7 swerige þurh þone lifigendan Godes sunu . . . þ þas word þe on þis ærendgewrite awritene syndon . . . næron of nanes mannes handa gehiwode*," Napier, Furnivall volume, p. 361 [24]. On the corresponding M.E. *ēþen*, cf. Zupitza, Ang. i, 469–70, and to the instances given by Zupitza add *Wars of Alexander*, line 340.

***gealpettan**, to boast, to live gluttonously? *Þa ðe her swiðost galpettað 7 on unrihtlidum on oferfyllo bioð forgriwene, þa bioð þær on mæstum hungre forþrycced*, Verc., f. 17, l. 24 (this passage also occurs in S. 2, p. 258). Though it seems here to mean 'to live gluttonously,' its proper meaning must be 'to be arrogant, to boast' (cf. **gealpettung**). It is formed by the secondary suffix *-atjan*. The corresponding simple verb **gealpian* does not occur in O.E., but we have it in O.S. *galpon*, 'to boast.' It is, of course, connected with O.E. *gielp*, 'boasting' (= **galpi*), and with the verb *gielpan*, 'to boast.'

***gealpettung**, boastfulness, arrogance. *Þa he oftost tesoword spræc in his onmedlan gælpettunga, þa earnode he me þære mæsta[n] gestynþo 7 þara mæstan benda*, Verc., f. 22ᵇ, l. 15.

***gēargemynd**, yearly commemoration, commemoration-day. *Ðis is seo caritas þe Baldwine abbod hæfð geunnon his gebroðrum for Eadwardes saule, þæs godan kynges. ꝑ is healf pund æt his geargemynde to fiace*, St. E., f. 108: *to minon geargemynde*, ibid. The same expression, as Mr. W. H. Stevenson reminds me, continued long in use in wills: e.g. *And my wyll is that the same Robert Pygeon . . . . . have gouernans & rewlyng of my obytis, that ys for to sayn, my ȝerys mynde*, Furnivall, *Earliest English Wills*, p. 15[8] (A.D. 1408).

***gebāene, gebān?** bones. Cf. O.H.G. *gibeini*, N.H.G. *Gebein*. *Þær he wunaþ mid his gebana reliquium*, GrD. 86[11] (MS. C. As the reading of MS. O. Hecht gives *gebænum æ?*).

***gebedtīd**, time of prayer. *Ne heo næfre æt mænniscne mete . . . . ac æt gehucelcre gebedtide Godes englas coman of heofonum*, MH. 126[19].

***gebūnes**, dwelling, habitation. *Þis ðonne is synfulra stow on to eardianne 7 hier[a] gebunes*, Jun. 85, f. 35[b], l. 15; *Wala ðonne ðam synfullum ðe hyra gebunes biþ mid deoflum*, Jun. 86, f. 38[b], l. 15; *Seo heonfonlice gebunes*, Jun. 86, f. 39[b], l. 9.

gebyrð-, birth. Cf. **Lāðenlic**.

***geciging**, invocation. *Bletsien hi ærest hi selfe mid Cristes rode tacene þurh geciginge þære halgan þrynnysse*, Chr., p. 35.

geclofa, counterpart of a document [BT., H.]. Cf. NSCh., p. 80.

geclyfte, adj., cleft [BT., H.]. *Sectilem = geclyfte*, PGH. 393.

***gecōplic**, adj., fitting, suitable. The dictionaries have the adv. *Forþon þe nu genoh gecoplicu wise hi sylfe gegearcode*, GrD. 60[5].

***gecow**, thing to be chewed, food. *Eala, ðu wyrma gecow 7 wulfes geslit 7 fugles geter*, Verc., p. 23, l. 1.

***†gecrōcod**, bent, crooked. The earliest instance of *crooked* in the NED. is from the Lambeth Homilies (*circa* 1175). *He . . . . gehælde þær ænne crepel se wæs fram feala geare eal togædere gecrocad*, S. 17, p. 131, l. 23.

gecwedstōw, place of meeting [BT., H.]. *Þa wæs geworden ꝑ se foresprecena wer to þære gecwedstowe . . . . wæs gelæded*, GrD. 183[7].

gecwicung, a coming to life again [BT., H.]. *Buton hit gelimpe ꝑ se man þurh þæs lichaman gecwicunge sy gelæded to þæs modes life*, GrD. 218[17].

***gecwidrædnes**, agreement, covenant. This word occurs in an inscription cut round the archway into the southern transept of

the Saxon church at Breamore, Hants, which runs, "*Her swutelaþ seo gecwydrædnes þe.*" It was first printed in the *Athenæum*, August 14, 1897, p. 233, on the occasion of the meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute at Dorchester, and has since been published by G. B. Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, London, 1903, i, 234–5. It is rendered in both by "Here becomes (is made) manifest the covenant to thee." I do not, however, believe that the *þe* means 'to thee,' but that it is simply the relative pronoun, and that the inscription had a continuation (now lost) in some other part of the church, and I render it, "Here is made known the covenant which . . . ."

gedafen, n.sb., what is fitting. S. has the substantive, which is not recorded in BT. or H. *Þa wæs þær hwylchugu ylding þære tide þe man sceolde þa lichegnunge 7 þa gedafenu þære byrgene gefyllan 7 gyldan*, GrD. 84[6].

***gedrēog**, adj., (i) fitting, suitable; (ii) quiet, silent. It is in BT., H., S., but the only meaning given is 'sober.' (i) *Cneowien him on gedreogere stowe* (= *in loco congruo*), Chr., p. 35; *Huru hi sceolon on Lengtendagum an gedreogum huse* (= *in competenti hospitali*) *ælmesmanna fet þwean*, ibid., p. 79; *Hit gedafnaþ ȝ þæra cumena hus beo an gedreohre stowe*, ibid., p. 79. Instances of (ii) are: *He þa sona . . . . awrat Cristes rodetacen on þæs horses heafde 7 ealle his reþnysse awende on geþwærnysse, swa ȝ hit syþþan wæs stillre 7 gedreohre þonne hit wære ær þære wodnysse*, GrD. 78[12] (MS. H.); †*Ða bead se cyningc his cnihtes 7 his hunten ȝ hi ealle wæron swiþe gedrioge*, S. 17, p. 126, l. 18; *Þa þa menn on heora bedde wæron 7 hit swiþe gedrih wæs*, ibid., p. 173, l. 23.

***gedrinca**, cupbearer. *Danihel wearþ þa þæs cyninges gedrinca*, S. 6, p. 153, l. 10.

[**gedrofenlic**, troublous.] Cf. note to **gehrorenlic**.

***gedrorenlic**, transitory, perishable, unstable. *Drihten, þu wast ȝ ic eom gedrorenlic dust*, Jun. 121, f. 152[b], l. 17. The *gedrofenlic* in BlH. 115[3] is probably a misreading of the editor for *gedrorenlic*; cf. note to **gehrorenlic**.

gedwolbiscop, heretical bishop [BT., H.]. *Arrianus, se gedwolbiscop*, GrD. 234[10], 234[21], 235[1], 238[11], 238[15], 238[20].

***geedyppol?** *Recensendos* = *geedyppole*, PGH. 396.

***geeftgadrian**, to repeat. *Þa þa he þis gelomlice spræc mid geeftgadrode spræce*, GrD. 277[1].

gefeall, a falling, fall [BT., H.]. Cf. NSCh., p. 116.

***gefeohtsumnes**, joyfulness (the opposite of *unrotnes*). *God*

ælmihtig se leraþ lifnesse 7 geteohtsumnesse. diofol se lareþ yrre 7 unrotnesse. Jun. 85, f. 14b, l. 15. It is, of course, connected with *gefrom*, 'to rejoice.'

***geferlīðlice**, sociably, together. *Heom hæm wæs forgifen þ hi moston on ænre earfoðnysse geferlīðlice lifian. þam wæs gelamp þ hi næmd geferlīðlice ferdon of lichaman*, GrD. 313 [24].

***†gefullætnian**, to baptize. *Gelyfeð on God 7 beo gefullætnede*, Vesp., fol. 28b.

***gefyrrnes**, antiquity. *Be gefyrrnysse haligra wæccena* (= *De vigiliarum antiquitate*), Chr., pp. 8 and 39; *Be dagredlicnysse gefyrrnysse 7 ealderlicnysse*, ibid., p. 40.

***gehælednes**, healing. *Hiæþer mid him wære ænig gifu þære lacnunge 7 gehælednesse*, GrD. 247 [11].

***†gehārede**, haired. *Capilata = gehærede*, FNGl. 21.

***gehammen**, studded with nails (of the soles of boots). *Þa com se Godes wer gegrad mid gehammenum* (= *clavatis*) *scon 7 her on his earda his hegnipe*, GrD. 37 [13] (MS. O. has *behammenum*, MS. H. *geclusterum*).

***gehīwcūþlician**, to make known or familiar to. *Forði is eallum gelæffullum mannum to wacienne, for ðam ðe se ætfulnys þære mæccan is gehiwcuðlicud eallum halgum*, S. 8, f. 135, l. 14 (this passage also occurs in Verc., f. 14b, l. 4, and other MSS.).

***gehīwlēcan**, to form, shape, fashion. *7 eac manna wynsumlic wlita after his agenum anlicnesnan gehyrsahte*, St. E., f. 107.

***gehlyste**, audible? *Þ heora stefn ny Gode gehendre 7 gehlystre þonne him sylfum* (= *ut vox ricinior sit Deo quam sibi*), Chr., p. 36.

gehor(w)igian, to defile. The dictionaries only give the late Northumbrian *gehorian*, to spit. *Gif ge mid synnum gehorgode beoð*, Lambeth, f. 46b; *Gehorwigende = sordidans*, HyS. 5.

***gehresp**, a tearing, destruction. *Þurh hæðenremanna gehresp 7 gastrodu*, Verc., f. 73 (bottom line).

***gehrorenlic**, perishable, transitory, unstable. *7 nu se man se ðe þæt þenceð þæt he of þysse gehrorenlican worulde þone* (sic) *heofenlican rice begite, he ðonne sceall eallinga oðerne weg gefaran 7 oðrum dædum don*, Verc., f. 90, l. 18; *For þon þeos woruld is eall forwordenlic 7 gehrorenlic 7 gebrosnodlic 7 feallendlic, 7 eall þeos woruld is gewitenlic*, S. 8, f. 315b, l. 15. Note that this last passage is contained in BlH. 115 [3], but that for *gehrorenlic* BlH. (as printed) reads *gedrosenlic*, but I have little doubt that the

[1] This is printed in Wanley, p. 131.

MS. has *gedrorenlic*; Dr. Furnivall, when in Norfolk, kindly volunteered to look up the MS. for me, but was unable to get access to it.

***gehyhtendlic**, to be hoped for. *Þ þe Paulus la cwæð, Þ se geleafa wære gehyhtendlicra þinga 7 wenendlicra sped, orþancliċ wise 7 na geara wite* (this renders: *Est enim fides sperandarum substantia rerum, argumentum non apparentium*[1]), GrD. 269 [13].

***gehyldlic**, secure. *Þ is myccle gehyldelicre lif*, GrD. 348 [10].

gelǣre, empty. It is given in BT., H., S., but without ref. Kluge printed an O.E. fragment containing it in ES. viii, 474 (from MS. Tib. A, 3), and describes it as a *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον*: *Nanne forlæt þu gelærne fram þe, nan unrot gewite fram þe.* Professor J. M. Hart, in Mod. Lang. Notes, i, 177, gave a second instance from Lcdm. ii, 62[1], *þonne se geohsa of þære idlan wambe cymð 7 of þære gelæran, ne bet þone se fnora.* To these may be added: *Seo gelære wamb þæs slæpendan 7 þa geloman wæccan þæt flæsc geswencað*, Chr., p. 113; †*Ane gelare pina hnutte*, Lcdm. iii, 92 [17] (from the twelfth century *Peri Didaxeon*).

***†gelǣte**, manners, bearing. From O.N. *lāti*. *He was soðfæst on spæce 7 arwurð on þeawe, stæðig on his gelæte*, S. 17, p. 128, l. 11.

[**gelimpwīse**, an event, BT., H.] The source is Hpt. Gl. 457; we really have two glosses: *gelimp* renders *euentum*, and *wisan* the following *rei*; cf. NGl. i, 2165–6.

geliþewācian, to calm, appease [BT., H.]. See quot. under **cyneþrymlic**.

gemȳðe, junction of two streams or roads. Cf. NSCh., p. 114.

gēnbōc, counterpart of an indenture [BT., H.]. Cf. NSCh., p. 80.

***genihtian**, to become night, grow dark. *Þa geþystrode hit 7 efne fæstlice genihtode ofer eallne middangeard fram middum dæge oð non*, Vere., f. 7[b], l. 19 (the same passage occurs in Bodl. 340, f. 148, l. 2, and S. 8, f. 191, l. 18).

***gereordungtīd**, mealtime. *Þær ne mihton beon fundene na ma þonne fif hlafas þam broðrum to hyra gereordungtide*, GrD. 145 [13].

***gerid**, food? *Eall seo lustfulnes 7 swętnes þæs lichaman weorðeþ to wyrma geride*, GrD. 323 [3]. Or is it merely a scribal error for *geriorde*?

***gerȳf**, a garment. See note to **fōtsīþgerif**.

***gesceādnes**, auctoritas. *We þæs nane bysne nabbað, ne on boca*

[1] Hebrews xi, 1.

gesceadnyssum (= *in auctoritate scripturarum*), *ne on haligra fædera hæsum*, Chr., p. 20. Or is it miswritten for *gesceadwisnyssum*?

***gesēðnys**, an assertion, affirmation. *Þæt he geseah he gesoðode eac þurh his gesēðnysse, þeah þe hy sume noldon of ðam Iudeiscum his lare underfon ne his gesēðnysse*, Trin., p. 292, l. 10.

gesidian, to measure, regulate, arrange [BT., S.]. *Ðonne þu setrægel habban wille, þonne plice þu ðine agene geweda mid twam fingrum, tospred þine twa handa 7 wege* (MS. *gewe*) *hi, swylce þu setl gesydian wille*, KlZs. 50. Cf. also *Concinna = conueniens, benecoposita, gesydod*, PGH., p. 396; *Determinabit = gesidode*, ibid., p. 399; *conserit = gesidode*, ibid., p. 399. Cf. also *besidian* [BT.]. *Besceawige se abbod 7 hate besidian þæra reafa gemet ꝥ hy ne synd to scorte*, RBS. 89[18].

***geslit**, something to be torn or rent. Not in BT., H., S. in this sense. Cf. quot. under **gecow**.

***†gespillan**, to spill (blood). This is the earliest quotation for the word in its modern sense. *Seo gebletsod se þe nolde ꝥ min blod wære gespillod*, Vesp., f. 91[b] (printed by Hulme in MPh. i, p. 597). Cf. Max Förster's note in Archiv, cvii, p. 319.

***†gestning**, hospitality, lodging. *7 swa he com into þære burh . . . . þa underfeng he þær gestninge*, S. 17, p. 129, l. 5. The earliest quotation in the NED. is from about 1200. It is of Scandinavian origin.

***gestrūdian**, wk. vb., to plunder. *Þa bioð þær on mæstre nearonesse forþylmed þa þe her hiora lichaman mid mæstum unrihtum bylda*ð *7 ꝥ on oðrum mannum mid wo gestrudiaþ*, Verc., f. 17, l. 19. Cf. **strūdian**.

***gestynþo?** some kind of punishment. See quotation under **gealpettung**. Can it be for **gestyngþo*, 'a stabbing, piercing' (= O.H.G. *gistungida*)?

***geswǣsscipe**, companionship, communion. *Þær is ar 7 fægernes werum 7 wifum, 7 geswæsscipe engla 7 geferræden apostola*, Verc., f. 71, l. 1. This homily is also in Wulfstan, but the MSS. read here *geþoftscipe* (Wst. 265[9]).

gesweordod, provided with a sword [H., S.]. BT. has one instance from "Aelfr. Gr. 43; Som. 45, 13" (= ÆG. 257[2]). *Þa cwomon þær semninga twegen englas to him gescildode 7 gesweordode 7 mid heregeatwum gegyrede*, Verc. 98[b], l. 8 (the Blickling MS. has *gesceldode 7 gesperode*, BlH. 221[28]).

geswīgung, silence [H., S.]. BT. has it on the authority of Lye. The dictionaries have *swigung*. See quotation under **geþyldmodnes**.

gesylhðe, team of oxen [H.]. BT. has '*gesylhð*, a plough,' on the authority of Somner. Cf. NSCh., p. 127.

***geter**, something to be torn or rent. Not in BT., H., S. in this sense. See quotation under **gecow**.

***geþræf**, rebuke, censure. *Hwæt sceal him þæt genumene, þ he eft mid geþrafe sceal agildan?* Chr., p. 18. Or is it miswritten for *geþrafunge*?

geþrȳn, to press, bind. See note to **þrȳn**.

geþyldmōdnes, patience [H., S.]. Lye, Bosworth, and BT. record a *geþylmodness*, 'patience,' the two former with the ref. 'Off. hom. Christ. 5,' BT. merely on the authority of Lye. *Gegearwien we ura saula clænnesse mid lufan . . . . 7 mid godcundnesse 7 geþyldmodnesse 7 geswigunge, þonne us man on ðweorh to sprece*, Jun. 85, f. 32, l. 15.

***geunblissian**, to make unhappy. See quotation under **fixnoð**.

***gewǣgnian**, to condemn. The dictionaries have it, but not with this meaning, their only instance being WW. 400[45] (*Frustrari* = *gewægnian*), which is a gl. to Aldhelm, ed. Giles, 49[34]. *Nelle we na þ ma[n] gewægnige subdiacon . . . buton . . . mid sufon tuncgon*; *And ne mæg ma[n] nanne diacon gewægnian butan syx 7 þrittiga sum* (= *Et non dampnabitur subdiaconus . . . nisi in vii testimoniis. Et non dampnabitur diaconus, nisi in xxxvi*), Chr., p. 164; *Be þam þ man nanne preost mid eaðelicum þingum ne mage gewægnian*, ibid., pp. 11[1] and 164.

gewēn, to bend, twist (=G. **gawāhjan*, from G. *-wāhs*, O.E. *wōh*) [BT., H.]. *Obuncabat = gewede*, Ang. xiii, p. 33; cf. Sievers, Ang. xiii, p. 316. It also occurs in the Abbo Gll. printed by Zupitza, ZfdA. xxxi, p. 9. *Obliquus = gewed*; cf. Archiv, xciv, p. 431.

gewintīd, troublous time [BT., H.]. *þ wæs eallra* (i.e. *wundra*) *mæst . . . . þ se ælmihtiga God worhte þurh his gegyrelan nu git oð þas gewintide Langbeardna*, GrD. 210[15].

gifig, in possession of, rich [BT., H.]. *Conpotem = gifine*, Holthausen, Ang. xi, 171 (cf. also H.'s note).

***giftfeorm**, marriage feast. *Be þam þ preostas ne beon æt giftfeormum*, Chr., pp. 10[1] and 130.

gladung, joy, gladness [BT., H.]. *Ne bið þær . . . ne arfæstnys ne sibb ne hopa ne ænig gladung*, Wst. 139[13]. H. has, however, *gladung*, 'word of command,' for which he gives the

[1] This is printed in Wanley, p. 131, col. 2.

ref. to RBS. 137[15]. The passage runs, *Mid heora handum wyrcende heora sealmas singaþ, swylce hy heora geswinc mid godcundre gladunge* (= *tanquam divino celeumate*) *gefremmen*. *Celeuma* here, I take it, means 'joyful singing,' and the translator has understood it as 'joyfulness, gladness,' so that we here have a second instance of *gladung*, 'joy.' Hall has evidently taken *celeuma* in the sense of the Greek κέλευμα, 'an order, command,' but for its later use in Latin cf. *Ducange*, where it is defined as *cantus nautarum quem in prosperis præsertim concinnebant*. Cf., too, WW. 202[31], *cereuma vel celeuma . . . = leta cantatio, lewisplega* (read *leoþwise, plega?*).

[**gladung**, word of command.] See note to **gladung**, joy.

godwræclic, impious [BT., H.]. *Hi . . . . onfon noldon ne na gehrinan þam unalyfdan 7 godwræclican mete*, GrD. 232[13].

***goldgearwe**, gold ornaments. *Ðanne ne gefultumaþ ðære saule ne ðære gimma frætwednesse, ne ðara goldgearwo* (read *-rwa*) *wlanco þe he his lichaman oferflownesse mid frætwaþ*, Jun. 86, f. 58, l. 13. (For *ðara g. wl.*, BlH., p. 195, reads *þara goldwlenca*).[1]

goldlēaf, gold plate [BT., H.]. *Ðeah þe ða mihtegestan 7 þa ricestan hatan him reste gewyrcan of marmanstane . . . . mid goldleafum gestrewed ymbutan*, Wst. 263[6].

gorettan, to stare about [BT.]. Cf. NGl., note to 5, 3, and *Ne gan hi goretyndum eagum, ne mid ungemidludre tungan, oþþe maffigendre ne prutlicre stæppincge* (= *Non vagis oculis, non infrenis lingua, aut petulanti tumidoque gestu incedant*), Chr., p. 126.

græfa (or **-fe**?), bush, brushwood, thicket, grove. Cf. NSCh p. 61.

***grētingword**, word of greeting. *Ða stop se engel to þam mædene 7 cwæþ hire to, 'Aue,' þ is on urum gereorde gretingword*, Archiv, ci, 313. Also in ÆG. 209[14].

gyldenmūþa, golden-mouthed [BT., H.]. As Zupitza points out in his review of Hall (Archiv, xciv, p. 431), this word occurs in the Abbo glosses (ZfdA. xxxi, p. 7) rendering *crisostomus*. A further instance is: *þysum wordum se ilca gyldenmuþa Gregorius wæs sprecende*, GrD. 94[24].

[1] The homily from which this passage is taken (Jun. 86, foll. 40ᵇ-6 [illegible]) corresponds to the fourth of the Blickling Homilies (pp. 39–53), and the piece in BlH., p. 195, called by Morris 'a fragment,' really forms part of it, the leaf containing it having been bound in the wrong place. It should come between pp. 58 and 59 of the Blickling MS. as now bound, and *Forþon oft hit gesaliþ*, etc. (BlH., p. 195), should follow *forþon syndon feawa þe þæm deadan getrywe weorþon*. In Jun. 86 the passage is in its right place. That the so-called 'fragment' forms part of this homily was recognised by Holthausen, ES. xiv, 395.

hādārung, respect of persons [H., S.]. BT. has it, without reference, from Somner in the distorted form *haderung*. *Domas sceolon beon butan ælcere hadarunge: ϸ ys ϸ he ne murne naϸer ne rycum ne heanum, ne leofum ne laϸum folcriht to recceanne*, Liebermann, GesAgs. i, 474. Somner's form is probably taken from the corresponding passage in the Quadripartitus.

***hæftnȳdnes**, captivity. *Hwylc mihte beon mare wælgrimnes ϸonne ure hæftnydnes on helle ϸeostrum*, Jun. 22, f. 102, l. 8.

***hālgungbōc**, a benedictional. Not in Somner, Bosworth, BT., H., or S., but it is in Lye with the ref. "Ll. Angl. Sax., pag. 119": this is evidently Wilkins, Leges Anglo-Sax., p. 119, where the whole eleven lines are printed. Although the whole has been published at least five times,[1] it seems to have escaped the notice of philologists, and I therefore reprint the verses here. On the MS. (Cotton, Claudius A. iii, f. 31^{b}, first half of eleventh century) cf. Liebermann, GesAgs. i, p. xxxii.

> "*Ic eom halgungboc, healde hine Dryhten*
> *ϸe me fægere ϸus frætewum belegde;*
> *ϸuruϸ to ϸance ϸus het me wyrcean*
> *to lous 7 to wurϸe ϸam ϸe leoht gesceop;*
> *gemyndi is he mihta gehwylcre*
> *ϸæs ϸe he on foldan gefremian mæg*
> *7 him geϸancie ϸeoda waldend,*
> *ϸæs ϸe he on gemynde madma manega*
> *wyle gemearcian metode to lace;*
> *7 he sceal ece lean ealle findan*
> *ϸæs ϸe he on foldan fremaϸ to ryhte.*"

***hāliglīce**, in a holy manner. *Se byϸ Gode geϸeodd se ϸe hyt haliglice deϸ*, Verc., f. 110, l. 26.

***hālsungtīma**, time of supplication. *Swylce fram ϸæs dæges upspringe to halsungtiman ϸreo tida syn forϸ aϸenede*, Chr., p. 46.

***hama**, a snake's slough. The O.E. *hama* means 'covering, garment, womb'; it also glosses 'puerperium' (cf. NGl. i, 351); but in the sense of 'a snake's slough' (cf. M.E. *dragons hame*) it has not hitherto been recorded. *Seo næddre awurpϸ ælce geare*

[1] Wanley, p. 226; Wilkins, *Concilia*, i, 285; *Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ*, p. 119; Wright & Halliwell, *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, ii, 195; Birch, *Hyde Liber Vitæ*, p. xxii. In R. Schmid's *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, p. xxiv, the first two lines only are printed.

hire ealdan haman, 7 *biꝺ þonne befangen mid eallniwum felle*, Tri[illegible], p. 411, l. 18.

***hēafodbend**, a diadem, crown [BT.]. Both H. and S. have it in the sense of 'a fetter round the head,' and H. gives a ref. to ÆS. i, 466[423]. See quot. under **cynebend**.

hēafodbolla, skull. It is in the dictionaries, but without any instances; BT. merely refers to Lye. *He hi bær to þære stowe seo is geciged cwealmstow* 7 *heafodbollan stow*, S. 8, f. 164[b], l. 23.

hēafodhrægl, head-covering [BT.]. H. gives a ref. to LSc. 74[2]. A second instance is to be found in PBB. xxx, 13[123]. *Oraria* = *heafodhrægel*. It is a gl. to Beda's *Vita Cuthberti*, xlii, 4.

***hēahmæssedæg**, high mass day. *An heahmæssedagum*, ꝺ is *Sancte Stephanes* 7 *Sancte Iohannes*, etc., Chr., p. 135.

healffrēo, half-free [BT., H.]. *Sceote man ælmessan . . . hwilum be teoþunge, hwilum be mannes efenwihte, hwilum be freotme[illegible], hwilum be healffreon*, Wst. 171[4] (MS. E.).

hēamol, miserly, frugal. This word has hitherto only been found in glosses, WW. 23[9], 404[9] (cf. OET., p. 612). But it also occurs elsewhere: *To hwan wurd ꝺu swa heamul minra goda þe ic ꝺe dyde* 7 *sealde?* Verc., f. 68, l. 16 (this homily occurs in Wst. 250 seqq., but the reading there (Wst. 258[12]) is *fæsthaf[illegible]ol*, not *heamol*).

***hēamolscipe**, miserliness, niggardliness. 7 *forlætan we mor[illegible]or* 7 *man* 7 *oferhydyg* 7 *æfeste* 7 *idel gilp* 7 *unrihtwisnessa* 7 *unrihthæmedas*,[1] *ærætas* 7 *ealogalnesse, dysinessa*, 7 *gedwolleræf[illegible]as, gitsunga* 7 *gifernessa, leasunga* 7 *licettunga, tælnessa* 7 *twyspræcnes[illegible]sa, niꝺas* 7 *nearoþancas* 7 *heamolscipas* 7 *eallra þara þeawa þe diofle[illegible]on him sylfum onstealdon*, Verc., f. 11, l. 16.

hebban, intrans., to rise. *He stah up to ꝺam stepele*, 7 *of ꝺam stepele hof upp on lyfte*, Wst. 100[3]. Neither BT. nor H. gives the intrans. meaning.

***hefigmōd**, sad, grieved. *Ælc man mæg þær* (i.e. in heaven) *geseon oꝺres mannes geþoht, ne him næfre ne hingraꝺ, ne he hefigmod ne biꝺ, ne him þurst ne deraꝺ*, Jun. 99, fol. 115, l. 12 (also in Trin., p. 281, and other MSS.). The dictionaries have *hefigmōd*, but only in the sense of 'troublesome, hostile,' etc., and for this BT. has but one instance, viz. 'Ps. Spl. T. 54[31]' (= Eadwine's Cant. Ps.), where it renders *molestus*.

[1] Elsewhere *unrihthæmed*, so far as I have noted it, is neuter in Verc.; cf. the quotation from Verc., f. 116, which is a repetition of this passage, s.v. *ærāt*.

***hēgsīþe,** hay-scythe. See quotation under **gehammen.**

***helleloc,** hell-prison. *Ða ongunnon swyðlice beotian ꝑ hi scoldon hine geniman 7 gelædan to hellelocum,* GrD. 325[30].

***hellheort,** afraid, terrified. *For ðam egsan þæs engles ansynes þa weardas wæron afærede 7 hellheorte, 7 efne swa forhte gewordene swa heo deade wæron,* Bodl. 340, f. 149, l. 12 (the same words occur again f. 145, l. 7). Though not in Bosworth, Ettmüller, Leo, BT., H., S., this word is recorded in Somner, Benson, and Lye, and Somner quotes this very passage, though without giving a reference to any MS. Can it be connected with M.H.G. *hell, hellic,* 'weak, wearied'? Somner's etymology will scarcely recommend itself: 'astonied, as one whose heart (we say) is in his heeles for fear'!

hellwered, host of hell [BT., H.]. See quotation under **eorðwered.**

hellwiht, inhabitant of hell [BT., H.]. *In þam dæge us byð æteowed seo geopenung heofena 7 engla þrym 7 helwihta hryre 7 eorðan forwyrd,* Wst. 186[2].

[**helpendbēre,** helpful.] This word occurs in all the modern dictionaries, but does not seem to have any authority, as Sievers pointed out in 1884 (ES. viii, p. 159). BT.'s only authority is 'Cot. 148, Lye.' Now this ref. is the same as WW. 463[36]. *Opiffera = helpendrap,* and Lye's *helpendbære* is merely an emendation of the unintelligible *helpendrap* of the MS.

heofonwered, heavenly host [BT., H.]. See quotation under **eorðwered.**

***heofonwlitig,** heavenly beautiful. *Þurh þa ylcan þing we magon þe eaðe gedon þæt eorðcundlice men magon gewiorðan hiofonwlitige,* Verc., f. 64[b], l. 23.

heorþa, skin (goatskin or deerskin?) [S.]. Cf. the quotation given under **byccen**; also the glosses, *pellis = fel, cutis vel corium = hyd, nebris = næsc oððe herþa* (one MS. (J.) has *heorþa*), ÆG. 321[5].

herepað. Cf. NSCh., p. 46.

***hetolnys,** fierceness. In NGl. (11, 152) *hetelnessa* glosses *rapacitatis.* A further instance occurs in the quotation given under **ungefōg.**

***†hindernes,** wickedness. *ꝑ heo* (the wicked men) *heo beðæncen 7 gecerren of heora hindernysse,* Vesp., f. 161[b]. Cf. *hinderscipe,* NGl. i, 378.

hīwcund, domestic [BT.]. *Domesticis = hifcundum* (for *hiw-*),

ZfdA. ix, 413 (it is from the Brussels Aldhelm glosses, and it does not occur in the Digby MS.; on the *f* for *w* see my note NGl. 1, 3913).

***hīwcūþnes**, familiarity. *Forþon he oft betweoh wæs Furtunates dædum mid bylde þære hiwcuðnysse*, GrD. 71[24]; *Se hæfde eac mid him mycele bælde hiwcuþnesse*, ibid. 140[7].

hīwscipe, hide of land. In this sense it is not in BT. or H. Cf. NSCh., p. 127.

***hlacerung**, unfitting words or gestures? *Hit is swiðe unþæslic 7 pleolic þ we on Godes huse idele spellunga 7 hlacerunga began*, Ii. 4. 6, p. 446, l. 17.

***hlāfordþrymm**, dominion, power. *For heora woroldwuldre 7 for hlafordþrimme*, Chr., p. 107.

hlōse, a pigsty[1] [BT., H.]. S. has it with the queried meaning 'sheepfold.' In a passage in the *Gerefa* (Ang. ix, 261, and GesAgs. i, 454) we read, among the various duties to be performed in Autumn, "*fald weoxian, scipena behweorfan 7 hlosan eac swa.*" In Ang. Liebermann translates *hlosan* by 'schutzdach bauen' with a query, and adds in a note, "falls aus *hleo* (obdach, schirm) gebildet. Oder vorgänger von *looze* (schweinestall) bei Halliwell?" In GesAgs. he renders it "Verschläge für Kleinwieh [?]." The translation 'schweinestall' is undoubtedly right, and indeed the context points to the same conclusion; the *fald* is the 'sheepfold,' the *scipena* are the 'shippons' (cowhouses), and as a third we should naturally expect the place for housing the pigs. That the word does really mean 'pigsty' is confirmed by a gl. (WW. 204[2]), *Ceniluti* (read with Sievers, Ang. xiii, 320, *ceni, luti*) *swina hlose*. It is quite possible that the gl. may have been assigned to a wrong lemma, or the glossator may have been thinking of the usual dirt in pigsties. The modern dialectal form *lewze* (pronounced *lūz*), 'a pigsty,' is found in Somerset and Devon, and its present pronunciation points to an O.E. long close *ō*.

hlȳp, hlȳpe (in charters). Cf. NSCh., p. 54.

***hlȳtere**, clericus. *For þi þonne hi preostas an Crecisc clericos hataþ, ȝ is an Englisc hlyteras*, Chr., p. 125.

***hogg**, a hog. As this word is not in the dictionaries, it may not be out of place here to quote the instances of it recently found by Professor Skeat, which occur in two strips of parchment taken from inside a book-cover in the library of Queen's College,

[1] This note is reprinted from my article in *Modern Philology*, i, p. 394.

Cambridge. *Æt Strætham xx sugen[a] . . . . de swyn 7 xl hogga*; mention is also made of *xliiii hogga*, Cambr. Philol. Soc. Proceedings, lxi–lxiii, also in the *Athenæum*, Dec. 20, 1902, p. 832. The same fragments contain the hitherto unrecorded *scrūdfeoh* and *bēansād*.

*†**hoglēas**, careless, free from care. *7 gyf hit cuᵹ byᵹ Pilaten, we byᵹ for eow 7 eow hogelease gedoᵹ*,[1] Vesp., f. 90, l. 5.

***holing**, a hollowing, a hollow. *Þa ongunnon hi on þam stanclife hreylcehugu holinga don*, GrD. 113 [11].

***holnes**, a hollow. *Þa sohte [he] þone Godes wer geond ealle þa stæþhlypan þara munta 7 geond þa holnessa ᵹæra dena*, GrD. 99 [22] (MS. O.).

*†**hōp**, hoop. *Ða het he wurcean ænne seolfrene hop of þrittiȝæ pundon*, NRT., p. 22 [9]; *Swa fela seolfrenæ hopæ he ᵹerto dyde*, ibid., p. 22 [14]; *He nom þa ᵹa þrittiȝæ sylfrenæ hopæ*, ibid., p. 24 [6]. Cf. also my note in the *Academy*, June 2, 1894, p. 457.

***hreddere**, defender. *For þig is þære halgan cyrcan neod ᵹ heo hæbbe hredderas*, Chr., p. 158.

***hrēodcynn**, kind of reed. *Þa genamon hie sume* (MS. sūme) *springan 7 gefyldon mid ecede . . . . 7 dydon on sum hreodcynn 7 ræhton up to his muþe*, Verc., f. 8, l. 6.

***hrurol**, deciduus. *Deciduum = hrurulne*, PBB. xxx, 11 [63].

***hundtēontigwintre**, a hundred years old. Not in BT., H., S., though they have *hundwintre*. *Puer centum annorum maledictus erit*.[2] *Hundteontigwintre eild byᵹ awyrged*, Jun. 23, f. 36, l. 3 (this passage is also in S. 17, p. 302, l. 12).

***hūsærn**, a house. See quotation under **sellendlic**.

***hwicung**, squeaking (of mice). *Mid . . . . swyna grununge 7 musa hwicunge*, GrD. 185 [4] (MS. C.). MS. O. has *hwiscetunge*.

***hwīlþrāg**, period of time. *Ic þrowode mycelne ece minre heortan 7 lifliera leoma . . . . þurh hwilþrage*, GrD. 243 [19].

*†**hwinsian**, to whine; **hwinsung**, a whining. *Þa hundes ne ᵹeswicon to hwinsianne mid ceariendre stæmne 7 ne dorstan na læng beorcan*, S. 17, p. 126, l. 14; *Mid hwinsunge 7 mid dreorigum mode hio* (the dogs) *cerdon ealle ongean to þan hunten*, ibid., p. 125, l. 17.

hwiscettung, squeaking (of mice) [BT., H.]. See **hwicung**.

*†**hwītling**, a kind of fish (whiting?). See note to **culling**. Cf. *whitling* in Wright's *Dialect Dict.* and the N.H.G. *Weissling*.

[1] Now printed by Hulme, MPh. i, 16; cf. also p. 8.
[2] Isaiah lxv, 20.

***hȳscend,** a reviler. *Conuitiator = hiscend*, PGH. 398.

***hysebyrþre,** a woman bearing a son, puerpera? *Acende hyseberþre = enixa est puerpera*, SHy., p. 50. Cf. NGl. i, 3908.

hyserinc, young man [BT., H.]. *Eac wæs sum hysering (= adolescens) in þam ylcan mynstre*, GrD. 338[22].

***īdellic,** vain, idle. H. has the adv. *idellice* (from Vesp. Ps., cf. Sweet, OET., p. 632), which is not in either BT. or S. *Hwæt is swa idellic oððe swa untrumlic swa swa ȝ man fordeme þone soþan deman?* Trin., p. 92, l. 13.

īfigbearo, ivy-grove [BT., H.]. Cf. NSCh., p. 50.

inbetȳnednes, a being shut in, the life of a recluse [BT., H.]. See quot. under **frumtīd.**

inmēde, close to one's heart, dear, important. Not in BT., though both H. and S. have it, the former with a ref. to RBS., p. 132[8]. I may add two further instances: *Þonne ne sceal us nan woruldgestreon beon swa inmede swa ures Drihtnes lufu*, Jun. 22, f. 242[b], l. 3 (this passage also occurs in MS. Lambeth 489, f. 58); 7 *him* (to God) *nane æhta ne synd swa inmede swa him synd to agenne ure sawle clæne*, Trin., p. 401, l. 18.

inwunung, a dwelling in, residence in [H., S.]. In BT. only on authority of Lye. But cf. *onwunung* in BT., H., S. *Þonne forlætaþ hi heora rihtgesetednysse* 7 *þone godcundan þeowdom* 7 *þæs mynstres inwununge . . . .* 7 *faraþ ut*, Chr., p. 16.

***lǣcecyst,** medicine chest. *Hi sona wæron . . . . spyrigende* 7 *geondsmeagende eall his læcegetea. Þa fundon hi þa ylcan þry ahydde mancas in his læcecyste*, GrD. 344[17].

***lǣcegetēa,** medical equipment (instruments, drugs, etc.). See quot. under **lǣcecyst**, where it translates *medicamenta*. Can it be the plur. of an unrecorded neuter **getēah*, 'equipment, utensils' = Germanic **táuhom*, connected with *tēon* (= **tēohan*), 'to draw,' with the same development of meaning as in the case of the N.H.G. *Zeug* from Germanic **teuhóm*? Or is *eall his læcegetea* miswritten for *ealle his læcegeatwa* or *-getawa*? It seems less likely that it is for *-teaga*, 'medicine chests,' as *his læcecyste* implies that he only had one.

***†Lǣdenlic,** Latin. *Nu hæfst þu me ofte gebedon . . ȝ ic þe ut arehte mid Lædenlicre spræce þæs eadigestan Nicholae gebyrdtīda*, S. 17, p. 171, l. 21; *ȝ ic onginne to herigenne mid Lædenlicre spæce*, ibid., p. 171, l. 35; *Swa þeah ic awrat þæs halgenes gebyrðtid . . . mid. L. sp.*, ibid., p. 172, l. 5. Note the form *gebyrð-* for older *gebyrd*: this is an early instance of the replacement of the *d*

þ ð, presumably owing to Scandinavian influence (cf. Björkman, p. 162).

***læst**, a fault, sin. *We sceolon clypian 7 biddan georne gelome God Ælmihtig þæt he ure neoda gecnawe 7 ure læsta gebete*, Jun. 22, f. 99ᵇ, l. 11. The earliest quotation for *last* in the NED. is at least a hundred years later (*circa* 1175). It is of Scand. origin, from O.N. *lǫstr*.

lætnys, sluggishness, sloth [BT.]. In H. from ÆS. in the sense of 'delay.' *Fram minre lætnysse 7 dysegan swongernesse*, GrD. 174[23].

[**landsceap**, land, district.] This supposed word is found in BT., H., S., and it is also mentioned in the NED. s.v. *landscape*. But an O.E. *landsceap* does not exist; the authority for it is l. 501 of *Andreas*, where the printed editions read *on landsceape*; but, as I found when collating the Vercelli MS. in 1888, and as I pointed out in the ZfdA. xxxiii, 68, the MS. has most distinctly *lan* | *sceare*,[1] so that it is merely another instance of the well-known word *landscearu*, 'a boundary,' used here in the sense of 'land.'

landscearu, cf. NSCh., p. 48.

***langsumnes**, longsuffering, long endurance. BT., H., and S. only have it in the sense of 'length.' *Geþyld 7 liðnes 7 sybb 7 hyr sumnes 7 langsumnes*, Verc., f. 113, l. 9.

***langwyrpe bōc?** some kind of church-service book. *Gif þu hwylce langwyrpe bóc habban wille*, KlZs. 12. See Addenda.

***lārbodung**, teaching, preaching. *Do ma[n] þa larbodunge be þam þe þ folc understandan mage*, Chr., p. 77.

***lārsum**, docile, ready to learn. *Sien we snotre 7 soðfæste . . . 7 clænheorte 7 fremsume 7 godfyrhte 7 larsume*, Verc., f. 12, l. 13.

***†lārþegn**, teacher. *Eart þu þ Elias, ure larðeign?* Vesp., f. 92 (printed in MPh. i, p. 598; cf. Hulme's note, p. 586).

lēacblæd, leek-leaf [BT., H.]. *Þis man sceal wiðð þ gedrif writan on þreom leacbladan*, Bezzenberger's Beiträge, xvii, 144 (from MS. Regina 338 in the Vatican).

lēadgewiht, lead-weight [BT., H.]. Cf. NSCh., p. 77.

***lēasferhð, -fyrhð**, false. *Næs he gitsere ne strudere ne ofermod ne niðig ne leasferhþ*, Archiv, xci, 380, from MS. S. 2. Verc., f. 19ᵇ, l. 23, where this passage also occurs, reads *leasfyrhð*. Cf. *leasferhþness*, which BT. has from CP. 313[10].

[1] The vertical stroke indicates the end of a line.

leasfyrhte, false. BT. has it from Ps. Spl. 26, 18, where Spelman's MS. (now MS. Stowe 2) glosses *mentita est* by *leasfyrhte is*, and ECPs. has the same glossing. S. marks it as occurring in a gl. *Be ðam yfeldemum and be ðam unrihthæmerum 7 be ðam arleasum . . . . and be ðam leasfyrhtum*, Verc., f. 112 b, l. 8.

***lēasōleccan,** to cajole. The dictionaries have the sb. *lēasōleccung. Seo tunge þara leasolecendra cweleþ 7 swenceþ þæs sawle þe hie gehieran lysteþ*, GrD. 34 27.

***lenctenbere,** Lent barley. *Nime þonne clænne lengtenbere 7 grinde on handcwyrna*, Arch. lxxxiv, 326.

***lenctenlifen,** Lenten fare. *7 eac ymbe heora lenctenlifene smeagian þa ealderas georne*, Chr., p. 23.

[**lendenrēaf,** a loin-garment, apron.] The only authority for this word appears to be the Rubens Glossary (= WW. 151 27), *Lumbare uel renale = lenden sidreaf.* But, as Lübke pointed out, Archiv, lxxxvi, 399, we must separate *lendensīd* (= reaching to the loins) and *rēaf.* Cf. **fōtsīd.**

***lendensīd,** adj., reaching to the loins. See note to **lendenrēaf.** Cf. **fōtsīd.**

***lēodrǣden,** a country, region. *Ac hwylc wundor is, þeah þe we þis be mannum secgan, nu seo uplice leodræden þære ængellican gecynde of sumum dæle æfwerdlan 7 wonunge araefnede* (= *quando illa superna regio in civibus suis ex parte damna pertulit*), GrD. 204 28.

***leornungscōl,** school. *Se wæs eac þæs mynstres præfos 7 lareow . . . . in þæs leornungscole drohtnigende*, GrD. 14 6.

[**lewisplega,** boatman's song, joyful song.] In H., from WW 202 31, but see note to **gladung.**

***līcstōw,** place of burial. *Se me sæde . . . . ꝑ se biscop þær ylcan ceastre him forgæfe licstowe in his cyrcan*, GrD. 340 35.

līcþrūh, coffin [BT., H.]. *Þa eode he þanone 7 his licþruh gegearwode*, GrD. 225 28; *Seo þin licþruh eaðe unc begen ymbfeh ð*, ibid. 226 7; *þæs mynstres abbudes lichama . . . . hæfde afyll ed ealle þa licþruh*, ibid. 226 15. Again 226 22.

***līcwyrðlīce,** pleasingly. *Eala þu Zosimus! swiðe licwyrðl ice þu gefyldest*, ÆS. ii, 6 1.

***†lit,** colour, dye. *Swa swa se litigere þe lufeð ælces heowes il, ac naht ealla gelice, 7 ælc lit he fæstneð on swylcen styde swa þæ to berist*, Vesp., f. 159 b, l. 22. The earliest instance in Stratm n and the NED. is from *Genesis* and *Exodus*, ca. 1250. It is f m O.N. *litr*, colour.

***†litigere,** a dyer. Cf. **lit.**

lorg, a weaver's beam. It is given in BT., H., S. as fem., owing, no doubt, to the pl. *loerge* in Ep. gl. But the pl. *lorgas* in the *Gerefa* (Ang. ix, p. 263, and GesAgs. i, 455) shows it also to have been masc.

lyblāca, a sorcerer. The dictionaries only give *lyblæca* as occurring in a gloss: WW. 11[38] (= Corp. Gl.) and 363[12] (derived from the Corp. Gl.) *caragios = lyblæcan*. But it occurs elsewhere. *Þa gramheortan 7 þa lyblæcean 7 þa ðe manige galdor cunnon, 7 þa ðe gelome galaþ, 7 þa unrihtfullan 7 þa arleasan 7 þa hatheortan*, etc., Jun. 86, f. 36, l. 1; *Þa þe her bioð þa mæstan dryicgan 7 scinlacan 7 gealdorcræftigan 7 lyblacan, ne cumaþ þa næfre of þæra wyrma seaðe*, Verc., f. 17[b], l. 8 (also in S. 2, p. 259).

***lyftlic**, aerial (applied to the first of the seven heavens). See quot. under **oferlyftlic**.

***†mǣgcnafa**, youthful kinsman. *Ic* (MS. *Io*) *gean minum mægcnafan þæs landes æt Anne his dæg, and ofer his dæg in to niwan mynstere . . . and minum magcnafan ægþer ge þara landa, ge þæs æt Cleran . . .* CS. ii, 329. This is, it is true, from the thirteenth century *Liber de Hyda*, but it is obviously a copy from a pre-Conquest original. Cf. **cnafa**.

***mæssesteall**, stall, seat in the choir of a church. *Geearnian we mid godum dædum, þæt is þonne mid clæne ælmessan, 7 mid leohte to urum ciricean 7 to urum mæssesteallum, 7 mid urum rihtum teoðum dælum*, etc., Verc., f. 90[b], l. 14. See Addenda.

***mæsseūhta**, m. (or **-ūhte**, n.? Cf. PBB. ix, 216), the hour of matins on a feast day, the matins themselves. *Habbon þonne interuallum . . . butan sunnanuhtan 7 mæsseuhtan, þonne ne þearf nan interuallum beon. 7 weorcuhtan besceawige se biscop . . . ȝ se interuallum beo swa lang ȝ*, etc., Chr., p. 37; *Ge sculon singan sunnanuhtan 7 mæsseuhton æfre nigon ræpsas mid nigon rædingum*, AL. ii, 384[4].

***mæðung**, measure (of penance). *Seo mæðung is on þam biscope 7 on þam ealdre þe under him bið*, Chr., p. 53.

***maffian**, apostatare; **maffiende**, petulans. *Win 7 wif gedoð hwilon ȝ witon maffiað* (= *Vinum et mulieres apostatare quidem faciunt sapientes*, Eccl. xix, 2), Chr., p. 121. Cf. also the quotation under **gorettan**.

***†mǣhling**, a parent. *Parentes = mahlinges*, FNGl. 51.

***manslot**. *On Elsingtun hundred ah Sancte Eadmund xxvii manslot. On Spelhoge hundred xlv manslot. On In hundred x manslot. On Fuwelege hundred healf ehtepe* (i.e. seven and a half)

***mearulic**, adj., frivolous? **-līce**, adv., delicately, luxuriously. *Þa onfeng heo þis bebod . . . ȝ heo naht ne dyde leohtlices ne mægdenlicre wisan oððe merwelicre* (= *ut nihil leve aut puellare ageret*), GrD. 287 [20]; *Se hæfde ænne sunu . . . þone he lufode swiþe lichamlice 7 fedde mærwlice*, ibid. 289 [5].

***meterædere**, reader during mealtimes. *Gyf þu meterædere fyldstol habban wille oþþe oðrum men, þonne clæm þu þine handa togædere 7 wege* (MS. *gege*) *hi þam gemete þe þu dest þonne þu hine fyrlden wylt*, KlZs. 51.

metetīd, mealtime [BT., H.]. *Soðlice þa þa seo mætetid com*, GrD. 277 [24].

***meteþing**, operation connected with cooking. *7 hi man þonne georwlice ty ȝ hi gode bæcystran beon 7 to ælcum meteþingum clængeorne*, Chr., p. 30.

***middægþēnung**, dinner. See quot. under **cȳsstycce**.

***midhlȳte**, consortium. *Gyf hwyle . . . . to andetnesse cumman nele, fram ciryceau he is to anydanne 7 fram gemænsumunge 7 midhlyte geleaffulra* (= *a communione et consortio fidelium*), Theod., f. 97 [b].

***mildnes**, mildness, mercy. *Ne sceal swa liðe mildnes beon ȝ ne forhæbbe þa syngunge*, Chr., p. 99. Cf. O.H.G. *miltnissa*.

***milite**, soldiers. *Þa genamon hie þa milite*, Verc., f. 7, l. 14; *Wæron þa milite þæs gerefan men, þy þæt dydon*, ibid., f. 7 [b], l. 5. See also s.v. **corona**. Kluge gives it in the Glossary to KL. from Verc., f. 7 [a], evidently the first of these instances.

militisc, military [BT., H.]. *Þæt eac gelamp ȝ sumes militisces mannes hors wæs gecyrred in mycele reðnysse*, GrD. 77 [32]; *He þæs militiscan mannes bene gehyrde*, ibid. 78 [27]; *Þa wæron þær sume dæge militisce men farende*, ibid. 194 [13].

***misfeng**, misdeed, sin. *He us gegearwaþ þa heofonlican for þam eorðlicum, 7 þa ecan þing for þam hwilendlicum þingum þysse worulde, gif we ælmyssan don willaþ on urum life, 7 gif we dædbote don willaþ urra misfenga*, Verc., f. 114, l. 25. Cf. O.H.G. *misfanc*, 'culpa.'

mōdlufu, affection. It is not confined to poetry, as indicated in S. *He hine mid þam handum beclypte 7 he* (read *hine*) *mid eallre modlufan sette to his breostum*, Verc., f. 91 [b], l. 2.

***mōdorlufu**, love for a mother. *Þa cwæþ he eft to his þam leofan þegne, "Þis is þin modor, 7 þu hie þe for modor hafa." 7 he þa Iohannes swa dyde, 7 he hie þa in moderlufan hæfde*, Verc., f. 7 [b], l. 17.

molda (or **-de**?), the top of the head [S.]. See **moldgewind.**

***moldgewind,** the top of the head. *Þonne se untruma biꝺ gesmyred on þam moldgewinde 7 on foranheafde 7 on þan þunwengon 7 on his nebbe, þonne cweꝺe se sacerd þis gebed,* Missal of Robert of Jumièges, ed. H. A. Wilson, 1896, p. 292. A nearly related Latin version runs, "*Perungat sacerdos infirmum . . . . in vertice, in fronte,* etc.," and the *gewind* would almost seem to be a rendering of *vertex* in the sense of 'a twisting round, vortex.' Of the uncompounded *molda* (*-de*?), 'the top of the head,' BT. has an instance from Lcdm. iii, 42[9]; and on the M.E. use of the word cf. Zupitza's note in ES. viii, 499.

***molsn,** decay. *Hi . . . gemetton þone lichaman þæs cildes . . . mid molsne gebrosnodne 7 wyrma fulne,* GrD. 198[24] S. has *mols,* 'decay,' without ref.

***†mōrflēoge = cariscus,** a kind of fly. See note to **culling.** Cf. Corpus Glossary, ed. Hessels, p. 28[160]. *Cariscus = Musca modica.*

***mōrseohtre,** marshy ditch. *Wæterfrocgan hwilon hi ma[n] gesihꝺ of wætere, 7 swa þeah secaꝺ to fullicum morseohtrum,* Chr., p. 163.

***morꝺorewalu,** murder. *Sumu* (one of the devil's arrows is made) *of reaflace 7 of scincræftum 7 of morꝺorewale, sumu of þeofunga 7 of feounga,* Verc., f. 24, l. 5.

***mundwist,** guardianship, protection. *Ða ænglas him andsweredon 7 cwædan, "Ac syo hige* (she, i.e. the soul) *anumen of ure mundwiste, forꝺan ꝺe mid fulnesse hyo wæs in gangende,"* Jun. 85, f. 10, l. 14.

***munuccnapa,** young monk. *Hu se[o] eorꝺe awearp þone munuccnapan of his byrgene,* GrD. 93[18] (MS. H.); *Se awyrgeda gast towearp þone wah . . . . 7 mid þæs wages hryre of þryccende tocwysde ænne munuccnapan,* ibid. 125[7] (MS. H.). Also 154[9]; 155[1] (MS. H.).

***munucrēaf,** monk's garment. *Þam preoste is ungedafenlic ꝥ he munucreaf werige,* Chr., p. 101; *On þam ylcan timan . . . . gelamp ꝥ Basilius on munucreafe fleonde gesohte Ualeriam þa mægꝺe,* GrD. 27[17] (MS. H.).

***mylengafol,** mill-tax, mill-rent? *Her stænt gewriten hwat Baldwine abbod hæfꝺ geunnen his gebroþra to caritatem, ꝥ is to mylnegafel æt Lacforde, hælf pund æt ꝥ an 7 xii oran æt ꝥ oþer,* St. E., f. 108.

***mynsterbōc,** minster-book. *Her syndon xxx boca ealre ou Leofstanes abbodes hafona butan mynsterbec,* St. E., f. 107[b].

***mynsterfæder,** abbot. *Me cyðdon sume æwfæste weras þ hit gelumpe . . . . þ sum mynsterfæder wære swyðe arwyrðes lifes,* GrD. 293 [1] (MS. C.).

***mynstergeat,** monastery gate. *Hu þa twa hund mittana melewes waron fundene æt þam mynstergeate,* GrD. 145 [2].

***mynsterstede,** buildings of a monastery. *Be þæs ylcan Paulines forðfare is awriten . . . . þ eall his mynsterstede full fæste gestod, buton þam gebedhuse anum in þam he læg seoc; gewordenre eorðstyrene, eall hit abifode,* GrD. 182 [19].

***mynstertimbrung,** building of a monastery. *Hu he þurh gesihðe gedihte þa mynstertimbrunge neah Terracinense,* GrD. 147 [11].

***myriglīce,** pleasantly, melodiously. *Swa mycele liþelicor 7 myriglicor wæs gehyred se sealmsang,* GrD. 286 [1]. The use of *myriglicor* here is not appropriate, as the meaning is that the sound became softer and died away (*tanto cepit psalmodia lenius audiri*).

***myrrend,** prodigal, wasteful. See quot. under **ceaslunger.**

***nǣm,** a taking, receiving. The dictionaries have *nām,* 'seizure' (from the Scandinavian, cf. Björkman, p. 83), and the compound *nȳdnām,* 'a taking by force.' *Be ælmessena næme* (= *De elemosinis accipiendis*), Chr., pp. 9 [1] and 75; *On þære næme cyrcan æhte* (= *in accipiendis ecclesiasticis sumptibus*), ibid., p. 18.

***†nǣmel,** receptive (of knowledge). *7 ealswa hi geseawan þ heora leofa cild ongan wel to þeonne, þa befæsten hi hine to boclicere lare, 7 he wearð þa swiðe næmel þurh þæs Halgan Gastes gife, þ on litle firste he oferþeah his mægester on wisdome,* S. 17, p. 119, l. 17.

nēahcyrice, neighbouring church [BT., H.]. *Þær wæs sumre neahcyrican mæssepreost,* GrD. 117 [7]; *Þa ferdon hi begen to þære neahcyrican,* ibid. 216 [3].

***nēahdǣl,** neighbourhood. *He sæde þ þær wære sum æþele gesiðwif in þam neahdælum Tuscie mægðe,* GrD. 71 [30].

***nēahfæder,** vicinus pater. *Nu ic þus swiðe behealde þa neahfædras, þe mid us wæron, maran 7 geþungenran manna dæda ic forlet,* GrD. 179 [1].

***nēahfeald,** intimate. *To his neahfealdum freondum,* Verc., f. 77[b], l. 7.

***nēahfealdlic,** intimate. *Hi . . . . gerecor[do]don hi sylfe mid neahfealdliere gesægne þurh þa halgan sprǽcu þæs gastlican lifes,* GrD. 168 [17].

[1] Printed in Wanley, p. 131, col. 1.

nēahgebȳren, fem., a neighbour. It is in BT., H., S., but is not confined to Late Northumbrian, as indicated in S. *Ða gelamp hit ƿ seo forecwedene fostermoder þæs halgan weres abæd an hriddern*[1] *hire to læne æt oðrum wife, hire neahgebyrene*, GrD. 97[1]; *He becom to þam ofne in þam þa wif his nehgebyrne* (= *vicine mulieres*) . . . . *bocon heora hlafas*, ibid. 251[23]; *He þa witodlice bær þone hlaf geond þa wif his nehgebyrene*, ibid. 252[5].

***nēahland**, neighbourhood. *His modor gecunode to fedenne henna on hire huses cafortune, ac hig gelomlice awcg bær* 7 *abat an fox cumende of þam neahlande*, GrD. 69[28] (MS. H.).

nēahwudu, neighbouring wood [BT., H.]. *Full oft hit gelamp ƿ of þam neahwuda comon beran*, GrD. 229[27].

***nēodhūs**, necessary room. *Syn eac binnan claustre slæpern, beodern, hædernu,* 7 *ealle þa neodhus þe broðru beþurfon*, Chr., p. 33.

neorxnawanglic, of paradise [BT., H.]. *Her onginneð se þridda flod of ðam neorxnawanglican wylle þe þurh þone gyldenan muþ forð aarn þæs halgan papan . . . . Sce Gregories*, GrD. 179[1].

***nēowlinga**, anew. *Se man onginneþ þonne eft neowlinga lifigean*, GrD. 266[28] (MS. C.).

-nihte, -days old. See **ānnihte**.

***nihthwīl**, the period of a night. *Ne awacode he næfre for eallum þisum, to ðam werig he wære for þære anre nihthwile*, Wst. 147[9].

***nīþan**, to hate. *Þ hi symble æfæstiað oþra manna goddæde* 7 *hefelice niþað þa hi selfe no ðy ær habban willað*, GrD. 117[5].

***niþerflōr**, lower story. *Se diacon gereste hine on þære nyðerflore þæs ylcan stypeles.* 7 *wæs on þære ylcan stowe trum stæger mid gewissum stapum fram þære nyðerflora to þære upflora*, GrD. 170[17] (MS. H.).

nīðgrama, anger [BT., H.]. *Clænsige his heortan gehwa fram æghwilcum niðgraman* 7 *hetelican yrre*, Wst. 180[9].

***nīðig**, envious, malicious. *Þa niðigan* 7 *þa æfstigan* 7 *þa yðbylgean*, Verc., f. 17[b], l. 12. Cf. also **lēasferhð**.

nōwend, ship-master, skipper, mariner [BT., H.]. In NGl. note to 1, 32, I pointed out that the gloss *naucleri* = *nowendes* occurs in six MSS., and gave an additional instance of the word from MS. 41 (= S. 2), C.C.C. Cambr., p. 411, where St. Michael is spoken of as *se æðela nowend*. To these may be

[1] Note the form *hriddern*, which occurs again pp. 97[26]; 97[33]; 98[5]. Cf. the modern dialectal *ruddern* (Dorsetshire) in Wright's Dial. Dict.

added the following: *Soðlice his nowent, þam wæs nama Uaraca . . . se nowent rihte ȳ lytle ærene scip þe wiþhindan þam maran scipe gefæstnod wæs* (= *Nauta . . . post navem carabum regebat*). *Þa wearð se rap tobrocen, 7 he færinga onweg gewat mid þam ilcan ærenan scipe . . . 7 þa þy þryddan dæge þa þa se biscop ne geseah ætywan . . . þone nowent, þe ær fram him gegripen wæs fram þam ærenan scipe, he . . . hine untweogendlice deadne gelyfde*, GrD. 346[35]; *Þa onweg anumenum þam nowende 7 geedniwodon þam scipe, se biscop ferde to Suþlangbeardum; 7 þa þa he com to Romana hyþe, he gemette þone ylcan nowent . . . Þa wæs se biscop swiðe gefeande for þære ungewenedlican blisse*, ibid. 347[14]. Cf. O.N. *nór*, a ship (= *nōw-*), Lat. *nāvis*.

***numol**, mordax. The dictionaries record it as glossing *capax*; cf. also NGl. 1, 3101. *Swa swa deaðes geferan, swa forfleoh þu ȳ numele win* (= *ut mortis socium, sic mordax effuge vinum*), Chr., p. 121.

nunfæmne, a nun [BT., H.]. *Be þære nunfæmnan þe bat þone lahctuc*, GrD. 10[1]; 30[23]; *Þa behead seo halige nunfæmne*, ibid. 223[14]; *Sum mycel aga* (= *possessor*) . . . . . *se wæs beswicen mid þyses middaneardes synlustum ȳ he nyde genam ane nunfæmnan*, ibid. 230[13]. It occurs also p. 242[10]; 242[14] (see quot. under **wæccendlīce**); 340[24]; 340[26].

nunlīf, life of a nun [BT., H.]. *Haliges nunlifes drohtoð heo sohte 7 wilnode*, GrD. 199[16].

***ofdūneweard, -des**, adv., downwards. *Þa underfeng hine sona seo yþ 7 teah ofduneweardes*, GrD. 114[33]. See also quot. under **stoc**.

oferdrincere, drunkard [BT.]. In H. from Assm. 147[95], 148[124]. Cf. quotations under **unrihthæmedfremmere** and **woruldstrang**.

***oferflōwendlic**, superfluous. The dictionaries have the adv. from Hpt. Gl. 527 (cf. NGl. 1, 5387). *Uton hicgan eallum mægene mid his fultume ȳ we us oferflowedlice þing fram awurpan*, Lambeth, f. 46, l. 9.

***oferhlūde**, adv., overloudly. The dictionaries have the adj. *Ne sceal ma[n] sealmas . . . . ofstlice singan, ne oferhlude*, Chr., p. 89.

***oferhygdiglīce**, arrogantly, presumptuously. *Forþon þe heo hi symble ahebbað oferhigdilice ongen þa bebodu þære soðfæstnesse*, GrD. 197[16].

***oferhygdlīce**, presumptuously. *Gif we ahsiað nu þone þe þus oferhidlice ana halgað Drihtnes lichaman 7 his blod, hwæt wile he secgan?* Chr., p. 138.

***oferlyftlic**, above the air (applied to the second heaven). *Siofon heofonas sindon in gecritum leornode: ƿ is se lyftlica heofon 7 se oferlyftlica 7 se fyrena* (MS. *fyrenan*) *heofon 7 se stronga heofon, þe we rodor hataþ, 7 se egeslica heofon 7 engla heofon 7 heofon þære halgan þrinnisse*, S. 2, p. 292; *þonne sio duru þæs oferlyftlican heofones is inemned Elioth*, ibid., p. 292.

***oferwelig**, very rich. *Ða forlegenan 7 þa goduracan 7 þa ofe*[*r*]*welgan*, Jun. 85, f. 35 b, l. 16. The *ofe* stands at the edge of the parchment, so that the *r*, which was no doubt written, has been lost.

***offrungclāþ**, offertory cloth. *iii offringclaþas*, St. E., f. 107.

***offrunghūs**, house of sacrifice. *Ic geceas þas stowe me to offrunghuse*, Jun. 22, f. 246, l. 9.

***oflǣthlāf**, sacramental wafer. *Þa genam he mid him twegen oflæthlafas on beagwisan abacene*, GrD. 343 [15].

oftacan. See **tacan.**

***oftþwēal**, frequent washing. *Eawla, wif! To hwan wenest þu þines lichoman hæle mid smyringe 7 oftþwealе 7 oðrum liðnessum?* Verc., f. 58, l. 5.

***ofþylman**, to choke, suffocate. *He symlede æt his beodgereordum ƿ ic wæs oft swiðe neah ofþylmed 7 asmorod*, Verc., f. 22 b, l. 2.

***oma**, wk. m., or **ome**, wk. f.? a liquid measure. *He cwæð ƿ he sceolde syllan his hlaforde hundteontig oman mid ele ametene*, Trin., p. 400, l. 2. This is no doubt a loan-word from the Latin *ama* (*hama*) (from Grk. ἄμη), 'a water bucket,' which later came to mean 'a measure of wine.' It was also borrowed into M.H.G. as *âme, ôme*, whence N.H.G. *Ohm*. It is the Mod. Dutch *aam*, which was adopted into English in the fifteenth century, and remained in use as *alme, awme, ame* till the eighteenth century as the name of a liquid measure for Rhenish wine.

onēgan, with reflex dat., to fear. It is not, as indicated in S., confined to poetry. *Þ halige wif ne ondred hire naht þære utran scame 7 unfægernesse . . . . ne naht næs hire swiðor onegende, þonne ƿ hwyle wom 7 fulnes in hire wære*, GrD. 279 [17].

***onfōndlic**, accipiendus. Cf. **sellendlic.**

onrid, riding horse, steed [BT., H.]. *Ælcon hiredmen his onrid þe he alæned hæfde*, NSCh., p. 23 [25]; †*Dauid . . . . bead heom ƿ heo of heorœ anride lihtæn sceoldon*, NRT., p. 18 [29]; cf. NRT., p. 38, and NSCh., p. 132.

onsetl, a sitting on, riding on [BT., H.]. *Forþon he hit mid his onsetle* (by riding on the horse) *him sylfum to æhte ær gehalgode*, GrD. 183 [16].

***onswornod,** confused. Cf. **āswornod.**

***onwegādrifennes,** a driving away. *7 þa, gehyredre þære his stemne . . . . for ðære onwegadrifennesse se awyrgda gast his sceamode,* GrD. 185 [13].

***onwegfæreld,** departure. *Soðlice þa þes forecwedena mæssepreost gestod in þam solore þæs mynstres 7 ongæt 7 gefeah Benedictes onwegfæreld, þa, þurhwuniendum unonwendedlice eallum þam getimbre þæs hames, ƿ wundorhus (= solarium) gefeoll, in þam stod se æfstiga mæssepreost,* GrD. 119 [26].

ōretla, contumely, insult [BT., H.]. *He . . . sloh þone Godes wer . . . ƿ he mid oretlan gebysmrod ut eode of þære cyrican,* GrD. 200 [16].

orleahtor, danger. It is in the dictionaries, but BT. has only instances from the glosses. But cf. Chr., p. 2, *Hwæt is us selre to donne, þe on swa pleolicum orleahtre (= in tam graui discrimine) synd becumene?*

***orþanclic,** intelligent? See quot. under **gehyhtendlic.**

***pīpian,** to blow the pipe. *An stan is in Sicilia haten* (so MS., we must supply *achates* before *haten*), *se wæs on Pires hyrnesse Persea cyninges, þæs ansyne is, swilce an man pipige mid nigon pipan 7 an man hearpige,* ZfdA. xxxiv, 234. Cf. von Fleischhacker's note, where he quotes from Pliny, xxxvii, 3: *Namque habuisse traditur* (i.e. Pyrrhus) *achaten in qua novem Musæ et Apollo citharam tenens spectarentur.*

***plyccan,** to pluck. *Ðonne þu setrægel habban wille, þonne plice þu ðine agene geweda mid twam fingrum,* KlZs. 50; *Gylecan tacen his* (so MS. for *is*) *þæt þu streece forð þin wenstre handstoc and plyce innan mid þinre wynstran hande,* ibid. 105. This verb answers to the M.E. **plicchen, plighte,* 'to pluck.' Can the *plicgeð* [1] = *scalpit* and *plicet* = *adludit,* which is cited in BT. from the Boulogne Prudentius Gll. (= PGH. 396 and 397), be the same verb? The latter is given in BT. s.v. *plicettan,* and the meaning assigned to it is 'to expose to danger,' but the sense is 'plays with' (*ut vitulum lupus rapturus adludit prius,* Prudentius, *Peristeph.* v, 20).

***predicung,** preaching. See quotation under **bisceopung.** Cf. **wordpr-.**

***prēostgesamnung,** body or community of priests. *Ðy on ælcre preostgesamnunge is ælc þrystnes forboden,* Chr., p. 70.

[1] Holder prints *pliged,* but Thorpe (Appendix B to Cooper's Report, p. 146) has *pliegeð.*

***prēosthīred**, body or community of priests. *Cleri = preosthiredes*, NGl. 1, 3006; *Hit is gewuna on manegum preosthiredum*, Chr., p. 20; *Se ærcediacon 7 se prauost . . . . lufian þone preosthyred*, ibid., p. 29; *Swa hwile swa an preosthirede eild biꝺ*, ibid., p. 85; *Gif hwyle broꝺor an preosthyrede biꝺ þe þa gesettan tida forgymeleasaꝺ oꝺꝺe into cyrcan unæwfæstlice 7 prutlice oꝺꝺe unsydelice gæꝺ*, ibid., p. 96. See also quot. under **rǣdinggrād**.

prēostlic, canonical [BT.]. H. gives ref. to Ang. xiii, 451. *Ðeah þa forhicgendan þæra preostlicra gesetednyssa beon healice þæs bisceopes dome to witnienne*, Chr., p. 95; *Eac ic mingie þæt hi gemunon þæs preostlican regoles*, ibid., p. 150.

***prēostrēaf**, priestly garment. *Be þære gesceadwisnysse on gyrelan þæs preostreafes* (= *Ut in cultu vestium discretionem teneant*), Chr., p. 103.

***prēostregol**, canonical rule. *Libbaꝺ clænre heortan 7 clænon lichaman an eowrum preostregole*, Chr., p. 147; *Ic mingie eac ealle eowre underþeoddan preostas þæt hi . . . . gehicgen þæt hi gefyllon heora preostregol*, ibid., p. 150; *Beo betwyx eallum geþwære sybb 7 halig lufu 7 estfullnes lifes be preostregole*, ibid., p. 156.

prūtian, to be proud [BT., H.]. *Gif ma[n] . . . . þone ærcediacon oꝺꝺe þone prauost agyte ꝼ hi wyllon modiggan oꝺꝺe prutian*, Chr., p. 29; *Gif him deoflu hwæt on heora geþance lære[n], hwanon hi modigian magon oꝺꝺe prutian*, ibid., p. 168.

***putung**, instigation. *Hation ꝼ þurh deofles putunge wæs an belæd* (= *Oderint quod instinctu diaboli ingestum est*), 7 *lufian ꝼ þurh Godes godnysse gesceapon wæs*, Chr., p. 99. For M.E. cf. Hampole, Ps. 35, 12: *And the hand of the synful, that is the puttynge of the fende, stire me not till syn.* It is the verbal sb. of an O.E. verb **putian*, 'to push, shove,' whence M.E. *puten*, N.E. to *put*. An O.E. **putian* is not recorded, but there is a *potian*, 'to push, thrust, prod, butt,' for which BT. has two instances. An early twelfth century example is in S. 17, p. 225, l. 15, *Þær hi sceolan þa wyrmes toslittan 7 deofla potian*. For the root vowel cf. *cnucian* and *cnocian*.

***pyff**, a puff (of wind). See my note in PBB. xxiv, 245.

***rǣdinggrād**, lectern, steps to lectern? *Þonne he þæder geclypod cume . . . ætforan þam bisceope 7 þam preosthirede, þonne astrecce he hine . . . an eorꝺan ætforan þam rædinggrade* (= *ante absidam*), Chr., p. 56.

***regol**, a ruler (for drawing lines). See quotation under **regolian**.

***regolian**, to draw lines with a ruler. *Regoles tacen is ꝼ þu*

wecge þine hand 7 stryce mid þinum scytefingre andlang þinre wynstran handa, swylce þu regolige, KlZs. 46; *Gyf þu reogolsticcan næbbe, þonne strece þu þine hand upweard 7 stric mid þinum scytefingre andlang þinre wynstran hande, swilce þu regolige*, ibid. 115.

remian, to mend [H., S.]. *Se Hælend . . . . gemette oðre twegen gebroðra, Iacobum 7 Iohannem, on scipe mid heora fæder Zebedeo remigende heora nett*, Archiv, ci, p. 323. See my note, ibid., p. 311; the five MSS. (containing this passage) which I consulted agree in reading *remigende* or *remiende*. BT. gives one example of it, viz. the rendering of this same passage (Matth. iv, 21) in the West Saxon Gospels, the MSS. of which agree in reading *remigende*. BT. takes it as miscopied for *renigende* (*rēn-* = *regn-*, from *regnian*, 'to put in order, arrange'), but this second instance of the word, independent as it is, confirms the existence of a verb *remian*, 'to mend.'

***rihtendebyrdnes**, right order. *Elles ealle healdon . . . . hyra rihtendebyrdnysse*, Chr., p. 14.

***rihtgefēg**, proper joint. *Eall þæs scipes fæt wæs acweht 7 for ðam myccelum yþum tolysed 7 toslopen fram eallum his rihtgefegum*, GrD. 248 [26].

***rihtgemet**, right measure. *Wite se ealdor ƿ he hæbbe ealoð his rihtgemet*, Chr., p. 24.

***rihtgesceād**, right understanding. *Forþon ƿ rihtgescead me onlyhte þa deogolnesse þurh þine gesægene*, GrD. 56 [2].

***rihtgesetednes**, right ordinance, institution, rule. *Gif hwa ongean þas gesetednyssa oððe oðre swilce rihtgesetednyssa beo togeþunden*, Chr., p. 97; cf. also above s.v. **inwunung**.

***rihtgewittig**, rational, sane. *Þ getacnaþ ƿ seo rihtgewittuge sawl siteð on þam lichaman*, GrD. 245 [22]; *Hwylc rihtgewittigra manna is to þon snotor ƿ he wylle þa gastas secgan lichamlice?* ibid. 305 [2].

***rihtlīfhād**, right mode of life. *Halige men gebiddaþ for heora geondum on þa tide ƿ hi magon . . . . hi gehælan mid hyra sylfra rihtlifiade*, GrD. 336 [1].

rihtraciend, preacher [BT., H.]. *Seo boc* (Ecclesiastes) *is agendlice on Ænglise rihtraciend gehaten*, GrD. 264 [21]. It occurs again GrD. 265 [4]; 265 [8]; 266 [17]; 267 [11]; 267 [18].

rihtþēow, -þēowa, lawful slave [BT., H.]. *Sæge ƿ ic þin rihtþeowa sy, 7 syle me on þeowdome for hine*, GrD. 180 [6] (MS. C.). MS. O. has *rihtþeow*.

***riscbrōc**, rushy brook. Cf. NSCh., p. 63.

***†rōt**, a root. *Se Godes freond cwæð þ he leofode be weode 7 be wyrtan roten 7 be wæteres drence*, S. 17, p. 122, l. 4; *He leofede be wyrtan rotan*, ibid., p. 124, l. 32; *Forþan ðe he nolde þ ða roten fordrugode wæron*, NRT., p. 4[26]. H. and S. have the compound *rotfæst* from the *Chronicle*, A.D. 1127.

***ruhha**, a ray? See **suhha**.

***rūmgāllīce**, widely. *Þa þe her rumgallice ofer Godes riht ricsiað, þa beoð þær on mæstum racenteagum*, Verc., f. 17, l. 22 (this passage is also in S. 2, p. 258).

sæscyll, sea shell [BT., H.]. *Þa he* (St. Felix) *þ nolde, he wæs nacod on carcern onsænded 7 þær understregd mid sæscellum 7 mid scearpum stanum*, MH. 18[21].

samlinga (by-form of *samn-*), immediately [BT., S.]. Cf. my note in Ang. xv, 207.

***samlocen**, half-closed. *Gyf þu candelsticcan habban wille, þonne blaw þu on þinum scytefingre 7 hald þine hand samlocene, swylce þu candelstæf hæbbe*, KlZs. 26; *Hafa þu þine wynstran hand samlocene*, ibid. 80; *Þæs bæcernes tacne is þ mon mid bam samlocone handum togædere*,[1] ibid. 111.

***samodgang**, communication (from one room to another). *Witodlice in þære stowe fram þam nyþeran dæle into þam uferan wæs samodgang þurh gewisne upstige*, GrD. 170[33]. This is the reading of MS. C.; MS. O. has *somedtoneg*. Can it be that O. is right, and that we have here a substantive *samodtang* used in the sense of 'connection, communication'?

***samodtang**, adj., continuous, successive. *Gedo þ man on þyssum þrytigum dagum samodtangum* (= *diebus triginta continuis*) *ælce dæge geoffrige for hine*, GrD. 345[28] (in MS. C. only); *Swa hit þa wæs geworden þ he eode þa vi samodgongan dagas* (= *per sex continuos dies*) *genoh bliþe 7 orsorh him to cyrcan*, ibid. 309[6] (in MS. O. only). There can be little doubt that we have the same word in both passages, and that *samodgongan* is miswritten for *-tongan*; cf. *gadertang*, 'continuous, connected with'; *gædertangnes*, 'continuation'; *getang, getanglīce*, 'near, together'; *getenge*, 'close to' (= O. Sax. *bitengi*, O.H.G. *gizengī*), etc.; also, with different ablaut, *samtinges*, 'without interval, immediately.'

***samodtang**, sb., communication, connection? Cf. **samodgang**.

***samodwist**, a being one with. *Swa myccle ma we gefremede beoð under eadmodnesse to þære samodwiste þæs ordfruman eallra*

[1] So MS.; there is a vb. missing.

gesceafta (= *quanto cum auctore omnium efficimur per humilitatem*), GrD. 224 [4].

***samstorfen**, half dead. *Seminecem* = *samstorfenne*, PGH. 401.

***samweaxen**, half grown up. *Ælc man hæfð swaþeah his agene lenge on þære mycelnesse þe he man wæs ær, oððe he beon scolde, gif he full weoxe, se ðe on cildhade oððe samweaxen gewat*, MS. Jun. 99, fol. 109 [b], l. 8 (also in MS. Trin., p. 266, and other MSS.).

sārspell, lament. This word is recorded in BT., H., and S., and BT. gives an instance from Hy. 4, 96. S. marks the word as only occurring in poetry, but it is also found in prose: *Se man sæde fram helle siðfæte swylc sarspell swylce næfre ær on men ne becom, ne naht oft siððan*, MH. 16 [3].

sceaftrihte, in a straight line [BT., H.]. Cf. NSCh., p. 54.

***†scearnbudda**, dung-beetle. *Scarabeus* = *scearnbudda*, ÆG. 308 [1] (MS. W.).

***sceaðful**, hurtful. *Swa þonne geweorðeð ƿ we becumaþ þonne fram þam idlan wordum to þam sceaðfullum*, GrD. 209 [26].

scēawere, a mirror. *Nu we men geseoð swylce þurh sceawere 7 on rædelse* (1 Cor. 13 [12]), Jun. 99, fol. 114 [b], l. 15 (also in MS. Trin., p. 279, and other MSS.). Cf. also †Ang. xi, 374 [78], *On þan halgen gewriten se mann hine sylfne mæig sceawigen swa swa on hwylcen sceawere* (from Vesp., fol. 106). The word is in the dictionaries, but BT.'s only instance is a gloss = WW. 152 [38]. *Speculea* = *sceawere*.

scegð, a boat of considerable size (not a small, light boat). Cf. NSCh., p. 128.

***sceoccen**, devilish (from *sceocca*, *scucca*). *Man toheow þa mid ticmælum þone sceoccenan god*, S. 6, p. 159, l. 12.

***sceppe**, a measure. *Her stent ða forwarde ðe Æþeric worhte wiþ þan abbode on Niwentune, ƿ is iii sceppe mealtes 7 healf sceppe hwæte, an slægryðer, v scep . . . . Leofstan abbod doð to þis fermfultum an sceppe malt 7 iii hund hlafe 7 vi fliccen 7 oþer vi to fyllincge into þan ealdan fyrme*, St. E., f. 106 [b]. This word, which is from O.N. *skeppa*, 'a measure, a bushel,' still survives in the modern dialects as *skep*, 'a basket'; the earliest instances hitherto recorded are late M.E. (fifteenth century). Though not in the later O.E. dictionaries, *sceppe* is to be found in Lye and Bosworth (cf. note to **scoru**).

scimrian, to glisten, shine [H.]. BT. only has an instance, from a gl. But see quot. under **dægredlēoma**.

scinlic, phantasmal, magic [H.]. It is not confined to Late

Northumbrian, as indicated in S. *Be þam ꝧ preostas hi warnien wiꝺ þa scynlican hiwinga deofla prættes*, Chr., p. 167.

scipfæreld, sea-journey [BT., H.]. *Sume dæge men wæron on scipfærelde of Siccilia þam ealande*, GrD. 273[18].

scoru, a score [BT., S.]. *Heron stent gewriten hwæt man funde æt Eggemere syꝺꝺan Cole hit let. Ðæt is vii oxen* 7 *viii ey* 7 *iiii feldhryþera* (glossed by *pascuales vituli*) 7 *ii stottas* (gl. by *equi uiles*) 7 *v scora* (gl. by *quinquies uiginti*) *scæp . . . .* 7 *viii score* (gl. by *octies uiginti*) *æcere gesawen* 7 *i flicce* (gl. by *an bacun*), St. E., f. 108. The history of this word is interesting: it first appears in Lye (and the same holds good of the words *sceppe, stott, manslot*), with the ref. "Cart. ad calc. C.R. Ben.," i.e. to the MS. of the Benedictine Rule at C.C.C. Cambridge. This is incorrect, as the words occur not in the *Cambridge* MS., but in documents at the end of the MS. of the Ben. Rule at C.C.C. *Oxford*. From Lye Bosworth took them over together with the wrong ref., but Toller, presumably because he was unable to verify the ref., excluded them, and hence they have disappeared from the dictionaries.[1] In the case of *scoru*, Schröer called attention to it in RBS., p. xxii, and also Skeat in the Supplement to the first ed. of his Etym. Dict. in 1884, but it is to be found neither in BT. nor S.; H. gives it without a ref. on the authority of Skeat. Even now its existence does not seem to be generally known, for Björkman in his Scandin. Loan-words in M.E., 1900, p. 129, mentions O.E. *scor* as having been quoted by Kluge, but states that he has been unable to find any O.E. instance of it. As the retention of the *sk* sound shows, it is of Scandinavian origin, O.N. *skor*. Note the early occurrence of the Norman French *bacun*.

***scrapian**, to scrape. *Gyf þu ægera beþurfe, þonne scrapa þu mid þinum fingre up on þinne wynstran þuman*, KlZs. 67. This is the O.E. source of M.E. *schrapen*; the N.E. *scrape* is, of course, from the O.N. *skrapa*.

***scrūdfeoh**, money for buying clothes. See quot. under **hogg**.

***sealtflǣsc**, salted meat. *Ðonne þu for hwylcere neode sealtflæsc wille, þonne twenge þu mid þinre swiꝺran neoþewearde þine wynstran, þær se lyra þiccost si,* 7 *do mid þinum þrim fingrum, swilcce þu sealte*, KlZs. 78. Or read *sealt flæsc*?

***sealting**, dancing. *Mæssepreostas . . . . ne beon an þam geferscypum þær ma[n] wogerlice leoꝺ* 7 *tællice singe, oꝺꝺe þær*

[1] Except that H. has *scor* from Skeat.

lichamana beoð fracodlice gebæru mid saltingum 7 tumbincgum, Chr., p. 130.

***searumete**, dainty, delicacy. *He fylde his wambe mid searumettum 7 mid oferfyllo*, Verc., f. 22, l. 2 (S. 2, p. 275, where this passage also occurs, has *searomettum*).

***sellendlic**, dandus. *Witodlice swa hwylce swa wenað þæt soð lufu sy on æte 7 on wæte, oþþe on oþrum anfondlicum 7 sellendlicum þingum* (= *et dandis atque accipiendis rebus*), *na hwonlice hie dwelias*, Theod., f. 104[b]; *ðe næfre gystas on husærne onfoð, buton sellendlices gysthuses med ær apinsod sy* (= *nisi prius dandi hospitii merces compensetur*), ibid., f. 97.

***semnendlic**, immediate. The dictionaries have the adverb. *Arrianus . . . . wearð slegen mid semnendlicre blindnesse*, GrD. 235[4] (MS. O.); *Hi gewunedon in þære symnenlican 7 færlican wafunge*, ibid. 284[23] (MS. O.).

***sēocmōd**, not strong-minded. See quot. under **snȳtan**.

sicor, *†sicorlīce, *†sicornes. The dictionaries record the simple *sicor* with the single reference to the CP. 425[3]. It, however, also occurs in the early twelfth century MS. Vesp. D. 14, in an Engl. version of Alcuin's De virtutibus: cf. Ang. xi, 377[139], *Swyðe sicore forgyfonysse se mæig him biddan æt Gode, se þe*, etc. The compounds *sicorlice* and *sicornes*, both of which occur in M.E., and are still in use in the Northern dialects, are not recorded in the O.E. dictionaries, but both are found in MS. Vesp. D. 14. Cf. Max Förster, *Furnivall Celebration Volume*, p. 92[48], *For þan þe þa apostles scolden witen sicerlice ƿ he arisen wæs of deaðe*. The substantive occurs in MS. Vesp. D. 14, fol. 163, *þa habbeð mycele mede, for heo habbeð blisse for þære sicornysse Godes rice*[s]. Note the use of *for* as a conjunction; it is common in MS. Vesp. D. 14, cf. H. A. Vance, *Der spätangelsächsische Sermo in Festis S. Mariæ Virginis*, Darmstadt, 1894, p. 16. The two earliest instances of *for* conj. in the NED. are from this MS.

***slecgwyrhta**, a worker in metals. *Þæt oþer wif Sella acende Tubalcain, þe wæs slecgwirhta 7 smið* (= *malleator et faber*), Genesis iv, 22 (printed by Chase in Archiv, c, p. 254, and reprinted in Cook's *Biblical Quotations in O.E. Prose Writers*, 2nd series, p. 307).

***sleghrīðer**, ox or cow for slaughtering. Cf. quotation s.v. **sceppe**. Cf. *slegnēat* in the dictionaries.

[**slīc**, sleek, smooth, cunning.] This word, supposed to be the parent of N.E. *sleek*, is included in all the modern dictionaries

on the authority of a fragment printed by Cockayne in his *Narratiunculæ*, p. 50, where he read *slicera*. The Latin original has *sapientior*, and Max Förster has recently shown (Archiv, cviii, 21) that the MS. had not *slicera*, but *snotera*, the *t* and the right half of the *o* being lost in consequence of a tear; Cockayne read what remained of the *o* as *c*, and the *n* as *li*.

***slūmere**, a sleeper. See quotation under **swefecere**.

***smēalicnys**, subtlety. *Preostas synt to myngienne ȳ hi beon ware ȳ hi ne wurðon beswicene fram deoflum þurh geþanca smealicnysse*, Chr., p. 167.

***smiðbylg**, smith's bellows. *Þeah mon þone garsecg mid isernun weallum utan betyne . . . . 7 hine þonne utan besette mid smiþbylium*, Jun. 23, f. 145 b, l. 5. The same passage occurs in SS., p. 8 (from MS. Tiberius A. 3), where the reading is *smiðbelgum*, an in Wst. 146 29, which has the uncompounded *byligeon*.

smolt, lard, fat [BT.]. It is in S. without ref., and in H. wit ref., to the interlinear version of Æðelwold's *De consuetudi monachorum*, Ang. xiii, 404. In *In septuagesima pinguedo inter mittatur usque in quinquagesimam*, the word *pinguedo* is glossed b *smolt*. Cf. also: *Þær sculan eac ii fætte swyn up arisan to smol oððe iii oran*, St. E., f. 108. Cf. O.N. and Low German *smolt*, Dutch *smout*. It is connected with the Germanic vb. **smeltan*, N.H.G. *schmelzen*, 'to melt.'

***snyflung**, mucus (from the nose). Cf. **snȳtan**. It is the verbal subst. from an unrecorded **snyflan* (from *snofl*, 'mucus'), whence M.E. *snivelen*, N.E. *to snivel*.

***snȳtan**, to clear the nose. *Gif heora ænegum for unhæle hraca of breoste oððe snyflung of nosa derige, hræce 7 snyte bæftan him oððe adun be his sidan, 7 þæt fortrede, þe læs hit seocmodum broþrum 7 cisum wyrðe to wlættan . . . . 7 on cyrcan 7 on portice 7 on ælere stowe, swa hwæt swa ma[n] him fram hræce oððe snyte, fortrede hit mid his fotum*, Chr., p. 35. The dictionaries have the verbal substantive *snȳting*, 'sneezing,' and *candelsnȳtels*, 'snuffers,' but not the vb. *snȳtan*. This verb, which presupposes the existence of an O.E. **snūt* (whence M.E. *snoute*, N.E. *snout*), still survives in the dialects; it is, of course, cognate with O.N. *snȳta*, N.H.G. *schneuzen*, etc.

***speresceaft**, spear-shaft. See quotation under **fǣrærning**.

***†spillan**, to spill. See **gespillan**.

†sprott, a fish-name, sprat. See note to **culling**. BT. has only one instance, from Ang. viii, 310.

***stælðing**, theft. *Þe læs þa þenas . . . . þara broðra god þurh stælðing* (= *furtim*) *ætferion*, Chr., p. 30.

***stæþhlȳpe**, sb., a steep place. The dictionaries have the adj. *Þa þa he geseah manige men gan þurh þa stæþhlypan heora uncysta* (= *per abrupta vitiorum*), GrD. 95 [16]. See also quot. under **holnes**.

***stāncynn**, kind of stone. *Abestus* (= asbestos) *hatte sum stancynn on Claudea rice* (= Arcadia), ZfdA. xxxiv, 233.

***stearcmōd**, stubborn. *Hit is neod þam þe oð þis modig 7 prut 7 upahafen wære, 7 stearcmod lyfede*, Chr., p. 13.

***stēorlēaslic**, not under control, undisciplined, wild. *He yfelsacode . . . Godes mægnþrym . . . in manegum gymeleaslicum wordum þe steorleaslicu cildru gewuniað to sprecane*, GrD. 289 [10].

stoc, house, dwelling-place, place [H., S.]. In BT. only as place-name. *Þ aborstene clif hreas þa ofduneweard . . . . oþ Þ hit com þær hit mynte feallan ofer Þ mynster, 7 Þ þonne wære hryre ealles þæs stoces 7 forwyrd ealra þæra broðra*, GrD. 12 [12]; *Þa sona in Cassinum Þ stoc he onbead þam æfæstan were Þ*, etc., GrD. 172 [8] (MS. O.). MS. C. has *in C. þære stowe*; MS. H. has *on C. þam stocwic*.[1] Cf. *Ormulum*, l. 1050, *O tweȝȝenn stokess*; l. 9778, *I faderr stoke*; l. 15694, *Inn oþre stokess*; and modern place-names.

***stōrfæt**, censer. *Ðonne þu storfæt habban wille, þonne wend þu þine hand ofdune 7 wege hi, swylce þu styre*, KlZs. 24.

***stott**, a kind of horse. See quotation under **scoru**. The earliest other instance of the word known to me is in the thirteenth century *Owl and Nightingale*. To judge from the gloss *equi uiles*, it must in O.E. have denoted an inferior kind of horse, but by Chaucer's time its meaning seems to have altered, for his reeve "sat upon a ful good stot." Lye and Bosworth both have it in the incorrect form *stotte* (cf. note to **scoru**). Wright (Dial. Dict.) quotes a now obsolete seventeenth century North Country *stot*, 'a young horse.' Is it the same as the M.E. *stott*, 'a bullock,' which still survives in the dialects?

***strætlanu**, street. *Seo strætlanu is on ðære byrig of clænum golde geworht*, S. 5, p. 385, l. 17.

***strichrægl**? a cloth for rubbing or wiping with? *Eadgyfe his swyster an strichrægl*, NSCh., p. 23 [21].

stroccian, to stroke [BT., H.]. *Gyf þe meolce lyste, þonne strocca þu þinne wynstran finger mid þinre swyþra*[*n*] *handa þam gelice swylce þu melce*, KlZs. 66.

[1] This is the only instance of *stocwic* in BT.

***strūdian**, wk. vb., to plunder. *Þa þa ðu swiðust strudadest 7 oðre men mid wo reafodest, ða greowon unc þa ecan witu*, Verc., f. 22ᵇ, l. 20. Cf. **gestrūdian**.

***suflmete**, a relish. *He het beran mid him þone suflmete þe he ær het gegearwian*, GrD. 201 [26].

***†suhha** = *fannus*, a fish-name. See note to **culling**. *Suhha* is, I take it, miscopied for *ruhha*, and we apparently have here a late O.E. instance of the later M.E. *roȝe*, corresponding to Middle Low German *ruche*, *roche*, whence N.H.G. *Roche*, 'the ray.' Its precise relation to O.E. *reohhe* = *fannus* (WW. 181 [6]; 319 [17]; ÆG. 308 [6]), M.E. *rehȝe* (see NED. s.v. *reigh*), is not clear.

***sumerbōc**, a lectionary for the summer. *Brihtric hæfð . . . . 1 mæsseboc 7 winterrædingboc 7 sumerboc*, St. E., f. 107. The dictionaries have *sumerrædingboc*.

***sunnanlēoma**, light of the sun, sunbeam. *Swa swa he sylf syððan rehte, þ eac eall middaneard swylce under anum sunnanleomane gelogod wære*, GrD. 171 [11] and 172 [22].

***swangettung**, movement, agitation. *Seo sæ getacnað þas andwerdan woruld, þe mid mislicum gelimpum ðære sæ swangetunge geefenlæcð*, Archiv, ci, p. 323. Cf. my note, ibid., p. 311.

***swefecere**, a sleeper; **swefecung**, sleep. *Þa gedwyldmen marc hæt on Grecisc Nictates (= Nyctages), 7 we on ure geþeode slumeras hi magon oððe swefeceras nemnan, 7 eac hi ma[n] mæg slaperas hatan*, Chr., p. 40; *Se hopa þæs toweardan ærystes, þonne þa rihtwysan swylce of slæpes swæfcunge arisað*, ibid., p. 41. The dictionaries give a vb. *āswefecian*, 'to eradicate, root up,' the source of which is WW. 395 [3] and 491 [20], *extirpatus* = *aswefecad*; these two gll. both go back to one original, and are a gl. to Aldhelm, *De laudibus virginitatis*, ed. Giles, p. 16 [27]. I strongly suspect that in the original the word was miswritten for *astefecad* = *astyfecad*, and that an *āswefecian*, 'to root up,' is non-existent.

***†swīgmæsse**, silent or still mass. *Se prest stod on þære swimæsse*, S. 17, p. 120, l. 6; *Se eadiga Egidius mæssode on þan nextan Sunnandæge, 7 ealswa he wæs on þære swigmesse 7 geornlice bæd for þon cinege*, ibid., p. 129, l. 31. Stratmann-Bradley has an instance of *swimesse* from Morris, O.E. Hom., 2nd ser., p. 97 (late twelfth century), but these are earlier.

***†swōtlīce**, adv., sweetly. BT. and S. have the adj. *Heo byð swa swotlice gefostrede*, Vesp., f. 162, l. 14.

[**swylt**, a whirlpool.] This word is given both in BT. and H., with the ref. Hpt. Gl. 468 (i.e. the Brussels Aldhelm MS., the gll.

from which were published in the ZfdA., vol. ix), *swyttes = gurgitis*. Both BT. and H. assume that *swyttes* stands for *swyltes*, and BT. suggests connection with *swelgan*, 'to swallow.' The passage in Aldhelm is *rapaci gurgitis alveo*, and in the Digby Aldhelm MS. (cf. NGl. 1, 2667) there is no gl. over *gurgitis*, but over *rapaci* is written *ueloci, swiftum*, which is quite correct. There can be little doubt, as I suggested in my note, that the *swyttes* in the Brussels MS. is for *swyftes*, the scribe wrongly regarding *rapaci* as a genitive and as agreeing with *gurgitis* and not with *alveo*.

sylhðe, team of oxen [BT., H.]. Cf. NSCh., p. 127.

†tacan, oftacan. The verb *tacan*, 'to take' (from O.N. *taka*), is recorded in late O.E. BT. gives two early twelfth century instances from the Chronicle in the sense of 'to take captive,' and Plummer in his glossary to the Chron. gives further examples of it in this sense. Also from the year 1135 Plummer quotes an instance *toc to uuerrien him*, 'took to making (began to make) war upon him,' which is, of course, imitated from the O.N. *taka at*, with the infinitive = 'to begin.' In the year 1127 we read in the Chron. *þet landfolc him wiðtoc* = 'received, accepted,' borrowed from O.N. *taka viðr*, 'to receive.' To these I can add two instances of another phrase evidently modelled on O.N. usage. In O.N. *taka á* meant 'to touch,' and in MS. S. 17 we find *tacan on* used in the same sense. *Soðlice þ ilce ele is swa mihtig 7 swa strange þ swa hwæt swa hit on tæcþ, þærrihtes hit eall forbærnð*, S. 17, p. 178, l. 21; *Hi dydon þa hwætlice ealswa heom getæht wæs, 7 sona swa þ ele toc on þ wæter, þa aras þær upp swiðe mycel fyr*, ibid., p. 179, l. 10.

***†oftacan**, to overtake. By the side of M.E. *overtaken* there existed in early M.E. a compound *oftaken* with the same meaning. The two remained in use side by side during the greater part of the M.E. period, but by the beginning of the fifteenth century it had been quite superseded by *overtake*. The earliest quotation for *oftaken* in the NED. is from Layamon, but MS. S. 17 affords us an earlier example. *Se wrecce mann þærrihtes awehte, 7 hrædlice up aras 7 arn æfter þam Godes deorlinge . . . . 7 he oftoc hine þa*, S. 17, p. 174, l. 10.

tæflung, gambling [BT.]. *Us syndon synderlice on þisum dagum forbodene . . . . idele spræca 7 tæflunga 7 beorscypas*, Cleopatra, B. 13, f. 49, l. 13. Also in Verc., f. 108, and in other MSS.

***tālfull**, blameworthy, reprehensible. Cf. quotation under **tōsōcn**.

***tamcian**, to tame, soothe. *Leohtlic hwyslung mæg hors tamcyan, 7 leonhwelpas gremian* (= *Lenis sibilus equos mitigat, catulos instigat*), Chr., p. 163. Can the *getaccodon* = *edomitis* (PGH. 402) be another instance? The original may have had *getæcodon*, and the copyist may have left the *m*-contraction out, and misread the *e* as *c*. The *untamcul* of PGH. 397 is, no doubt, a derivative of this vb. The vb. itself is a derivative of an O.E. **tamian*: cf. *stalcian* from *stalian*. On the syncope of the middle vowel, cf. Weyhe, PBB. xxxi, 48.

tending, a burning, stinging (of nettles) [BT., S.]. H. has *tending*, 'burning,' without ref., and BT., S. have *ātending*, 'incitement.' *He þa unscrydde his reafe 7 hine sylfne nacodne awearp 7 wylede on þæra þorna ordum 7 on þæra netela tendingum*, GrD. 101[17] (MS. H.). MS. C. has *tændlengum*, and MS. O. *tendlincgum*.

***tendling.** See **tending.**

***tesoward**, hurtful speech. *Þa he swiðust oðre men mid tesowordum tæl[d]e in his renceo, þa earnode he me þæs ecan teonan*, Vere. 22[b], l. 19. See also quot. under **gealpettung.**

***tilen, teolen**, studium [*tilian*]. *Þa þa he wæs swyðe georne behealdende ða teolone* (so MS. C.; MS. O. has *tilone*) *his gestliðnesse* (= *Cum hospitalitatis studio valde esset intentus*), GrD. 194[12].

timple, a toothed implement used in weaving. See quot. under **ātimplian.**

***†torfian**, intrans., to be tossed. *Þa geseah he an scip, ut on þære sæ, swa swiðe torfigende fram þan wealcendum sæs yðum ⁊ ealle þa men wendon ⁊ heora scip tobrocen wære*, S. 17, p. 120, l. 29. The dictionaries only record *torfian* as a transitive verb.

***tōsōcn**, a visiting. *Þa forman costnunga preosthades mannon cumað of wifa gelomlicre tosocne, 7 þanon weorðað preostas talfulle*, Chr., p. 109.

***†tōslǣfan**, to cut in pieces. *Ða tyn ælnæ heo on twa toslæfdon 7 on ðam ilcæn temple hit all biheowen*, NRT. 32[2]. It is the causative of *tōslīfan*.

***trendan**, intrans., to roll. In NGl. 1, 114, occurs the gloss: *teretes, .i. rotundos, sintrendende*. To it I gave the following note:—"H. has the less good reading *sintredende*: cf. *sintrendel*. In the *-trendende* of D. we have the ptc. of the O.E. vb. **trendan*, M.E. *trenden*, 'to roll, to turn,' N.E. *to trend*. Cf. also MS. NE. F. 4, 10 (MS. Bodley, 340), fol. 128, *and hi þa namon swiðe micelne stan 7 fortrendon þære byrgenne duru*, i.e. they closed the entrance to the sepulchre by rolling a large stone to it." I had overlooked

an instance which actually occurs of the uncompounded *trendan*. *Se æppel næfre þæs feorr ne trendde*ð, *he cy*ð *hwanon he com*, Ang. i, 285 (from MS. Faustina, A. x). Zupitza believed *trendde*ð to be miswritten for *trendla*ð, but I take it to be correct.

***tumbing**, dancing. Cf. quot. under **sealting**.

***twædding**, adulation. *þam gyltigum bro*ðrum . . . . *nateshwon ne sceolon þa o*ðre *bro*ðro *to swi*ðe *olæccan, ne hig mid twæddingum beswican* (= *aut eos adulationibus decipere*), Chr., p. 100; *Liccetung, twaddung*,[1] *murcnung* (= *dissimulatio, adulatio, murmuratio*), ibid., p. 61.

***twīfyrclian**, to be different from. See **forclas**.

þæt, adv., then, thence (in the charters). Cf. NSCh., p. 113.

þān, wet, moist. It is in the dictionaries, but BT. and H. only give ref. to the gll.[2] (WW. 446[13], 526[32]); it occurs, however, elsewhere: "*Syle me þine bletsunge. Þu sealdest me suþerne lond 7 drugiende. Geiece me þ 7 syle me þan.*" *Þa sealde se fæder hyre þan 7 wæt land bufan 7 þan 7 wæt beneo*ðan,[3] GrD. 245[19] (MS. O.); *Seo þonne asworette*ð *7 bideþ æt þam fæder þanes landes 7 wætes*, ibid. 245[23].

***þēofung**, thieving. See quotation under **mor*ðorcwalu**.

þēostrig, **þȳstrig**, dark. BT. only gives Northumbrian and Kentish instances, and S. regards it as not West-Saxon. Cf., however: *Gif þin eage by*ð *manfull, þonne by*ð *þin lichama eall þystrig*, GrD. 76[9].

***†þidercyme**, a coming thither. *Hi woldon þa helle belucen wi*ð *ures Drihtnes fore 7 wi*ð *his þidercyme*, S. 17, p. 73, l. 9.

***þrēatnes**, affliction, tribulation. *Hit gedafena*ð *þ hit sie on* ðam (sic) *nexstan tide, þonne hungor 7 sweorda gefeoht bi*ð, *7 mycel þreatnes geworden bi*ð, *7 manigra folca gefehta beo*ð, Verc., f. 80[b], l. 12.

***þrinlic**, threefold. *On* ðone (i.e. God) *we sceolon gelyfan þrynlicne on hadum 7 anlicne on spedum*, MS. Cleopatra B. 13, f. 44, l. 7. This same passage also occurs in Verc., f. 106[b], and in other MSS.

þrōwerhād, martyrdom [BT., H.]. See **þrōwiend-** and **þrōwethād**.

[1] *twaddung* has been partly erased and then inked over by a later hand, so that I cannot be quite certain of the root vowel.

[2] This is a gl. to Aldhelm's *De laudibus virginum*, ed. Giles, 174[36].

[3] Joshua xv, 19.

***þrōwethād**, martyrdom. *Þ hi onfengon þa ungebrosnendlican lean þæs þrowethades*, GrD. 233 [15]; *Full manige men magon underfon þone þrowothad*, ibid. 233 [20] (so MS. C.; MS. O. has *ðrowerhad*).

***þrōwiendhād**, martyrdom. *Þæs þrowendhades seo geearnung byþ in deogolnesse*, GrD. 231 [8] (so MS. C.; MS. O. has *ðrowerhades*).

þrȳn, to press, bind. *Se lichoma liᵹ on eorðan ísne genearwod 7 mid racentunge* (sic) *geðryd 7 mid bendum gebunden 7 mid fetrum gefæstnod*, Verc., f. 117, bottom line; *Expræsit = geðryde vel awrat*, St. Matth., ed. Skeat, p. 3 [7]; *Eðiluald Lindisfearnolondinga biscob hit uta geðryde 7 gebelde*, St. John, ed. Skeat, p. 188; *Expressum = aþryd*, WW. 393 [29]; *Expilatam = aþryid*, ibid. 20 [16]; *Expil. = aþryd*, ibid. 231 [24]; *Expil. = aþrid*, ibid. 393 [4]; †*Pressus = beþrid*, FNGl. 40. Cf. Sievers, Ags. Gr., 3rd ed., §§ 117 and 408, anm. 18.

***þurhwunol**, perpetual. *Þam leofestan biscope . . . . an Cristes naman ic sende þurhwunule gretinge*, Chr., p. 155.

[**þys(s)**, a storm.] Cf my note in PBB. xxiv, 245.

unǣwfæstlīce, irreligiously [BT.]. See quot. under **prēosthīred.**

***unālogen**, not lied, true. *Ac him is hwæðre þæt soþe in heofonum gehealden mid urum Dryhtne Hælendum Christi þæt him ece 7 unalogen biᵹ*, Verc., f. 5, l. 2.

***unārwurðlic**, inhonestus. *Swa hit is eac unarwurðlic 7 bysmerlic Þ hig* (the canons) *oðres hades reaf werian*, Chr., p. 101.

***unāspringendlic**, unfailing. *Ic eom in heofona rice, þær is leoht 7 ece lif 7 unaspringenlic gefea*, Jun. 85, f. 14, l. 8.

underngeweorc, breakfast [BT., H.]. *Þa sealde he heom . . . . ane trywene flascan wines fulle to þon Þ hi mihton heom þa on heora færelde to underngeweorce habban*, GrD. 66 [12]; *Þa gelaðode se Drihtnes wer þysne cyning to underngeweorce*, ibid. 186 [3].

***unforspornen**, not hindered. Cf. **unforspurned.**

***unforspurned**, not hindered. *Þ we sceoldon on unforspurnedum fotum þisses andweardan weorces gan on þone weg þæs ecan lifes*, GrD. 60 [28] (this is the reading of MS. C., O. has *unforspornenen*, and H. has *unætspornenum*). Note the weak form *spurned*.

***ungedwimorlīce**, clearly, without any delusion. *Þ weolen underfeng wurðlice hine, him onhawigendum, ungedwimorlice*, Trin., p. 96, l. 10.

***ungefæd**, indiscretion, unreason. See instance given above s.v. **crēaslic.**

***ungefēa**, unhappiness. *Ða men þe mæstne dream . . . . butan Godes ondrysnum up ahebbaᵹ her on worulde, hie þonne eft mæste*

unrotnesse butan ende 7 mæstne ungefean butan ænigre blisse hie onfoð, Verc., f. 73, l. 13.

***ungefōg**, sb., excess, immanitas. As an adjective it is recorded in the dictionaries. *Weamode lareowas þurh hetolnysse heora reðscipes gehwyrfað þære lare gemet to ungefoge þære wælhreownysse* (= *ad immanitatem crudelitatis*), Chr., p. 114.

***ungenemnendlic**, unexpected. *Þa semninga wearð he mid færlicum 7 ungenæmnendlicum* (= *inopinata*) *deaðe forþfered*, GrD. 341 [13].

***ungeriht(ed)**, uncorrected, unreformed. *Gif hig þonne gyt eallunga ungerihte 7 ungecyrrede beon*, Chr., p. 98. Cf. **wandung**.

***ungerȳdelic**, rough, violent. The dictionaries have the adverb. *Þurh þone byþ oferswiþed 7 oferstæled ꝑ ungerydelice 7 ꝑ hlude geflit þæs folces*, GrD. 265 [2].

***ungeswenced**, unceasing. *Ac ðær bið seo ece hæl 7 syo ece lufu swiþe ungeswæncedu*, Jun. 86, f. 37, l. 5.

***ungewēnedlic**, unhoped for. See quot. under **nowend**.

***ungnȳþelīce**, liberally, abundantly. *7 þær his ꝑ æwfæste lif leofde swyþe ungneþelice*, GrD. 43 [26]; *He scan ungneþelice mid þy worde þære halgan lare*, ibid. 175 [1].

***ungystlīðe**, inhospitable. *He was slaw 7 swærmod to godan þingan, 7 him wæs lað þearfendum mannum aht to syllene, 7 he wæs ungystliðe*, S. 9, p. 78. This passage also occurs in Wst. 257 [13], but the MSS. there printed read *uncumliðe*.

unhearmgeorn, inoffensive. BT. has only one instance. It also occurs in Trin., p. 412 : cf. quot. under **unhetol**.

***unhetol**, not hating, gentle, peaceful. *Culfre is swiðe bylewit . . . . 7 swiðe unhearmgeorn 7 unhetol oðrum. Healdan we þas þeawas, ꝑ we unhearmgeorne beon 7 butan byternysse*, Trin., p. 412, l. 15.

***unlǣdlic**, adj., miserable. The dictionaries have the adverb. *Þa Iudeas . . . . bædon swiðe unlædlicre bene, swa him syþþan eall unlædlic on becwom*, Verc., f. 6[b], l. 10.

unlǣttu, sin [BT., H.]. *Þa ylcan unlættu he let hine eft edniwian þa þa he sweltende wæs*, GrD. 289 [25].

***unmǣðful**, immoderate, excessive. *Morðslagan 7 mandædan 7 unmæþfulle gytseras, wigleras 7 wiccan 7 unlybbwyrhtan*, Jun. 99, f. 111, l. 3 (also Trin., p. 270, and in other MSS.).

***unoflinnedlīce**, unceasingly. *Ne beoð þa tintrego gelytlode, ac þa cwelleras unoflinnedlice cwelmað*, Verc., f. 117[b], l. 3.

***unrihtful**, wicked. See quot. under **lyblǣca**.

***unrihtgestrod,** wrongfully gained booty. *Unnyttan lustas, druncennesse 7 fyrenlusta, gytsung 7 unrihtgestrodu,* Verc., f. 76, l. 1.

***unrihthæmedfremmere,** an adulterer. *Þa mæn þe . . . . beoþ oferdrinceras 7 unrihthæmedfremmeras,* Jun. 85, f. 15^{b}, l. 7.

***unscyldiglīce,** innocently. The dictionaries have the adjective. *Swa hwa swa unscyldiglice butan facne leofode ær his gecyrrednysse,* Jun. 22, f. 240^{b}, l. 3.

***unsehtnes,** discord, quarrel. *7 þurh þæt þonne ariseð unsehtnesse betweoh twam cyningum 7 twæm gebroðrum,* Verc., f. 80^{b}, l. 16.

***unsidelīce,** immodestly. See quot. under **prēosthīred.**

untamcol, untameable. The dictionaries have it from PGH. 397, *indomabilis = untameul,* but both BT. and S. regard it as miswritten for *untamlic.* It is, however, correct: see note to **tamcian,** from which verb it is evidently derived.

***untīdæt,** untimely eating. *Hi . . . . wyrðaþ wydscriðole 7 hygelease, 7 gimaþ untidæta 7 druncennysse,* Chr., p. 16; *Mane aþas 7 lyblac 7 wiccacræft 7 untidætas 7 oferdruncennesse,* Jun. 85, f. 3^{b}, l. 5; *Diofol us læraþ oferfylle 7 untidætas,* ibid., f. 14^{b}, l. 10; *Yfelsacunga 7 oferdru[n]cennessa, untidætas 7 oferdrænceas,* Tiberius, C. 1, f. 161^{b}, l. 8; †*Manaðes 7 untidætas 7 ofermycele drynces,* S. 17, p. 225, l. 32.

***untōlȳsendlic,** insolubilis. *Gif þa scylda ne beoð swa mycele 7 swa untolysendlice æfter deaðe,* GrD. 342^{26}.

***unþancol,** ungrateful. *For hwan, la man, forlur ðu þis eal þe ic for þe þrowode? For hwan wær ðu swa unþancul* (S. 8 *-col*) *þinre onlysnesse?* Verc., f. 60, l. 22 (also in S. 8, f. 45^{b}, l. 26); *To hwan eart ðu me swa unþancul minra goda 7 minra gifa?* ibid., f. 68, bottom line (the same homily occurs in Wst., p. 250 ff., but in Wst. the reading is *ungeþancfull,* cf. Wst. 259^{1}).

***unþancwyrðlīce,** ungratefully. *For hwan onfenge ðu unþancwyrðlice þa gife þinre alysnysse?* Jun. 22, f. 109^{b}, l. 21.

***unwælgrim,** not cruel, merciful. *Syþþan of þære tide he wæs swiðe unwælgrim,* GrD. 133^{6}.

***unwæstmberende,** barren, sterile. *Þonne syððan bið sio hreownes 7 þæra teara mægen unwæstmberende,* Verc., f. 78, l. 5.

***unwēnlīce,** unexpectedly, by chance. The dictionaries have the adjective. *Þa gelamp hit þ se mæssepreost wæs unwenlice abysgod wingeard to settanne,* GrD. 88^{17} (so MSS. C. and O.; MS. H. has *unmyndlunga*).

***unwīd,** unwide. See quot. under **forclas.**

***unwiðerweardlic,** not discordant, harmonious. *Hie ealle*

cumaþ to Criste on þam heofonlican wuldre, 7 hie þonne onginnaþ singan Drihtne niwne sang swiþe unwiþerweardlicum stefnum, 7 þær þonne eardiaþ mid Gode, Jun. 86, f. 40, l. 11.

***unymbfangen**, incomprehensible. *Þu hine* (i.e. God) *wast unymbfangenne 7 unymbwritenne*, GrD. 268 [24].

***unymbfangenlic**, incomprehensible. *Hu unymbfangenlice syndon his domas*, GrD. 137 [25]; *Hi secgaþ 7 cyþaþ þ his domas syn unymbfangenlice*, ibid. 138 [32]. It occurs again 139 [19].

***unymbwriten**, indescribable. See quot. under **unymbfangen.**

***upahafu**, a lifting up. See quot. under **æfenoffrung.**

***wæccendlīce**, vigilanter. The dictionaries have the adjective *þurhwæccendlic. Þa gewordenum þam mergene þa nunfæmnan ongunnon acsian þone ylcan fæder wæccendlice*, GrD. 242 [14].

wæflian, to talk foolishly [BT., H.]. Cf. note to **wlæffian.**

wælgrimnes, cruelty, torture [BT., H.]. *Manige halige martyras þa þe þrowodon fela wælgrimnesse*, GrD. 292 [3]. It occurs again, ibid. 319 [28]; 335 [9], etc. See also quot. under **hæftnȳdnes.**

wæscestre, washer (used of both sexes) [BT., H.]. *Æfter him Iobinus, se wæs min wæscestre*, GrD. 191 [23]; *Iobinus . . . se wæs ær wæscestre*, ibid. 192 [2]; *Se mæssepreost . . . wæs lufigende his wæscestran swa swa his agne swuster*, ibid. 276 [1]; *Þa þa hine geseah seo his wæcestre*, ibid. 276 [14].

***wæterdrinc**, a drink of water. *7 sæde eac þæt man mid wæterdrinces sylene mihte him mycele ælmessan gedon*, Verc., f. 112[b], l. 4 from bottom.

***wæterfrocga**, water frog. See quot. under **mōrseohtre.**

wætergefeall, waterfall [BT., H.]. Cf. NSCh., p. 116.

***wætergesceaft**, nature of water. *Þ wæter wæs standende . . . . efne swylce seo wætergesceaft wære onwended in fæstes wages staþolfæstnysse*, GrD. 220 [17].

wæterstoppa, water-bucket [BT., H.]. *Sona swa hit* (*þ wencel*) *þ wæter hlod, þa becom an fisc in þone wæterstoppan*, GrD. 11 [22]; *Þa gingran þæs halgan weres abædon þa racenteage . . . . 7 hi gefæstnodon to þam rape 7 gebundon to ðam wæterstoppan*, ibid. 214 [23].

wæterstrēam, stream of water. It is not, as indicated in S., confined to poetry. *Ac he* (Christ) *wolde sylf swa gehalgian ure fulluht mid his halgan lichaman 7 ealle wæterstreamas mid his ingange*, Trin., p. 250, l. 18 (also in Jun. 99 and other MSS.).

***wambscyldig**, gluttonous? *La, ðu eorðan lamb 7 dust 7 wyrma gifel 7 þu wambscyldiga fætels 7 gealstor 7 fulnes 7 hræw!* Verc., f. 21[b], l. 4. Or is the *b* in *wamb* inorganic (as in *lamb* for

lām), and have we here merely the *wammscyldig*, which occurs in Gen. 949?

***wandung**, feeling of respect. The dictionaries have *forwandung*, 'shame.' *Gif þonne ægðer ge se þe man swang, ge se þe man for ylde oððe for sumre wandunge swingan ne mæg, begen beon ungerihte*, Chr., p. 98.

***wannian**, to become dark-coloured, turn black. See quot. under **colsweart**. The dictionaries have the compound *āwannian*, to which they wrongly assign the meaning 'to become pale.' The only instance of it in BT. is from Greg. Dial. i, 2 (= GrD. 20 [32]), but the meaning there is not 'to grow pale,' but 'to become livid, black and blue' (in consequence of blows). *Þa gefeng he þone fotsceamol . . . . 7 beot Libertinum on ƿ heafod 7 on þa onsyne, oþ ƿ he gedyde ƿ eall his andwlita awannode 7 asweoll* (= *totum illius vultum tumentem ac lividum reddidit*).

***wēnendlic**, to be hoped for. See quot. under **gehyhtendlic**.

***weorcūhta**, m. (or **-hte**, n.?), hour of matins on a week-day that is not a festival. See quot. under **mæsseūhta**.

weorf. Cf. NSCh., p. 129, and Jordan, p. 125.

weorðungdæg, festival [H.]. It is in BT. with one ref. [= WW. 206 [32]], and in S. it is given as only occurring in a gl. *Swa oft swa hit ænige freolsdagas beon, Sunnandagas oððe mæssedagas oððe þyllice wurðingdagas þe we hataþ templhalgunga, forlæten we ælc oðer wurc*, Lambeth, f. 48[b], l. 6.

***werrēaf**, garments for ordinary wear (as distinguished from vestments). *Nimon* (let them receive) *heora werreaf to Sancte Martinus mæssen 7 oferslipas to Eastron, 7 heora gescy on þæm monðe Nouembre*, Chr., p. 74; *Preosta* (MS. *Preostas*) *werreaf 7 hyra gescy 7 heora bedelaðas sceolon beon swa gedafenlice 7 swa medme ƿ hi ne beon to deorwyrðe ne eft to wace*, ibid., p. 104.

***wesendlīce**, essentialiter. *ƿ is þonne oþer, ƿ man eadiglice lifige sume hwile, oðer is, ƿ man aa wesendlice 7 ecelice lifie* (= *aliud est beate vivere, atque aliud essentialiter*), GrD. 336 [36]; *Heo* (the soul) *byð undeadlic, þonne heo næfre blinneþ ƿ heo aa wesendlice in ecnesse rihtlice lifige*, ibid. 337 [4].

wīdian, to grow wider [BT., H.]. *Þa sceaðas . . . weaxaþ daga gehwilce 7 widiaþ*, GrD. 315 [4]; *Þa stowa þara tintregena beoð gesewene . . . ƿ hi widiaþ 7 openiaþ*, ibid. 315 [7].

wīfhīred, a nunnery [BT., H.]. *Ne blan he hwæðre ƿ he his geongran ne manode, ƿ hi næfre gelyfdon heom sylfum to swiðe . . . . ƿ him wære eaðelic se wifhired to healdanne 7 to rihtanne*, GrD. 27 [8].

wīggild, an idol. S. marks it as only occurring in poetry, and BT. has only one instance, from Dan. 182. It does, however, occur in prose: *Se ealdorapostol ærest us gesette to healdanne ðas dagas 7 to beganganne for hæðenra manna gedwilde, for þan þe hie hiera wiggild 7 hiera diofulgild on ðas dagas weorðedon*, Verc., f. 71ᵇ, l. 8.

***wincynn**, kind of wine. *Ne drince ic heononforð of ðysum wincynne ær on ðam dæge þe ic eft drince mid eow niwe win on mines fæder rice*, Bodl. 340, f. 124, l. 13 (also in S. 8, f. 161, l. 16).

***wīneardwealh**, workman in the vineyard, vinitor. See quot. under **æcerceorl**.

***wīnland**, wine-growing country. *7 gif hwa on þam winlandum for Godes lufon win wylle forgan, wite se ealdor ȳ he hæbbe ealoð his rihtgemet*, Chr., p. 24.

***†wiðcostian**, reprobare. *Wiðcostode = reprobat*, ECPs. 32 [10].

wiðerdene, narrow? [H., S.]. *Eft he cwæð, "Ge wepað 7 hiofað, 7 þes middangeard gefyhð." Neara 7 wiðerdene is se halega weg, swa swa Dryhten sylf cwæð*, Verc., f. 57, l. 10. We evidently have here the same word as the *wiðerdune* quoted in BT. from Matth. vii, 14 (Rushworth MS.), *hu naru ł wiðerdune geate* (= *quam angusta porta*), and as the *wiðerdyne* which I have noted in GrD. 322 [20], *Se weg is swiðe nearu 7 wiðerdyne þe lædeþ to þam ecan life*.

wiþigslæd, willow slade [H., S.]. Cf. NSCh., p. 63.

***wlaffian**, to stammer, speak indistinctly. *Nan fefor nis mannon mara þonne se winlica wæta, of þam deafiað þa earan 7 wleaffað seo tunge* (= *balbutit denique lingua*), Chr., p. 121. The dictionaries give an instance of a sb. *wlæffetere* from a Prudentius glossary (PGH. 403), and the vb. *wlaffen*, 'to stammer,' and *wlaffere*, 'a stammerer,' are found in M.E. There is a verb *wæflian*, 'to talk foolishly,' which is not in BT. or H., but which S. has without a ref.; it occurs as a gl. to Abbo's *Clericorum Decus* (printed by Zupitza, ZfdA. xxxi, 16), *blatterat = wæflað*. At first sight one might be inclined to regard it as miswritten for *wlæffað*, and to be a further instance of *wlaffian*, but I take it to be a distinct word, and, despite the difference in meaning, to correspond to O.N. *vafla*, 'to move about unsteadily,' and M.H.G. *wabelen*, 'to be in motion,' which are connected with O.N. *vafra* and M.H.G. *waberen*, M.E. *waveren*, and N.E. *to waver* (O.E. **wæfrian* is not recorded, only the adj. *wæfre*, 'flickering, in restless motion'), and further with O.E. *wafian*, whence N.E. *to wave*.

***wlātere**, spectator. *Hæbbe æfre se lareow gearwe stemne to*

hæfenge, ȝ he mid his swigan ne gebylge þæs uplican wlateres dom, Chr., p. 163.

***wlātung**, spectaculum. *Þe læs þe se hlyst 7 seo gesihð . . . . wurðe gefyled mid besmitenysse fracodlicra wurda 7 wlatunga*, Chr., p. 130.

wliteweorþ, ransom [BT., H.]. *Seo sæde him ȝ hire sunu wære geladed in hæftnyde . . . . . 7 bæd þone Godes wer ȝ he hire his wliteweorþ gesealde*, GrD. 179 [31].

***wōgerlic**, amorous. **wōgerlic lēoð**, a love-song. Cf. quot. under **salting**.

***wohhian**? to speak wildly, to rave. *Þa wende se cniht ȝ he dwolode 7 wohhade* (so MS. C.; MS. O. has *wihade*), GrD. 314 [7]. Or is it miswritten for *waffode*?

***wordlār**, teaching. *Sua don hi . . ȝ . . hi beon to bysne oðrum, ge an wordlare, ge an drohtnunge ge an soðre lufe*, Chr., p. 82.

***wordprediċung**, preaching. *Þa hyrdas sceolon . . . . . him atywan rihte drohtnunge ge mid godum bysnum, ge eac mid wordprediċungum*, Chr., p. 107.

***woroldbryce**, secular use. Not in the dictionaries, though BT. records *woroldbroc* from this passage. *Diaconas ne sceoldon brucan gehalgodra mæsshragla to nænegum woroldbroce* (MS. C. has *woroldbryce*), MH. 136 [9].

***woroldgyrla**, worldly garment. *Sua eac se glæwa eyrcan lareow ne geypð he þa deopan geryno þæs gastlican andgytes . . . ær he gesæo ȝ hi . . . alecgon þone scinendan woroldgyrlan 7 ymbscrydan hig mid þam woplican gyrlan*, Chr., p. 162.

***woroldhremming**, impedimentum seculi. *For þi gerist ȝ þa þe God habbað to yrfewerdnysse, ȝ hig hogion ȝ hi Gode þeowian butan woroldhremminge*, Chr., p. 124.

***woroldrīcetere**, worldly power. *We gesetton ȝ þa þe ane beoð to preosthade gedon . . . . ȝ hig na siððan to campdome ne to nanon woroldrīcetere ne gepristlæcen to becumenne*, Chr., p. 111.

***woroldscēawung**, worldly sight. *Warnion preostas . . ȝ . . hi . . ne beon betwyx woroldsceawungum* (= *non spectaculis intersint*), Chr., p. 126.

***woroldscīr**, worldly office. *In þam woroldscyrum we beoð ful oft genydd ȝ we doð þa þing ðe us genoh gewiss is ȝ we ne sceolon*, GrD. 3 [7].

***woroldstrang**, having worldly power. Cf. quot. under **woroldwelig**.

***woroldþēnung**, secular office. *Aworpan hi woroldþenunga 7*

mancguncga (= *sæcularia officia negotiaque abjiciant*), Chr., p. 126; *þas ne beoð naðer ne an woroldþenuncgum mid læwedum mannum, ne mid preostum an þære godcundan æwfæstnysse*, ibid., p. 128.

***woroldwelig**, rich in worldly goods. *Þær beoð þonne gemette þa woruldstrangan kynegas 7 caseras 7 woruldwelige gitseras 7 unrihthæmede 7 struderas 7 werigcwe*ðende (MS. has *-cwedende*) *7 oferdrinceras*, Jun. 22, f. 107ᵇ, l. 9.

***wrǣnsian**, to be wanton. *Þa beoð þær cwylmed in ecum fyre ða þe her swiðost mid wo wrænsiað*, Verc., f. 17, l. 17. (This passage also occurs in S. 2, p. 258.)

***†wrigennes**, a covering. *In velamento* = *on wrignesse*, ECPs. 60 [5]. Cf. *onwr-* in BT., H., S.

***wuldorhēap**, glorious troop. *Ures Drihtnes, Hælendes Cristes, freo nama a on ecnyssa sy gewurþod, þe ængla wuldorheap him sylfum to wyrðscipe gegearawode*, St. E., f. 106ᵇ.

***wulfhaga**, an enclosure to protect the flocks from wolves? Cf. NSCh., p. 53.

***wulfpyt**, wolf-pit. Cf. NSCh., p. 53.

***wundorhūs**, upper room, solarium! See quot. under **onwegfæreld**.

***wynbliss**, joy. *Þar byð a hyht ond wynblis on burgum*, GrD. 2 [4].

wyrtrum, -ma. Cf. NSCh., p. 68.

***wyrttūnhege**, garden enclosure. *Hi þa . . . . ealle utferdon, ða þa þ þær an ne belaf binnon þam wyrttunhege*, GrD. 67 [18] (MS. H.).

***yfeldēma**, a wicked judge. See quot. under **lēasfyrhte**.

***yfellīce**, adv., evilly, wrongly. The dictionaries have the adjective. *Hie . . . hine, urne Dryhten Crist, ymbsweopon mid reade hragle yfelice . . . 7 gegiredon hine, urne Dryhten Hælende Crist, mid reade hrægle yfellice*, Verc., f. 5ᵇ, l. 7.

***yflung**, injury. *Þa sona wæs his þ re*ðe *mod gecyrred to mycelre arwurðnesse þæs biscopes, þæs ylcan þe hine ær lyste wites 7 yflunge*, GrD. 197 [12].

ymbeþridian, to deliberate about, think about [H., S.]. In BT. from WW. 204 [38]. *Se deofol us symle ymbeþryda*ð, Cleopatra B. 13, fol. 50, l. 17 (also in Verc., f. 108, l. 24, *ymbeþrida*ð, and in other MSS.).

***ymbspenning**, an allurement. *Ne beon hi ydelgeorne . . . . ne eac oðra leahtra ymbspænninga ne began*, Chr., p. 107. Cf. *forspenning*, NGl.

ADDENDA.

THE material contained in the foregoing pages was mostly taken from the entries in my interleaved copy of BT. Besides these I have a considerable collection on slips, the words from which I intended to reserve for a later article. When the above was already in type I determined to work through my slips at once and print them as Addenda. I regret that it is now impossible to incorporate them with the first part. A number of the words here given are from my Wulfstan slips; Wulfstan words which are not in the dictionaries I have included, even if they are in the articles mentioned on p. 265.

LIST OF BOOKS REFERRED TO (*continued from p.* 268).

Jordan = R. Jordan, Die altengl. Säugetiernamen, Heidelberg, 1903.
Ltbl. = Literaturblatt für germ. und roman. Philologie.
Roeder = F. Roeder, Der altenglische Regius-Psalter, Halle, 1904.
Sohrauer = M. Sohrauer, Kleine Beiträge zur altenglischen Grammatik, Berlin, 1886.

***ābolgol,** moved to anger. *Nial sede . . . . þ God sige Sunnandeges weorcum 7 Sæternesdeges ofer non swiþe stran[g]lice abolgel*, Wst. 220 [23].

***ācwylmian,** to suffer torment. *Ne cumaþ hig næfre to reste, ah þar acwylmiaþ*, Wst. 220 [5].

ādeorcian, to grow dark. BT., H. only have it as a transitive verb, 'to make dark.' *Sunne apystraƀ ær worulde ende 7 mona adeorcaƀ*, Wst. 92 [21]; *Mona, hit cweƀ, adeorcaƀ*, ibid. 93 [5].

ādlung, disease [BT.]. *Soƀlice he sylf æthræd ure adlunga*, ÆH. i, 122 [31].

***æfenglommung,** evening-gloaming. *Crepusculum = æfenglommunge*, SHy. 16. Pogatscher in AfdA. xxv, 4, gives *æfenglōmung* with ref. to Beda, ed. Schipper, 9 [54]; but the spellings of the MSS. are: MS. Ca. *-glommung*, MS. B. *-gleomung*.

[**æftenstemn,** puppis.] This is given by Kluge, Ltbl. 1882, 388, with a ref. to "QF. 315" (= Mone's Quellen und Forschungen).

But Mone has *se æftera stemn*, and Wülcker, who printed this gl. (WW. 288 [1]) from a collation by Holder, also reads *se æftera stemn*, which is evidently right. The incorrect *æftenstemn* is to be found in the edition of these Brussels gll. in Appendix B to Cooper's Report and in Wright's Vocabularies.

***ǣlǣte**, adj., deserted, empty. *Oð ƿ heora burga weorðan ælæte*, Wst. 47 [21]; *Diuites dimisit inanes = welige he forlet idele ł ælæte*, Roeder, Hy. 9 [83] (= Luke, i, 53).

æscen, a wooden vessel. To the instances in the dictionaries (viz., Heming, p. 393 in BT., and Ang. ix, 264 (= Gerefa) in H.) add: † "*Sete hwon þin æscen ƿ ic mahge drincen*," Archiv, c, 265 (Gen. 24 [14]); *Þa com Rebecca 7 hæfde hyre æscen uppan hure sculdrum*, ibid. 265 (Gen. 24 [15]); *Heo þa ageat of þam ascene ardlice his laue*, ibid. 266 (Gen. 24 [21]). These passages are from MS. Ii, 1, 33 (twelfth century).

***ǣþreclic**, terrible. Roeder, 95 [4]. Cf. **þracian.**

ǣþrytnes, tedium [H.]. In BT. and S. without ref. Cf. note to NGl. i, 4582.

***ǣwicnes**, eternity. *Usque in sæculum sæculi = oð ǣwicnesse*, Roeder, 102 [17] (cf. note on p. 303).

āfremdian, āfremðan, (i) intrans., to become alienated, grow strange [BT.]. Neither H. nor S. record the intrans. use. *Þæt ic wolde ƿ hy þe afremdedon*, Wst. 255 [13]. This I render "that they should become strangers to (fall away from) thee" rather than "that they should alienate thee." (ii) trans., to alienate [BT.]. *Alienati = afremðae*, Vesp. Psalter, Ps. 57 [4]. The Canterbury Psalter (twelfth century) has *afremdodæ*.

***āgnere**, a possessor. ÆG. 110 [19].

***āgȳmelēasod**, neglectful, careless. *Seo werige sawl þe her forwyrht bið 7 agimeleasedu Godes beboda*, Verc., fol. 11, l. 5. This same passage occurs again in Verc., fol. 115[b], l. 29, *Seo werie sawl þe her forwyrht byð 7 agymeleasudu Godes beboda.*

***ālēoran**, to go. *Transmigra = aleor*, Roeder, 10 [2]; †*Tr. = aleor ł flygan*, ECPs. 10 [2].

***āmidian**, to make mad. *Fatua = amidod*, Roeder, Hy. 6 [6] (cf. note).

***andweardian**, praesentare. SHy. 89.

angmōdnes, distress of mind [H.]. *In tintregum, in angmodnysse earmra sawla*, Wst. 188 [6].

***āpluccian (of)**, to pluck off. *Carpo, ic totere oððe pluccige . . . . excerpo, ic of apluccige*, ÆG. 170 [14].

āpȳtan (ūt), to put out (of the eyes) [BT., H.]. S. gives "*apytan* = *āþȳtan*," thus apparently identifying it with the *āþȳtan* 'eliminare' in the Corp. Gll. *Oððe wilt þu la ut apytan ure eagan?* Numbers, 16[14]. Grein's edition is from MS. Laud. E. 19 (now Laud. Misc. 509), f. 78[b], l. 9, and the passage also occurs in MS. Claudius, B. 4, f. 120. I have examined both MSS., and in both the reading is clearly *apytan*. Cf. also **pȳtan**.

***āryderian**, to blush. Roeder, 69[4], and Lindelöf, Studien zu ae. Psaltergll., p. 105 (*erubescentes* = *arydernde*).

***āscyhhan**, to scare away, reject? *Ne proicias me a facie tua* = *ne awyrp ł ascyhh me of ansyne*. Roeder, 50[13] (cf. note).

***atelīce**, adv., loathsomely. *Þes hreoflia man . . . . . þe wæs atelice hreoflig*, ÆH. i, 122[17]. The dictionaries have the adj.

***†āþwīnan**, to vanish. *Se scucce . . . . rædlice aðwan of heorce gesihþe*, S. 17, p. 178, l. 35.

āþynnian, to make thin [H., S.]. *Tenuatur* = *is aþinnod*, SHy. 8.

***āwlispian**, to lisp. *Seo tunge awlyspaþ seo þe ær hæfde ful recene spræce*, Jun. 23, f. 142[b]. Cf. my note in MLN. iv (1899), 279.

āworpian, to stone? Kluge in Ltbl. 1882, p. 388, gives it with the ref. "Legg. p. 60." This seems to mean R. Schmid, Gesetze der Ags., on p. 60 of which *ofworpod* occurs twice, but there is no *awerpod*.

[**bedrīan**, to bewitch, deceive.] It is not in the dictionaries, but Kluge in Ltbl. 1888, p. 388, gives this verb with the reference "Swiðh. p. 10," and he connects it with *drȳ*, 'a magician.' This means the Gloucester fragments of Ælfric's life of St. Swithun, published with a facsimile by Professor Earle. The same homily was printed by Skeat from MS. Julius E. 7, in ÆS. i, 466[113], and the passage in Skeat runs, *þe læs ðe se deofol us bedydrian mæge*, 'lest the devil may deceive us.' Earle's facsimile of the Gloucester fragment reads *be drian*, with an unusual space, sufficient for three letters, between *be* and *drian*. I assume that *dy* has been erased (the zincograph facsimile gives no indication of erasures), and I believe that some careless reader, seeing the word *bedryda*, 'bedridden man,' which occurs on the same page of the Gloucester fragment, took this to be the same word and erased the *dy*. I cannot otherwise account for the unusual gap between the *be* and *drian* in the MS.[1]

[1] Since writing the above I have been to Gloucester and have examined the fragment. The MS. really has *be dydrian*, as I surmised, the letters *dy*, though much faded (not erased), being still quite legible.

begēomerian, to lament [BT., H.]. *Se þe hine sylfne wregð 7 his gyltas her on life begeomerað*, Ii. 4, 6, p. 440, l. 12; *Se ðe . . . . . ærran gewyrhta georne begeomerað*, Wst. 75 [15].

behyhtan, to trust [BT., H.]. *Wa þam þe . . . . . on God ne behiht*, Wst. 48 [8].

belēþan, to make hateful, pervert [BT., H.]. *Wa eow þe talia*ð *ungod to gode 7 god þing to yfele, biter* ðing *to swete 7 swete belæþa*ð, Wst. 47 [7].

bēotlīce, boastfully, exultingly. The dictionaries only record it in the sense of 'threateningly.' *Wa eow, þe . . . . . ær on morgen oferdrenc dreoga*ð *7 beotlice læta*ð *þ ge mare magan, þonne hit gemet sy*, Wst. 46 [15]; †*Swa beotlice clypien*, NRT. 26 [3].

bernhūs, a barn [BT., H.]. *Þa sume dæge eode his moder in hire bernhus*, GrD. 68 [22] (MS. O.).

bescēawere, a beholder [H., S.]. *Speculator = besceawære*, SHy. 24. In BT. without ref., from Somner.

***bescēawod,** considerate, moderate. *Þonne is seo gemetegung ealles þæs lifes gemet, þe læs þe ænig man to þearle hwæt lufige oððe on hatunge hæbbe; ac seo besceawode geornfulnyss gemetega*ð *ealle þa missenlicnyssa þises lifes*, S. 5, p. 420, l. 21. The two following instances were given by Sohrauer, p. 32: *Sy he snotor 7 wel besceawod on his dædum*, RBS. 121 [2]; *Beo he a foregleaw 7 wel besceawod (= providus et consideratus) on his bebodum*, ibid. 120 [15]. The dictionaries have *unbescēawod*.

***bīswēc?** supplantatio. Roeder, 40 [10].

borggylda, a debtor. BT. and H. only have it in the sense of 'usurer, money-lender,' from Ps. Spelm. MS. C. 108 [10]. But cf. SHy. 33, *Debitoribus = borhgeldum*.

bōtettan, to repair [BT.]. *Eac we magon swyþe micele þearfe 7 ælmessan us sylfum gedon, gif we willa*ð *bricge macian 7 þa symle botettan*, Wst. 303 [8]. H. has it, but with the wrong ref. W. 308 [8]. In MLN. iv (1889), 277, I suggested that the *boteatan*[1] of the Gerefa (Ang. ix, 261 [9], and GesAgs. i, 454 [9]) was miswritten for *botettan*; and Pogatscher in ES. xxv (1898), 423; xxvi, 320, independently came to the same conclusion.

broclic, full of hardship, miserable [H.]. *Geþenc . . . . hu sceorte 7 hu broclice synt þisses lifes dagas*, Wst. 248 [1].

bydenfæt, a bushel [BT.]. H. has it with the reference to

[1] I have examined the MS. and found that it clearly has *boteatan*.

BlH. 127[6]. Cf. also †CS. iii, 367[38], *vi hidenfate 7 ii cuflas 7 þry trogas 7 lead 7 trefet 7 ix winterstellas 7 i fedelsswin.*

carlfugol, male bird. In the dictionaries without reference. *Nan mann ne wat hweðer hit is þe karlfugel þe cwenefugel,* ES. viii, 476[79], and again 479[90].

[**cealfwyrt,** a plant name.] It is not in the dictionaries, but is given as a plant name by Hoops, Ueber die ae. Pflanzennamen, 1889, p. 68, and by Jordan, p. 177. The source is WW. 136[17], *Eruca = calfwyrt.* But on examining the MS. (Brit. Mus. MS. Addit. 32,246, fol. 11[b]), I found that the scribe originally wrote *caflwyrm,* then he altered the *f* to *w* by joining the two side strokes, thus producing a letter which, it is true, has rather the form of a *p,* but which the scribe undoubtedly meant for *w.* I therefore read *cawlwyrm,* 'a caterpillar,' Cf. WW. 121[29], *gurgulio = cawelwiorm* (so MS.); Catholicon Anglicum, p. 51, *Cale worme = eruca,* etc., and note at foot of page.

cenningstōw, birthplace [BT.]. In H., S., without ref. *He . . . . befran hwær Cristes cenningstow wære,* ÆH. i, 78[11]. Further, ÆH. i, 80[24]; 108[6]; 108[11], etc.

***ceolwærc,** pain in the throat. *Wiþ ceolwærce,* Lcdm. ii, 312[2].

***cliþwyrt,** rubea minor. Lcdm. 50[8]; 54[33]. The first of these instances is given by Pogatscher in AfdA. xxv, 8. Cf. **cliþe,** p. 355 (also cited by P.).

clyccan, to draw together, to clench, close. [= M.E. *clicchen, clucchen,* N.E. *clutch.* Cf. Academy, May 7, 1892, p. 447.] In H. and S. without reference, BT. has *gecliht* on the authority of Somner; this is obviously taken from LSc. 99[2], *Non sit porrecta manus tua ad captandum, sit ad dandum collecta = Na sy astreht hand þin to nimene, heo sy to syllene gecliht.* Cf. also quotation under **blæchorn.** Cf. also **for-** and **ymbclyccan,** pp. 343 and 352.

[**constuc.**] Not in BT., S., but H. has it with the queried meaning 'coal bed,' and Pogatscher, AfdA. xxv, 14, gives *stūc,* 'a heap,' with a reference to Kluge, ES. xi, 512. K.'s source is a gl. in the so-called *Glossae nominum* (Loewe, Glossae nominum, Leipzig, 1884, p. 27; Gallée, Old Saxon Texts, p. 358; Goetz und Gundermann, Corpus Gloss. Lat. ii, 571[25]), where the Erfurt and Werden MSS. have *carbonarius locus carbonum constuc,* and Kluge, l.c., took *constuc* to be miswritten for *colstuc,* whence he deduced an O.E. *stūc* = M.E. *stouke.* But Goetz in the *Index Scholarum hibernarum,* Jena, 1888, p. vi, called attention to the reading of the Cambridge MS., viz. *carbonarius locus carboni constructus,* which is,

no doubt, the better reading, and *constuc* (over which there is a line in the Werden MS.) stands for *constructus*. Cf. Goetz, *Thesaurus glossarum emendatarum*, p. 180, s.v. *carbonarius*.

cost [from O.N. *kostr*] [BT.]. H. and S. give the phrase *þæs costes þe*, 'on condition that,' the former with the ref. to ELC. 217 (= CD. iii, 315[24]). In the laws of Æthelred it occurs in the sense of 'choice, possibility,' 7 *þar þegen age twegen costas*, GesAgs. i, 232. It further occurs in O.North. in the sense of 'way, manner,' *Ullo modo* = *ængum coste*, Durham Rit. 113; *Modis* = *costum*, ibid. 108; *Multimodis* = *monigfald' cost* (?), ibid. 121 (cf. Lindelöf, Wb. zur Interlineargl. des Rit. Eccl. Dunelm., p. 122). Further in the Lindisfarne Gospels (St. John, ed. Skeat, p. 7, l. 10[1]), *Modis* = *costum ł uisum*. Cf. Bouterwek, Die vier Evang. in alt-nordh. Sprache, 1857, p. 306[2]; Zupitza, AfdA. vi, 23; Sievers, PBB. ix, 269; Kluge, Pauls Grundr., 2nd ed., i, 932; Björkman, p. 247; Pogatscher, AfdA. xxv, p. 8, etc.

crismal, masc. or neut., chrisom [BT., H.]. *Mid þam crismale þe man him onfan ƿ heafod deð, man tacnað þæne cristenan cynehelm*, Wst. 36[17].

cufle, a cowl [BT., S.]. *Duas cucullas* = *Twa cuflan*, Reg. Ben. ed. Logeman, 92[9]; *Cuculle* = *Cuflan*, ibid. 92[15]; *Cuculla* = *Cufle*, ibid. 93[9]. Cf. also NED. s.v. *cowl*.

***cūmicge**, cow's urine. *Beðe mid hattre cumicgan*, Lcdm. iii, 10[30]. Cf. Jordan, p. 174.

cūðlic, certain. It is in the dictionaries, but without reference. *Þonne se frofergast cymð . . . . he cyð gecyðnysse swiðe cuðlice be me*, Trin., p. 199, l. 9 (John xv, 26). In ES. xxxiii, 177, Swaen cites two further instances from MH. 110[1] and 112[9].

cyfel, a tub [BT., S.]. *Cyfa*, *cyflas*, Gerefa (Ang. ix, 264, and GesAgs. i, 455); †*ii cuflas*, CS. iii, 367[30]. It corresponds to NHG. *Kübel*.

cynehelmian, to crown [BT.]. *Her se geleafa . . . . cynehelmode þa mægnu*, Zupitza, ZfdA. xx, 37. Cf. ES. vii, 132. Cf. further, † *Cynehelmigen hine mid þornen*, KL. 101[119] (from Vesp.).

†cyrring, conversion [BT., H.]. *Þ hwa emb þa morgenlice cerringe þænce* (= *de crastina conversione*), Ang. xi, 387[304] (from Vesp.).

cystian, to put in a coffin [BT., H.]. *Forðferede þearfan*

[1] Cook gives the incorrect reference, J. 17, 10.

[2] Bouterwek there gives the two first instances from the Durh. Rit.

mildheortlice cystian 7 *syððan bebyrian*, Wst. 209 [7]. The same passage occurs again, Wst. 119 [10]. Cf. my note in Archiv, lxxxiv, 326.

***cystiglīce**, bountifully. *Largius = cystiglicor*, SHy. 29; 140. The dictionaries have *cyst(e)līce*.

***Dauidlic**, Davidicus. SHy. 108.

***declīnian**, to decline. *Þonne mæg man . . . . hine declinian*, ÆG. 88 [6]; *Swa we ær declinodon*, ibid. 102 [13]; *We habbaþ nu declinod þa eahta frumcennedan pronomina*, ibid. 100 [6].

dyrfan, to hurt, afflict [BT., H.]. *Ðy us deriaþ* 7 *ðearle dyrfaþ fela ungelimpa*, Wst. 91 [16]; *Iactata = gedyrfed*, PGH. 402.

***†ealdordōmlic**, principalis. ECPs. 50 [14].

ealfara, a pack-horse. See above, p. 282. On meaning and etymology cf. Jordan, p. 126.[1] He suggests that it comes ultimately from the Arabic *al faras*, 'the horse,' which found its way into Spanish as *alfaras*, the term for a horse of the Moorish cavalry. It is also found in O.French *auferan*, and it is from this Jordan derives O.E. *ealfara*. In the eleventh century the *l* had not yet become *u* in O.Fr.

eargscipe, sloth. It is in the dictionaries, but H., which is the only one giving a reference, has a wrong one, viz. "W. 23 [12]." *Ongean modstaþolnysse* 7 *modes strenðe . . . . se manfulla deofol sendeþ wacmodnesse* 7 *lyðerne earhscype*, Wst. 53 [12].

***eg-lā-eg**, interj., euge! Roeder, 69 [4].

[**eohbīgenga**, horse-keeper.] This is given by Jordan, p. 96, with a ref. to Epist. Alex. (Ang. iv, 155 [431] and Narr. 18), *His ceapes heorde and . . . . his eohbigenga*. According to Baskerville a letter has been cut off before *eoh*, and it seems to me more probable that the real reading was *feohbigenga*, which would be synonymous with *ceapes heorde*; the whole renders the Latin *gregarius miles* (Narr. 57), which the translator has misunderstood.[2]

***fācenfullic**, deceitful. *Nichil subdolum = naht facenfullices*, SHy. 24.

***fæcnig**, dolosus? Roeder, 72 [18].

[1] Max Förster called my attention to this note.

[2] Since writing the above I have examined the MS. (it is the MS. containing Beowulf) and find Baskerville's statement that a letter has been "cut off" is inaccurate. The left margin of the MS. has crumbled away, and the last binder has pasted paper along the edge to preserve it, and in doing so has unavoidably covered up some letters (as in Beowulf). On holding the leaf up to the light I could see that the MS. has *feohbigenga*; the *f* is still there and can be clearly read through the paper covering it.

fǣrdēaþ, sudden death. In the dictionaries only from a gl. (WW. 351 [19]). †*Forhwan ne ondrædest þu þe ȝ þe færdeaþ bereafige þæs dæges þinre gehwerfenysse?* Ang. xi, 387 [396] (from Vesp.).

***†fēdelsswīn**, fattened pig. Cf. quot. under **bydenfæt.**

feht, a shorn sheep [BT., S.]. *xx lamba 7 xx fehta*, OET. 438 [7]. Cf. Jordan, p. 157, and Kluge, Z.f.d. Wortforschung, ii, 299. Leo, followed by H., assigned to it the meaning 'cake.'

***feohbīgenga**, a cattle-keeper. Cf. **eohbīgenga.**

ficol, deceitful, false (N.E. *fickle*). In the dictionaries only from a gl., the reference in BT. being Prov. 14; this is a gl. to Prov. 14 [25] (= Zupitza, ZfdA. xxi, 29, and WW. 69 [15]). Cf. further: *Ne beon ge naþor ne to swicole ne to ficole ne lease*, Wst. 40 [4]; *Sume weorþaþ swicole 7 swæslice ficole*, ibid. 82 [3].

***†fīftēnþa**, fifteenth. See quot. under **geswillan.**

***fingerliþ**, finger-joint. *Articulus = liþ ł fingerliþ*, MS. Addit. 32,246 (cf. E. M. Thompson, *British Archæological Association*, 1885, p. 147).

flǣscen, adj., of flesh [BT.]. The only ref. in H. is to a gl. (GPH. 394). *Eagan sind flæscene 7 teþ bænene*, ÆH. i, 532 [6].

***forcippian**, to cut off. *Precisa = forcyppud* (two other MSS. have *forcippod*), Roeder, Hy. 2 [12] (Isaiah, xxxviii, 12). Lye has *Forcyppud = præcisus* from "Cantic. Ezech." (evidently this passage), and from Lye it has been taken into the NED. s.v. *chip*.

***forclyccan**, to stop up, close (the ears). *Swa nædran [deafe] 7 forclyccende earan heora*, Roeder, 57 [5]. Cf. **clyccan**, p. 340, and **ymbclyccan**, p. 352.

***forecynrēd?** progenies. Roeder, 48 [20].

***forsetnian**, to besiege. *Obsederunt = forsætnodon*, Roeder, 21 [13]; *Obsedit = forsetnode*, ibid. 21 [17]; †*Obsederunt = forsetnoden*, ECPs. 21 [13]. Cf. **ofsetnian.**

***forsworcenlic**, dark. *Obscurum nichil = forsworcenlices naht*, SHy. 24.

forsworcennes, darkness [BT.]. *On forsworcennesse sweartes þrosmes*, Wst. 139 [1]; *Obscura = forsworcennyssa*, SHy. 23 and 37.

***forþbigfērende**, a passer-by. Cf. quotation under **yfelsacian.**

***forþstæpping**, progress, advance. *Processu = mid forþstæppinga*, SHy. 80.

***fōtcopsod**, fettered. *Compeditos = fotcopsede*, SHy. 125. The dictionaries have *gefōtcypsed*.

fōtlǣst, footstep. The dictionaries give it only as a masculine, but it also occurs as a feminine. *Hwæþer þu mage tocnawan hwæs*

fotlæsta þu geseo on þissere flore astapene, S. 6, p. 155. Sohrauer, p. 49, gives two further instances from ÆH. i, 506[12]; 508[11].

***fracoddæd**, wicked deed. *Utan . . . . ealle fracoddæda swiðe ascunian*, Wst. 188[15].

***fremedlǣcan**, to alienate. *Alienati = fremedlæcede* (MSS. G., H.). Roeder, 57[4]. MS. D. has *-lætede*, MS. J. *-læcende*.

frumgewrit, original document [BT., H.]. *We wæron adilegode of þam frymþelican frumgewrite þe we to heofenum awritene wæron*, Wst. 252[12].

***fyrentācnian?** Roeder, Hy. 6[21] (cf. note).

***fyþerhweohlod?** four-wheeled. *Quadrigis = fyrhweohlodum cratum* (MS. *orætum*), Roeder, Hy. 4[19].

***gealdorsang**, a magic song. *Ne werignessa we ne fylian . . . . ne galdorsangas ne unriht lyblac onginnen*, Wst. 253[10].

***gēarfæc**, period of a year. *Gelome on gearfæce gearwiað eow to husle*, Wst. 72[1].

***gebyrdtīma**, time of birth. *An yld is geteald of Adame to Noe . . . . fifte of ðam heregange to Cristes gebyrdtiman*, Wst. 312[2]. Also from another MS., in RBS., p. xxi.

gedǣlan, intrans., to part. *Ðær næfre leofe ne gedæla*ð, *ne la*ðe *ne gemeta*ð, Wst. 204[24]; *Syððan hie gedældon* (after they had parted), Andreas, 5. Cf. Cosijn, PBB. xxi, 8. Pogatscher, Ang. xxiii, 273, gives another explanation, but the Wst. passage seems to disprove it.

***gedwǣsmann**, a foolish person. *Secga*ð *eac sume gedwæsmenn*, ÆH. i, 100[29]. H. has *dwǣsmann* with a ref. to ÆS. i, 370[101]; the passage, as printed by Skeat, runs: *Us sceama*ð *to secgenne ealle ða sceandlican wiglunga þe ge dwæsmen drifa*ð; and Sk. translates 'which ye foolish men practise.' We must evidently read here too *gedwæsmen*[1] (which foolish men practise).

***gedwolfær**, abductio. Roeder, Hy. 6[36] (Deuter. 32[35]).

geēastrian [BT., H.]. *We forbeoda*ð *ordal* 7 *a*ðas . . . *fram Septuagesima o*ð *fiftene niht beon geeastrode* (until fifteen days have elapsed after Easter), Wst. 208[24]; *Leof, ic bidde þe . . . 7 eac beode ȝ þu ne cume onn nanes wifmannes gemanan þurh hæmedþincg ær eahta niht beon geeastrod*, MS. Tiberius, C. 1, f. 201[20]. The first passage occurs again, Wst. 118[1], but here only one MS. reads *beon geeastrode*; MSS. B., C. have *ofer Eastran*; MS. K. has *onufan E.*

[1] For the *gedwæsmen* of MS. Julius E. 7 MS. D. reads *sotmen*.

***gefēalīce,** happily, joyously. *Þæt we þonne ealle motan . . . . þy gefealicor* 7 *ðe bliþelicor lifian,* Wst. 284 [16]. Cf. also **gelēaflīce.** The dictionaries have the adj.

gegenga, companion [BT.]. *Faraþ ge awyrgedan on ƿ ece fyr þe wæs deofle gegearwod* 7 *his gegengum eallum,* Wst. 184 [18].

gegenge, troop, gang, company [BT.].[1] *He fordeþ þæne þeodfeond* 7 *on helle grund þananforþ besenceþ mid eallum þam gegenge,* Wst. 86 [21]. The dictionaries have the simple *genge* from the Chron.

***†gehǣrede,** hairy. FNGl. 21.

***gehȳrendlic,** audiendus. ÆG. 152 [6].

***gehȳþ(e)licnes.** In Ps. 9 [10] *opportunitas* is glossed by *gehyþ(e)-licnes* in four of the interlinear psalters (viz. ECPs., Vitellius E. 18, Tiberius C. 6, and Arundel 60); and in Ps. 9 [22] it is thus glossed in Vitellius E. 18 and Arundel 60. Cf. Lindelöf, Studien zu ae. Psaltergll., p. 26.

***gelǣcan,** to emulate. *Emula = gelæcea ł gelæcende,* PGH. 391.

***gelēaflīce,** credibly? *Us is to witonne þætte ƿ wæs geleaflice gestihtod þæt Ioseph for to Bethlem fram Galilea,* Verc., f. 27, l. 25. Bodl. 340, f. 3[b], l. 12, where this homily also occurs, has *gefealice,* but the reading of Verc. seems to make better sense. The dictionaries have the adj.

***†genōgian,** to be abundant. *Habundat = inoget,* FNGl. 10.

***gerādlic,** adj., wise, prudent. *Wel geradlic hyt eac þingþ us ƿ we herto gecnytton þa epactas, þe wise preostas oft ymbe geradlice wurdliaþ,* Ang. viii, 300 [44]; *Hyt byþ geradlic ƿ we ascrutnion his fare,* ibid. 305 [46]. H. and S. have the adv. but not the adj.

***†gerenned,** coagulatus. ECPs. 67 [16].

***gerīmbōc,** calendar. *Sume ure ðeningbec onginnaþ* (the year) *on Aduentum Domini; nis ðeah þær forðy ðæs geares ord, ne eac on ðisum dæge nis mid nanum gesceade; þeah ðe ure gerimbec on þissere stowe geedlæcon,* ÆH. i, 98 [28].

gesōþ? a parasite. In BT. and H. from WW. 466 [11], *Parasitis = geneatum, gesoþum.* I question the existence of this word, and regard it as miswritten for *gesiþum* and as synonymous with *geneatum.*

***†geswillan,** to wash away. *On þan fiftenðe dæige cumþ flod* 7 *geswyleþ þa æsscen,* Ang. xi, 371 [54] (from Vesp.).

***geswincnes?** hardship. Guthl. Goodwin, 12[6]. For **geswinc-fulnes?**

[1] H. gives it as *gegeng,* and with the wrong ref., Wst. 184 [18], where *gegengum* means 'companions' and is from *gegenga.*

***glæterung**, a shining. Roeder, 48 [15].

glider, glidder, slippery. It is in the dictionaries without ref. *Lubricam = glidder*, Vesp. Hy. 11 (OET. 417 [6]); *Lubrico = glidderre*, Vesp. Hy. 12 (OET. 418 [12]); *Eac beðearf seo sawel on domes dæg . . . . staðolfæstre brycge ofer þone glideran weg hellewites brogan*, Wst. 239 [14]. Cf. also Vesp. Ps. 34 [6].

***glīggamen**, merriment. *Hearpe 7 pipe 7 mistlic gliggamen drema*ð *eow on beorsele*, Wst. 46 [16].

***gōian**, to lament. *Ac he swiðe goað 7 geomrað hine swa gebundenne beon (= sed ligatum se vehementer ingemiscat)*, Beda, ed. Miller, 88 [15]; *Sēs Paulus se apostol goiende 7 geomriende ewæð*, ibid. 88 [17]. Sievers, Ags. Gr., § 414, Anm. 5, mentions these two forms as occurring in Beda.

***healswærc**, pain in the neck. *Wiþ healswærce*, Lcdm. ii, 312 [8].

hellcund, adj., of hell [BT., H.]. *Þridde is þ helcunde wered*, Wst. 254 [15].

***heofonbiggende**, caelebs [O.N. *byggja*]. *Cęlibes = heofanbiggende*, SHy. 5; *= heofonbigende*, ibid. 36.

***heofoncenned**, heaven-born. *Celigenas = heofancennede*, SHy. 108.

***heorotsmeoru**, hart's grease. Lcdm. ii, 118 [13]. Cf. Jordan, p. 184.

***†herebeorg, -byrg**, lodgings, quarters. *Þa genam he þær herebeorge*, S. 17, p. 130, l. 25; *Herebyrge* (dat. sg.), KL. 100 [92].

***hērtōēacan**, in addition, besides. *Ðas ðing . . . . 7 fela hertoeacan*, Wst. 48 [11]; *þas beboda 7 fela hertoeacan*, ibid. 67 [4].

hladung, haustus [H., S.]. In BT. on authority of Som. SHy. 58.

hlāfording, lord, master [BT., H.]. *Nis na ma hlafordinga on worulde þonne twegen, God ælmihtig 7 deofol*, Wst. 298 [7].

hohmōd, sad, sorrowful [H., S.]. *Se ðe wære hohmod, weorðe se glædmod*, Wst. 72 [8]. It is in BT. with a reference to Lye. Lye (as also Bosworth and Ettmüller) gives it with the ref. "Off. reg. 15." In his list of authorities in the introduction Lye does not mention "Off. reg." at all, but there is no doubt that "Off. reg. 15" means the copy in MS. Nero A. 1 of the homily printed in Wst., pp. 65–76,[1] so that Wst. 72 [8] and Lye's ref. are the same.

[1] Lye's "Off. reg." refers to fols. 71–84 (= Wanley's Nos. x and xi) of MS. Nero A. 1. Wanley's No. xi is the homily printed in Wst., pp. 65 sq., whilst his No. x consists of a series of fourteen rules corresponding to some of those printed from MS. Junius 121, in AL. ii, 304, under the title of *Institute of Polity*. Thus *rumheortnes* is given in Lye with the ref. "Off. reg. 2," and it occurs in the second rule in Nero A. 1 (*Be cynedome*)—this is the third rule in

***hrōðgirela**, corona. Roeder, 20 [4].

***huncettan**, to limp, halt. *Claudicauerunt = hy healtodon ⁊ huncetton*, Roeder, 17 [46]. It is no doubt, as R. suggests, connected with N.H.G. *hinken*.

***hundtēontigfealdlīce**, adv., a hundred times. *Him andswaredon þa englas 7 sædon þ him wære hundteontigfealdlice mare myrhð 7 blis toweard*, Wst. 237 [9]. The dictionaries have the adjective.

***hwēollāst**, orbit. *Anni orbita = geares hweollast*, SHy. 93.

***†hylu**, a hollow. In his CD. iii, p. xxxii, Kemble gives "*hyle f.* probably a hollow," with a reference to a charter printed on p. 406 of the same volume. The passage (CD. iii, 407 [12]) runs: *Of ðære wylle on ða hyle, ðonne be ðære hyle upp andlang slædes to hafocwylle*, and it was quoted, without reference, by Sievers, PBB. ix, 243. The MS. (MS. C.C.C. 91) is twelfth century; cf. ELC., p. 369.

hyrwnes [BT., H.]. (i) Contempt. †*Contemptum = hyrwnesse ⁊ hogunge*, ECPs. 43 [14]. (ii) Blasphemy. *Ne ænig man ne gewunie þ he . . . . ðurh hyrwnesse God ne gegremie*, Wst. 70 [12]. S. only gives the first meaning.

***Lædenlār**, Latin. *Se þe þurh Lædenlare rihtne geleafan understandan ne cunne*, Wst. 124 [12] (MSS. C., E.).

***†langmōdig**, longsuffering. *Longanimis = langmodi*, ECPs. 7 [12].

***langwyrpe bōc**. See above, p. 305. Dr. Bradley has since called my attention to the M.E. *long-warped*, oblong (NED. vi, 413).

lanu. Cf. **strætlanu**.

limgesihð, body? [BT., S.]. *Cum corporibus = mid limgesihðum*, Roeder, Hy. 11 [40]. This passage was printed by Wülker, Ang. ii, 364, whence H. has the word.

lēad, a cauldron [BT., H.]. *Hwer, lead, eytel*, Gerefa (Ang. ix, 264, and GesAgs. i, 455). Cf. also quot. under **bydenfæt**.

listwrenc, artifice, fraud, deception [H., S.]. *Mid lyttan listwrence hiwian*, Wst. 128 [9] (MS. K.). It is in BT. on the authority of Lye, and Lye gives the reference "Wulfst. Par. 8." This refers to MS. Jun. 38, Junius's transcript of Wulfstan's Parænesis, copied from MS. S. 18 (= Wanley's Nos. v–xiv;

AL. We find also in Lye *rōtan, efenwel, Cristes scirgerefa*, with the references "Off. reg." 4, 10, and 13 respectively, and they are to be found in rules 4, 10, and 13 of Nero A. 1. Lye took Wanley's No. xi (=Wst. 65 sq.) to be a fifteenth rule, hence the number 15, and thus we find in Lye, *bæslitol, glemm, hlagol, idelgeorn, mymerian, myrten*, etc., all of which occur in Wst. 65–76, in each case with the ref. "Off. reg. 15." The title "Off. reg[um]" is derived from the first of the rules in Nero A. 1, *Be cynge*.

cf. Wanley, pp. 137–8), with the variants from Tiberius A. 3 (= MS. K. in my Wst.); the eighth section of this corresponds to the homily in Wst. beginning on p. 128, so that Lye's reference is to this very passage.

***līðwyrde,** kindly spoken, gentle of speech. *He wæs līðwyrde on þære tide, þe he wolde þæt ic næfre in ecnesse nære mid wordum getyrged,* Verc., f. 20, l. 12. S. 2, p. 269, in which this homily also occurs, reads *liðe.*

***mǣltīd,** meal-time. *He sceal hyne gebiddan on asettum tidum 7 ær mæltidum metes ne abitan,* O.E. Hom. Morris, 303[7] (printed from MS. S. 6). MS. Jun. 23, f. 119[b], l. 22, which contains the same homily, reads *mæltiman.*

***mǣltīma,** meal-time. Cf. note to **mǣltīd.**

***mæssesteall.** See above, p. 43. The meaning I have given was suggested by M. Förster. Cf. Du Cange's definition of *stallum*: "sumitur apud scriptores pro sede uniuscujusque monachi aut canonici in choro ecclesiæ." F. writes, "Ich möchte annehmen, dass jenes ae. *-steall* eine Anglisierung von '*stallum*' ist."

***magian,** to prevail. *Prevalui* = *ic magude,* Roeder, 12[5]. ECPs. has *ic magude ł swiþige.*

†merðern, adj., made of martens' skins [BT.]. *On merðerne pyleceon,* Chron. A.D. 1075 (MS. D.). On date of MS. cf. Plummer, ii, xxxiv.

***†muntclȳse,** mountain prison. *Gog 7 Magog, ꝑ beoð þa manevn þe Alexander beclysde binnan muntclysan,* Wst. 84[13] (MS. H.).

notgeorn, industrious [BT., H.]. *Se ðe wære idelgeorn, weorðe se notgeorn,* Wst. 72[9].

***nȳtenlīce,** adv., like an animal. *ꝑ man mote æfter luste nytenlice libban,* Wst. 55[16]. The dictionaries have the adj.

***oferlifa,** excess. *Se oferlyfa on æte 7 on wæte deð þone man unhalne,* O.E. Hom. ed. Morris, i, 296[5] (from S. 6, p. 73). The same homily occurs in Jun. 24, p. 329[10] (first half of twelfth century), and in MS. Lambeth 487 (late twelfth century). In Jun. 24 the scribe first wrote *oferlifer,* and then altered it to *oferlifa* by erasing the *r* and writing *a* over the second *e*. The well-known late twelfth century Worcester glossator[1] has added over it the Latin gl. *superfluitas.* MS. Lambeth 487 has *oferlifa*: cf. Morris, O.E. Hom. i, 101. Cf. *bī-leofa,* 'food, sustenance.' The word is in Somner, Benson, Lye, and Bosworth without ref. and with the

[1] Cf. W. Keller, Die litterarischen Bestrebungen von Worcester in ags. Zeit., p. 20.

meaning 'remainder, residue.' Ettmüller and Leo assign to it the meaning 'superstes' and 'der übriggebliebene.' This, if it actually occurs, would correspond to O.H.G. *ubarlibo*, 'superstes' (cf. Steinmeyer, Ahd. Glossen, i, 291 [11], *superstitem* = *ubarlibun*. Cf. further ibid. i, 319 [41], *superstitem* = *ouarleuon*, and ibid. iv, 209 [23], *superstes* = *ouarliuo*).

***†oferprȳda**, excessive pride. *7 beoð þurh oferpruda alles to rance*, Wst. 81 [15] (MS. H. = Bodl. 343). This is a twelfth century S.W. spelling for eleventh century *oferprydan*.

ofertrūwian, to place too much trust in [BT., H.]. Both BT. and H. have the ptc. *ofertrūwod* as adj. = 'over-confident,' from CP. 208 [13]. *Wa þam þe ofertruwað mægne*, Wst. 48 [7].

***†ofsetnian**, to besiege. *Obsedit* = *ofsetnode*, ECPs. 21 [17]. Cf. **forsetnian**.

***onasetednys**, a laying on. *Ða ða forylda*ð *7 forgymeleasia*ð *ȝ hig nella*ð *heora bearn to þam fulwihte 7 to þære onasettednysse þæs bisceopes bletsunga bringan*, Lambeth, f. 49[b], l. 3. The dictionaries have *onset(e)nes*.

†oncnāwe, known.[1] *Cognitum* = *oncnæwe*, ECPs. 31 [6].

[**oþnīhst**, ultimus.] This is given by H., by Kluge (KL., p. 196), and by Pogatscher (AfdA. xxv, 14), from WW. 342 [14], *ad ultimum* = *ða oðnihstan*. We must, no doubt, read *oð nihstan*; *oð* is a preposition rendering *ad*, and *ða* is the adv. 'then.'

***†pīn**, pain, torture. Cf. Furnivall Volume, p. 92 [64], where Max Förster gives an instance from Vesp. To this he adds on p. 99, note, a second: *Ðæs dæiges þe ure Hælend for ure alesednysse geðolode pine on þær[e] halgan rode*, Vesp., f. 87[b] (also printed in MPh. i, 591). To these add: *Heora pine wurð þa mare*, Vesp., f. 161[b], l. 16; *7 for þære scrude fægernysse heo bið bewæfde mid tale 7 mid scande, 7 for þan orfe 7 for þan gebytlen heo habbeð weoremes 7 helle pinen. Ac þa gode mænn þe habbeð pine on þyssen middenearde*, etc., ibid., f. 163[b]. The NED. cites an instance from the somewhat later Hatton MS.[2] of the Gospels (Matt. xxv, 46), where *pine* replaces the *susle* of the earlier MSS.

***†pīnecwalu**, torture. *Mid þam grimmestan suselcwale* (the twelfth century MS. H. has *pinecwale*), Wst. 241 [13].

pȳtan (ūt), to put out (of the eyes). *Ceolwulf . . . . let him pytan ut his eagan 7 ceorfan of his handa*, Chron. A.D. 796 (MS. F.). BT. and S. give *pīcan* (from *pīc*, a point, piko) based

[1] BT. has the wrong ref. to Ps. 33 [5].

[2] Written in the second half of the twelfth century.

on this passage, whilst H. has *pȳtan* with a query. The reason for this difference is that whilst Thorpe and Plummer printed *pytan*, Earle read it as *pycan*, and even Plummer described the reading as doubtful. I have carefully examined the MS. (Domitian A. 8, fol. 49), and have found that it clearly has *pytan*; there is absolutely no doubt about the reading. Cf. also **āpȳtan.**

†roccian, to rock [BT., S.]. See quot. under **unfērnes.**

[**sacian,** to blame.] Cf. **yfelsacian.**

***sǣdsworn?** semen. Roeder, Hy. 9 [55].

***†sēocian** wk. vb., or **sēocan** st. vb.? to be ill. (M.E. *sēken*). *Languet* = *seocet*, FNGl. 34.

***sōlmerca,** a sundial. This word occurs in an inscription over the south door of the church at Kirkdale, Yorkshire, and although this has been printed a number of times[1] the word has escaped the notice of the lexicographers. The main inscription on two side panels records how Orm bought and restored the church, and between the two panels is a sundial, above and below which is carved, *þis is dages solmerca æt ilcum tide.*

***sotmann,** a foolish man. See footnote to **gedwǣsmann.**

***sōðsprǣce,** adj., telling the truth, veracious. *Se ðe wære twispæce, weorðe se soðspæce*, Wst. 72 [16] (MS. E.).

***strǣtlanu.** See above, p. 323, and add that we have here an actual instance of the st. nom. *lanu*, conjectured by Sievers, PBB. ix, 247.

[**stūc,** a heap.] Cf. **constuc.**

***swǣrbyrd,** difficult birth? *Þis me to bote þære swæran swærtbyrde* (read *swærb-*?), Lcdm. iii, 66 [22] (= Grein-Wülker, i, 327 [3]).

***swearcung,** darkness. *Tenebras* = *ðystro ł swarcunga*, Roeder, 17 [29]; *Tenebras* = *swartunge*, ECPs. 17 [29] (read *swarc-*).

swīnhyrde, swineherd [BT., H.]. *Subulcus* = *swynhyrde*, ZfdA. xxxiii, 239. It is in Somner, Benson, Lye, Bosworth, and S., without reference.

***†tēnða,** tenth. *On þan tenðen dæige*, Ang. xi, 370 [37] (from Vesp.).

***†tōbrengnes,** oblatio. ECPs. 39 [7].

***tōcwæscednes,** quassatio. Roeder, 105 [30] (cf. note and also p. 304).

[**tōcwæstedness,** destruction, shaking, in BT., H.] Cf. Roeder, p. 304.

[1] Archæologia, v. (1779), p. 188; Hübner, *Inscript. Brit. Christ.*, p. 65, etc. Recently by G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, 1903, i, 357, and by Max Förster in ES. vol. xxxvi, 446. Pogatscher called attention to the word in AfdA. xxv, p. 14.

***†tōscyllan**, (i) trans., to separate. *He . . . . wæs toscyled fram þære apostlene geferrædene*, Furnivall Celebration Volume, p. 91 [25] (cf. M. Förster's note, p. 100, where he gives a further instance from Ang. xi, 370); (ii) intrans., *Hi swa toscyledon* (they parted from each other), S. 17, p. 131, l. 18. Cf. also *āscyllan*, NGl. i, 1367.

***tracter**, a funnel. *Infundibulum = tracter*, Erfurt Gl. (printed KL., p. 9; G. Loewe, Glossae nominum, p. 53; Gallée, O. Sax. texts, p. 360. It is not in OET.). Like the O.H.G. *trahtâri*, N.H.G. *Trichter*, it is a loan-word from Lat. *trajectorium*, cf. Kluge, Etym. Wb.

***†trefet**, a trivet. Cf. quot. under **bydenfæt**. Skeat mentions it in his Concise Etym. Dict. s.v. *trivet*. It appears to be a Romance form of the Latin *tripedem*.

***trundulnis**, circuitus. Roeder, 11 [9].

***þracian**, to fear. Roeder, Hy. 9 [80]. The dictionaries have the compounds, *aþr-*, *onþr*, etc.

***†þrefe**, a measure of corn. *Eahte þreues cornes*, CS. iii, 367 [24]. It is from O.N. *þrefi*, a number of sheaves, and = M.E. *þreve*, *þrave*, and N.E. (dial.) *threave*, *thrave*.

***†þrēottēnȝe**, thirteenth. *On þan þreottenȝe dæige*, Ang. xi, 371 [49].

†unfērnes, helplessness, infirmity [BT.]. *On his cildlicen unfernesse heo hine baȝede . . . . 7 swaȝede 7 roccode*, KL. 101 [108] (from Vesp.). Cf. my note in MLN. iv (1889), 279.

***unforwyrded**, undecayed, unwithered. *Þonne magon we Drihtne bringan unforwyrdne wæst[m] godra weorca*, MS. Faustina A. 9, f. 117, l. 12. This passage also occurs in BlH., p. 73 [25], but the reading there is *unforwealwodne wæstm*.

***ungetēoriendlic**, adj., unexhaustible, unfailing. *We magon þurh ȳ us gegaderian þæne ungeteorigendlican goldhord*, S. 8, f. 144, l. 17. The dictionaries have the adv.

***†ungrīpendlic**, irreprehensible. *Inreprehensibilis = ungripendlic*, ECPs. 18 [6].

***unscyldgung**, innocence. *Innocentiam = unscyldgunga*, Roeder, 17 [25]; †*I. = unscyldgunge*, ECPs. 17 [21].

werewulf, a wer-wolf. On the form see my note in PBB. xxiii, 571.

wintersteall, one year old stallion. It is in the dictionaries from AL. i, 356 [3] (= GesAgs. i, 378). Cf. further the quot. under **bydenfæt**. For meaning see Jordan, 125, and GesAgs. ii, 245.

***wiðerwengel,** adversary. Roeder, 73[10]; Hy. 4[7]; Hy. 6[27] (cf. note on p. 280).

wlispian, to lisp [BT.]. Cf. **āwlispian.**

***yfelcwedolian,** to speak evil. *Maledicentes* = *yfelcwedelginde*, Roeder, 36[22]; †*M.* = *yfelcweþelginde*, ECPs. 36[22]. Cf. *wearg-cwedolian* in BT.

yfelsacian, to blaspheme. Swaen in ES. xxvi, 131 gives a verb *sacian* 'to blame,' with the ref. to BlH. 189[24], *Þe læs he me yfel sacode wið God.* But it is obvious that we must read *yfelsacode*, and the word will be found duly registered in BT. under *yfelsacian* with the reference to BlH. But the meaning assigned to it in BT., viz. 'to calumniate,' is wrong; it means 'to blaspheme,' as is rightly given in H. and S. The mistake has arisen, no doubt, owing to the *me* (calumniated me to God), but as M. Förster pointed out in Archiv, ci, p. 190, the passage is corrupt, and the *me*, as the Latin shows, certainly wrong. As BT. has only this one instance, I may add some further examples, from which the meaning of the vb. is evident. *Þa sona se ealdorman slat his hrægl* 7 *þus cwæð*, '*He yfelsacode* (= *blasphemavit*, Matth. 26[65]); *hwæt beðurfon we nu ofer þis leasra cyðera? Nu we gehyrdon his yfelsacunga*,' Bodl. 340, f. 125, l. 26 (also in S. 8, f. 162[b], l. 23); 7 *þa forðbigferendan hi yfelsacedon on hine* (= *blasphemabant eum*, Matth. 27[39]), ibid. f. 127, l. 12 (also in S. 8, f. 165, l. 13); *Hwæt ge nu gehyrað hu he Gode yfelsacað*, ibid., f. 139[b], l. 7 (also in S. 8, f. 181, l. 5); *He yfelsacode þæs Ælmihtigan Godes mægnþrym in wyrginge*, GrD. 289[8]. Cf. also GrD. 289[27]; 290[1]; and *geyfelsacode*, ibid. 289[21].

***ymbclyccan,** to inclose. *Concluserunt* = *Hy belucon ł ymbclicton*, Roeder, 16[10]. Cf. **clyccan,** p. 340, and **forclyccan,** p. 343.

***ymbswīfan,** to revolve round. *Þeah ðe we þonne gyt þa sunnan sylfe geseon ne magon, forðan seo sunne haſað þonne mid þy heofone þas eorðan utan ymbswifen* 7 *ymbcerred*, Bodl. 340, f. 146, l. 12 (also in S. 8, f. 189, l. 9).

APPENDIX.

When most of the above was already set up in type, Dr. Furnivall suggested that I should add, as an appendix, a list of the words which are treated or for which quotations are given in the scattered articles mentioned on p. 265 : Zupitza's *Glossen zu Abbo*, Logeman's *De Cons. Mon.*, as well as the articles in *ES.*, *AfdA.*, etc.[1] As it seemed that such an appendix might perhaps be useful, I have carried out Dr. Furnivall's suggestion. The following list, however, makes no claim to completeness, as I have intentionally excluded a considerable number of words, many of them because they are to be found in BT. or H. with a reference,[2] or in my O.E. Gll. Instances of special constructions, too, and idioms, I have ignored.[3] Wulfstan words have already been given in the Addenda from my own slips. In conclusion, I must express my regret that, owing to the way in which the work has gradually grown, it is in three parts instead of one.

List of Articles referred to (*see also* pp. 268 *and* 336).

Holt. = Holthausen, Ltbl. xxii (1901), 205.
Kluge = Kluge, Ltbl. iii (1882), 388.
Pg. = Pogatscher, AfdA. xxv, 1.
St. = W. H. Stevenson, Trans. of the Philol. Soc., 1895–8, p. 528.
Swn. = Swaen, ES. xxvi, 125.
Zup. = Zupitza, ZfdA. xxxi, 1 (Abbo Glosses).

***ābrēdan**, to bake. Ldm. ii, 114 [26]. Cf. Kluge.

***†āholt**, oak wood, CD. vi, 243. Cf. Kluge.

ēbrucol, sacrilegious [BT.]. *Sacrilegis* = *æbrucolon*, PGH. 402. Cf. Kluge.

***ā-efesian (of)**, to cut off. ÆG. 157 [16]. Cf. Pg. 4.

æfhynde, absens [BT.]. Ang. xiii, 387 [316].

ēgscyll, egg-shell [BT.]. Ldm. i, 376 [9]; iii, 6 [29]. Cf. Kluge.

[1] In this list I have not included words from the alphabetical glossaries to editions like *ÆS.*, *Assm.*, *LSc.*, *NGl.*, etc., nor have I admitted the words in the *Gerefa*, as these latter can now be found in *GesAgs.* ii.

[2] Thus in ES. xxxiii, 178, we find *wrītīren* with a reference, but BT. already has it from the same source.

[3] E.g. *behatan* with gen. (ES. xxvi, 126), *on borg gan* (ibid., p. 126), etc.

***ælþēodiglic**, foreign. *On ælþeodiglicum gegyrlan*, MH. 112 [5]. Cf. Holt. The dictionaries have the adverb.

æppelfæt, apple-vessel [BT., H.]. Cf. Zup., p. 19.

***æthealdan**, reservare, LSc. 109 [18]. Cf. Pg. 5.

[**æwerd**, perverse.] Cf. M. Förster, Archiv, cx, 355.

ansȳn, see above, p. 270. Cf. further, Pg. 6, "*ansȳn* ist auch neutr.; vgl. Grein, Cook und Lindelöf; ferner Beda 486 [6]."

āpullian, to pull. *Smyrest . . . ða stowe þe þa hær beoð of apullud*, Lcdm. i, 362 [10]. Cf. Kluge.

ārāsod, trained, skilled [BT., H.]. *Swa þas þing þincað þam arasedum clericum unweorðlice*, Ang. viii, 312 [43]. Cf. ES. xxxv, 331.

ātillan, adtingere [S.]. LSc. 100 [115]. Cf. Pg. 6. See also BT., s.v. *tillan*.

***ātwēonian**, impers., to doubt. *Gif hwam atweonige*, Ang. viii, 333 [6]. Cf. ES. xxxv, 333.

***āwrēnan**, to make wanton. Lcdm. ii, 144 [23]. Cf. Kluge.

bearhtmian, stridere [BT., H.]. *Bearhtmiendum = stridente*, ZfdA. ix, 405 (Hpt. gl.). Cf. Kluge. The dictionaries record a *brehtniende* glossing *stridende* from WW. 486 [11]. Both these are gll. to the same Latin passage, viz., Aldhelm, ed. Giles, 2 [25].

***becīdan**, to complain. *Þa sunderhalgan 7 ða boceras, þe beciddon þ Crist mid þam synfullum mannum hine gereordode*, ÆH. ii, 470 [6]. Cf. Kluge.

***belīman**, conglutinare, LSc. 96 [19]. Cf. Pg. 6.

***belltīd**, hour at which the bell for prayer is rung. Cf. St., p. 529.

***bēordræsta**, dregs of beer. Lcdm. ii, 98 [27]. Cf. Kluge.

***†beregnian**, to ornament. *Mid sylure berenod*, CS. iii, 366. Cf. Pg. 7.

***beswǣtan**, to sweat. LSc. 111 [14]. Cf. Pg. 7.

beswicenes, deditio [BT., S.]. ZfdA. xx, 40. Cf. Heyne, ES. vii, 132, and Pg. 7.

bisene, blind. To the examples given above on p. 274 add GrD. 275 [2], where the nom. sing. occurs (*bysne*, MS. C.; *bysene*, MS. O.); cf. Jordan, Eigentümlichkeiten des anglischen Wortschatzes, 1906, p. 22. This shows the nominative to be *bisene*, not *bisen*.

***bredweall**, wall of boards. Chron. A.D. 189. Cf. Pogatscher, EE. xx, 148.

***breðel**, name of an unfruitful plant or shrub? Pg. 7 quotes it from Grein-Wülker, i, 325 [16] (= Lcdm. i, 384 [11]), *Swa breðel þeo, swa þystel* (may he flourish like a 'breðel' or like a thistle). Is it not simply an error for *bremel*?

***brimsa**, a gadfly? Pg. 7 calls attention to the Leiden gl. (OET. 116 [230] and Hessels, The Leiden Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary, Cambridge, 1906, p. 49 [82]) *tabanus = briusa*, where another hand has written *mi* over the line and underdotted the *u*,[1] thus altering to *brimisa*. But P. Glogger, Das Leidener Glossar, Augsburg, 1901–3, ii, p. 85, suggests that the alteration was by an O.H.G. scribe, and this seems probable. The sixteenth century English *brimse* (cf. N.E.D.) is, no doubt, a later loan-word.

***bune**, the hollow stem of a plant. *Canna = harundo, calamus ł bune*, WW. 198 [12]. Cf. Pg. 7 and *bun*, *boon* in NED., and *bun* in Wright-Wülcker's Dial. Diet.

***byrdestre**, an embroideress. OET. 109 [1153] (= KL. 8 [11], etc.). Cf. Pg. 7 and Ang. xix, 115.

byrnsweord, flaming sword [BT., S.]. *Þonne he his byrnsweord getyhþ*, B 109 [34]. Cf. Pg. 8.

byrðenmæte, burdensome [BT., S.]. *Honerosa = byrðenmete*, ZfdA. 41 [1011] (= WW. 83 [10]). Cf. Zupitza's note and Pg. 8.

bytming, bottom part (of the ark) [BT.]. ÆH. i, 536 [10, 14]. Cf. Kluge.

[1] Cf. Glogger, i, 91, and Hessels, p. 49, note.

***†cæsternisc**, civic (Thorpe), städtisch, bürgerlich (Pg.)? Pg. 8 gives it with a ref. to Thorpe's Dipl. Angl. 244[13] (= CS. iii, 366), *ii. blace ræyl cæsternisce.*

***casse(-a?)**, a net (Lat. *cassis*). *Casses* = *retia ł cassan*, WW. 200[36]. Cf. Pg. 8.

***cēacādl**, disease of the cheek. *Wiδ cocadle*, Ledm. ii, 310[25]. Cf. Pg. 8.

***cersihte**, overgrown with cress. Cf. St. 530.

cildyld, childhood [BT., H.]. *Cildyld byδ wæt 7 wearm 7 hyra blod byδ wæt 7 wearm*, Ang. viii, 299[28]. Cf. ES. xxxv, 330.

cimbstān, the basis of a pillar [H., S.]. *Bases* = *cimstanas*, LSc. 226[2]. It is in BT. on the authority of Som., Ben., Lye. Cf. Pg. 8 and NED. s.v. *chime* and *chimb*.

***clǣsnungdrenc** (= **clǣns-**), purging drink, purgative. *Ne biδ alefed on þissum dagum þæt man . . . . clæsnungdreneas drince*, MH. 72[27]. Cf. Holt; MLN., xvii, 123; and ES. xxxiii, 177.

***cliþe**, burdock [BT., S.]. *Lappa* = *cliþae*, OET. 76[613] (Epin. gl.). Cf. Pg. 8 and NED. s.v. *clithe*. Or is it miswritten for *clibae*? Corp. has *clibe* and Erf. *clifae*. Cf. **cliþwyrt** (in Addenda, p. 340).

***cloccettan**, to palpitate. *Seo wamb . . . cloccet, swa swa hit . . . sleegete*, Ledm. ii, 220[20]. Cf. Pg. 8.

cnitian, to dispute [BT., S.]. *Disputat* = *cnitaδ*, LSc. 51[12]. The inf. is *cnitian*, not *cnitan*, as given by Pg. 8.

***crinc**, 'cothurnus, geflochtener Bastschuh.' *Cuturno* = *crince*, ZfdA. xxv, 250. Cf. Kluge, ES. xx, 333, and Pg. 8.

cwen(e)fugol, hen-bird [H., S.]. It is in BT. on the authority of Som., Ben., Lye. ES. viii, 479[91] (MS. S. 8); †476[78] (MS. Vesp.). Cf. Swn. 127.

cwidol, eloquent (besides **cwedol**). Grein-Wülker, i, 315[63]. Cf. Pg. 8.

cylle, masc. [from Lat. *culleus*], **cylle**, wk. fem., **cyll**, str. fem. [= N.H.G. *Kelle*], a leather bottle, a vessel. Cf. Zupitza, AfdA. xi, 127, and Pg. 8.

***dǣdlæt**, slow to act, sluggish. OET. 152. Cf. Pg. 9.

***dægcūδ**, clear as the day. *Ne þær owiht inne ne belife . . . . þ hit ne sy dægcuδ*, Grein-Wülker, ii, 252[40]. Cf. Pg. 9.

dǣl, also neuter. Cf. Pg. 9.

datārum, date [BT., H.]. *On þam datarum þe we rædaδ vi kł. aprł*, Ang. viii, 310[32]. Cf. ES. xxxv, 331.

domne, also used of women, nun, abbess. *Domne Eue*, Liebermann, Die Heiligen Englands, 3[4, 10, 21]. Cf. Pg. 9.

***dracu**, misery, persecution? Swaen, ES. xxvi, 127, cites this form from my Wst. 91[7] (MS. E.). The passage occurs in three MSS., and runs: *wracu 7 gedrecednes*, MS. A.; *sacu 7 gedr.*, MS. C.; *dracu 7 gedr.*, MS. E. Although *dracu* is quite a possible form, I am inclined, in the absence of any other evidence of its existence, to believe that it is a misspelling for *wracu*, caused by the *dr* of the following word catching the scribe's eye.

ēahwund, wound in the eye [BT., H.]. Cf. Zup., p. 20.

***ealdgefā**, old enemy. *Þa mette hiene his ealdgefana sum 7 hiene ofstang*, Oros. 118[34]. Cf. Pg. 9 and ES. xxx, 340.

earfoδcierre, difficult of conversion [BT., H.]. *He wæs longe ær swiδe earfaδcierre to Godes gelcafan*, MH., 112[20]. Cf. ES. xxxiii, 177.

***Eastrosymbel**, Feast of the Passover [O.North.]. Cf. Cook and Pg. 9.

efnes, truly, indeed. *Efnes hit biδ gelic rena scurum*, Wst. 149[5]. Swn. p. 127 renders it 'just as,' and suggests that it is from *efne swa*. But it means not 'just as,' but 'truly, indeed,' and the *s* is simply the common genit. adverbial ending, as Sohrauer, p. 34, recognized. This same passage occurs again, Wst. 264[1], where the MSS. read *efne*.

***†eg)wirf**, part of the tackle of a harrow, or a beast (*weorf*) allotted for harrowing. Cf. St., p. 530.

***endetīma**, end of life. *Þæt he us gefylste . . . . Þ we on urum endetiman swa wacigende beon on godum dædum*, Feiler, Ae. Benediktiner-Offizium, 80[2]. Cf. ES. xxxv, 333.

fandere, a tempter [H., S.]. In BT. on authority of Som., Ben., Lye. LSc. 206[4]. Cf. Pg. 10.

***fēower**, four times. *Se earma man wile drincan ðreo swa feala, ge feower swa feala swa his nead wære*, Assm. 145[59]. Cf. ES. xxxii, 153. Instances of this use of the cardinal numerals in M.E. were given by Zupitza in Archiv, lxxxiv, 329 (*ten so bright*, 'ten times as bright,' etc.).

***fiftēnewintre**, fifteen years old. *Ða he wæs fiftenewintre*, BlH. 213[1]. Cf. Pg. 10.

***flocgian**, emicare. *Emices = flocgest*, PGH. 399. Cf. Kluge, PBB. ix, 161.

fnǣran, to snort [BT., S.]. *Ofer Þe fearras fnærdon*, Grein-Wülker, i, 321. Cf. Pg. 10.

fnǣrettan, to snort, fume [BT., S.]. *Frendens = fnærettende*, WW. 242[29] (so MS., not *fnæsettende*, as in WW. Cf. Kluge, ES. xi, 511, and Ltbl. 1898, 14).[1]

[fnǣsettan.] Cf. last word.

***fōrbed**, bed for a journey. Cf. Zup., p. 21.

***forefæger**, very fair. ES. viii, 479[59]. Cf. Swn. 127.

***for(e)yrð**, headland of a ploughed field. Cf. St., p. 530.

forflȳgan, to put to flight [BT., H.]. Cf. Zup., p. 21.

***forgyten**, forgetful. *Crist sylfa cwæþ Þ he nelle gehyran Þæs gimeleasan 7 Þæs forgytenan mannes gebedrædene*, BlH. 57[4]; *Obliuiscitur = Byþ forgyten*, LSc. 187. Cf. Pg. 10 and Swn. 128. In the second instance it seems to me more likely that the glossator has mistaken *obliuiscitur* for a passive meaning, 'is forgotten,' otherwise he would naturally have rendered it by *forgyteð*.

***forlǣting**, intermissio. Ang. xiii, 439[1049], 444[1121].

***forligerwīf**, a harlot. *Seo Affra wæs ærest forlegerwif*, MH. 140[19]; *Þu eart meretrix, Þæt is forlegerwif*, ibid. 140[23]. Cf. Holt. and ES. xxxiii, 178.

forslǣwan, to make slow, put off, be irksome [BT., S.]. *Ðonne wile he gerecccan Ðæt he noht unryhtlice hit ne forslæwde*, CP. 284[3]; *Non te pigeat uisitare infirmum = Na Þe forslæwe geneosian untrumne*, LSc. 202[4]. Cf. Pg. 10 and ES. xxx, 340. Cf. further the gl. *Obtundo = Aslæwe*, ES. xi, 66 (= NGl. 18[b], 65), where I gave the ref. to CP.

forþeahting, exhortation [S.]. *Exortationis = forþahtinege*, Ang. xiii, 447[1167]. BT. has the incorrect form *forþ-atineg*.

***framung**, profectus. Ang. xiii, 398[488].

furlang. Cf. St., p. 531.

fylleðflōd, high tide [BT.]. In OET. and WW. (from Corp. gll.) *fylledflod = malina*. It also occurs in MH. 40[21], *Se fylleðflod beð nemned on Leden malina*. Cf. ES. xxxiii, 177.

gēar, also masculine. Cf. Ltbl. 1882, 388; ES. ix, 38 (note); Sohrauer, p. 49; AfdA. xxv, 10.

***gebaswian**, to stain crimson. *Þa stanas wæron gebaswad mid his blode*, MH. 64[5]. Cf. ES. xxxiii, 177.

gebrēfan, to set down in writing [BT.]. *Gif hwyloum cnihte lyste ma Þinga . . . . be him witan Þonne we her habbaþ gebreued*, Ang. viii, 308[11]. Cf. ES. xxxv, 331. H. gives "*gebrēwed*? explained," with this ref.

***gebyrgen**, an infant's swaddling clothes (= N.E. dial. *barrie, barrow*). *Genime heo sylf hyre agenes cildes gebyrgenæ dæl*, Lædm. iii, 68[5] (= Grein-Wülker, i, 327[16]). Cf. Pg. 10.

***geedstālian**, restaurare. Ang. xiii, 366[15]. Cf. Pg. 10. Cf. *stālian* in Wst. 267[20].

***gelæca**, emulous. *Emula = gelæcea ł gelæcende*, PGH. 391. Cf. Pg. 10.

[1] I have since examined the MS. and find that it clearly reads *fnærettan*.

gemyndlȳst, madness [BT., H.]. Cf. Zup., p. 22 (cf. note, p. 7).

***genǣman**, to take away. *He het þriddan dæl agifan þam mannum þe he hit ær on genæmde*, Guthl. Goodwin, 14 [11]. Cf. Pg. 10.

gerecan, str. vb., to go, move [BT., H.]. *þ blod tosamne geræc* (= *congelauerat*), BlH. 183 [35]; cf. Max Förster, Archiv, xci, 189. Further, *Congelauerat* = *tosomne gerætˡ* (read *geræc*), WW. 208 [32]; cf. Pg. 10. If the gl. *ingesserunt* = *in ræcan*, WW. 420 [18], quoted in S. s.v. *recan*, contains this verb, it must also have been used transitively in the sense of 'to bring, convey'; it is a gl. to Aldhelm, 45 [27], *ubi cloacarum cuniculi putores stercorum ingesserunt*.

getēorodnes, exhaustion [BT.]. Cf. Zupitza, ZfdA., xx, 45, and Heyne, ES. vii, 132.

***geweorpan**, to catch by throwing. CP. 309 [18]; PsTh. 10 [7]. Cf. ES. xxvi, 133 and 452.

gewif, fate, destiny. Cf. Sievers, ZfdPh. xxi, 358, and Pg. 11. Sievers pointed out that this must be separated from *gewef* 'a web.'

glentrian (besides **glendran**), to swallow [BT., S.]. LSc. 107 [8]. Cf. Pg. 11.

gra}ol, a gradual, antiphon [BT., S.]. Ang. xiii, 436 [1020].

***hæbbednys**, continence? *Syn we clæne beforan þæs Ælmihtigan ansyne þurh lichaman ures hæbbednysse*, Ang. viii, 320 [3]. Cf. ES. xxxv, 332.

†hærfest, August. Not in the dictionaries with this special meaning. Ang. x, 185 (MS. Vesp.). Cf. Pg. 11.

***hanasang**, cock-crow. MH. 4 [16]. Cf. Holt. and MLN. xvii, 123.

hāswēge, sounding hoarsely [BT., H.]. PGH. 391. Cf. Kluge.

healfscyldig, half guilty [BT., H.]. Cf. Zup., p. 23.

h(e)alstan, a kind of cake (not 'crystal,' as in H., S.) [BT.]. Cf. Dieter, Ang. xviii, 291; Schlutter, ibid. xix, 105; MLN. xi (1896), 331; Pg. 11.

hēcen, a kid [BT., S.]. *Æfter þam ylcan gewunan nymaþ þ heeyn*, Ang. viii, 322 [10]. Cf. Eckhardt, ES. xxxii, 347, and Swaen, ES. xxxv, 332. See also Jordan, p. 140; J. cites from the charters *hecenes hangra*, CD. iv, 49 [11]; this is from the late twelfth century Cod. Winton.

heortân-cnys or **heort-angnys**? distress of the heart [BT., H.]. Cf. Zup., p. 23 and note on p. 13.

heorðland? Quoted by Kluge from CD. iii, 18 (Kemble has *herð-*, not *heorð-*); it is no doubt for *eorðland* = *yrðland*, 'arable land.'

***higð**, a striving. *Acutis nisibus* = *Mid scearpum higðum*, Zup., p. 14 [369].

[hordrēden.] Quoted by Kluge from Thorpe's Analecta, p. 123; it is evidently miswritten for *heord-*. The passage in question is from the twelfth century MS. Bodl. 343. The same homily was printed by Skeat, and MS. Julius E. vii reads *hyrd-*, MS. Ii. 1, 33 *heord-* (ÆS. ii, 324 [158]).

***hregresi**? groin. Cf. quotation under **lesca**, and Steinmeyer, ZfdA. xxxiii, 244. Cf. also MLN. xi, 333.

hrif. Kluge quotes an instance of this as *masculine* from "Legg., p. 6." This means R. Schmid's Gesetze der Ags., where we read *Gif hrif wund weorðeð . . . . Gif he þurhþirel weorðeð*. Kluge takes the *he* to refer to *hrif*, and hence regards it as masc., but we must evidently read *hrifwund*, 'wounded in the belly' (as B T. does), and take the *he* to refer to the man.

impian, ge- [BT.]. H. gives a ref. to the Gerefa (Ang. ix, 262 [12] = GesAgs. i, 454 [12]), where it means 'to graft.' Wülfing, ES. xxvi, 454, records two instances from CP. 98 [18] and 132 [25] in the sense of 'to associate with, make conversant with.'

innung, a dwelling. Not in BT., S., in this sense. LSc. 11 [18]. Cf. Pg. 12.

[1] I have since examined the MS.; it clearly has *geræc*.

inwrītere, a writer, secretary [BT., H.], Cf. Zup., p. 23.

***Is-earn**, kingfisher. Cf. Holthausen, Ltbl. x, 446. It occurs in OET. 39 (Corp. Gl. 115), *alcion* (for *alcyon*) = *isern*. Cf. N.H.G., *Eisvogel*, 'the kingfisher.'

***land**, ridge in a ploughed field. Cf. St., p. 532.

lēf, damage? Cf. M. Förster, Archiv, cx, 350.

lesca, groin [BT., S.]. *Inguen* = *lesca, hregresi*, OET. 110 (Erf. gl.) and KL. 8 (Erf. and Münster gll.). Cf. Steinmeyer, ZfdA. xxxiii, 244; MLN. xi (1896), 333; Pg. 13.

lēw, infirm, weakness; *ā-, gelēwed*. Cf. Pg. 12.

***merschōfe**, marsh hove (a plant). Ledm. ii, 94[3]. Cf. Pg. 13.

***morgengebedtīd**, morning prayer. *Ða he þa his morgengebedtida wolde Gode gefyllan*, Guthl. Goodwin, 40[25]. Cf. Pg. 13.

***†offringscēat**, offertory cloth. *ii pistolcla}as 7 iii corporale 7 iii offrincsceatas*, CS. iii, 366. Cf. Pg. 13. See above, p. 314, s.v. **offrungclāþ**.

***onfangend**, acceptor. Cf. Pg. 13.

***onscēotan**, to cut open, to open. Cf. Pg. 13.

ortgeardlēah, orchard [BT., H.]. Cf. Zup., p. 25.

***oxangang**, an eighth of a 'ploughland.' Cf. St., 532.

***†pistolclāþ**, vestment worn when reading the epistle, or cloth covering the lectern at which the epistle was read, lectorinus? See quotation under **offringscēat**. Cf. Pg., p. 14.

scandlufiende, loving disgracefully [BT., H.]. Cf. Zup., p. 25.

sceaddgenge? seasonable for shad. It is in BT., H., S. from CD. vi, 147[18]; but Schrader in the Festgabe für Sievers, 1896, p. 3, and Pogatscher in AfdA. xxv, 14, rightly point out that the compound is doubtful, and it seems probable that we should read *þonne sceadd genge sy* (when shad is 'genge' or seasonable).

***sceald**, shallow. Cf. St., p. 532.

sēaw, juice, masc. as well as neuter; cf. PBB. ix, 237, and Pg. 14.

†singrēne, adj., always green. All the dictionaries have it as sb. = 'house-leek'; as adj. it is wanting in BT., H.; and S. only gives the meaning 'green, uncooked' (vegetables). *Ne fealleð þær næfre leaf of, ac heo byð singrene*, ES. viii, 475[13] (from Vesp.). Cf. Swn. 131.

strōd, marshy land (overgrown with brushwood or trees?) [H., S.]. It is in BT. from charters, but no meaning is given. Cf. St., p. 537.

***styfic**, a clearing in a wood. Cf. St., p. 541.

torn, anger, is neuter, not masc., as H. and S. Cf. Sievers, ZfdPhil. xxi, 360, and Pg. 15.

***†tōsnēdan**, to cut in pieces. *Sarus he mid seaxum tosnædod wære*, NR 28[5]. Cf. Pg. 15.

***†tōweaxan**, to grow apart. NR 22[7, 10, 12]. Cf. Pg. 15.

trūs, brushwood [H., S.]. Cf. St., p. 5

***tūnhōfe**, a plant-name. Ledm. ii, 34 Cf. Pg. 15.

***þrēo**, three times. Cf. **frēower**.

unbleoh. On the meaning see Pg. 15 and ES. xxvi, 453.

***unlȳfe(n)dlic**, not allowed. *Inli cita* = *unlyuendlicum* (MS. A.), *unle fid-licum* (MS. B.). Cf. Zup., p. 8

un}rōwendlicnes, impassibility [BT., H.]. Cf. Zup., p. 14[330].

***†wenneīcen**, wenn-chicken, i.e. little wenn. Cf. Zupitza, ZfdA. xxxi 46, and Pg. 15.

***wisce**, a piece of meadow. Cf. St., p. 542.

***†wuduhēwet**, felling of wood. GesAgs. i, 567. Cf. Pg. 16.

***wundorhælo**, a wonderful healing. Beda, ed. Miller, 446[12]. Cf. Pg. 16.

XI.—NOTES ON ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY. By the Rev. Professor Skeat (President).

[*Read at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society on May* 4, 1906.]

Awp. In Dunbar's Thistle and Rose, st. 18, Dame Nature bids the king of birds, the eagle, to be as just to "awppis" and owls as to peacocks and parrots. Jamieson explains *awp* as being another form of *whaup*, a curlew; which is incredible and needless.

Awp is obviously the Northern form of *alp*, a bullfinch; see *Alp* in N.E.D. and E.D.D., *Awbe* in N.E.D., and *Nope* in E.D.D.

Bandalore, a toy. Defined in the N.E.D. as "a toy containing a coiled spring [*sic*], which caused it, when thrown down, to rise again to the hand, by the winding up of the string by which it was held." The rarity of misprints in the N.E.D. is wonderful; but in this case, the word *spring* is a misprint for 'string,' as everyone knows who has played with the toy. I once had one of my own; you wind the string up again by a dexterous jerk given at the right moment.

No one has ever given a reasonable guess at the etymology. I think it tolerably obvious that it is a popular form, made by association with the E. *band* (representing the string) of the F. *brandilloire*, a swing, which Littré gives as a word seldom used; most dictionaries omit it, though Cotgrave has it twice, with and without the final *e*. It is from *brandiller*, to swing or dangle; from *brandir*, to brandish. It means 'a dangling swing,' which most exactly describes it. The principle is the same; you keep up the motion by an impulse given at the right moment.

Bantel. This word occurs in the poem called Cleanness, 1459, where a castle is described as "Enbaned vnder batelment with *bantelles* quoynt"; in the Pearl, 992, where the new Jerusalem has "*bantelez* twelve on basyng boun"; and in the Pearl, 1017, "The wal abof the *bantels* bent." The word belongs rather to Provençal than to Northern French. Godefroy has merely *bane*, with the sense of 'horn.' But Mistral has mod. Prov. *bano*, a horn, with a number of phrases in which it is used; also *baneto*, a little horn; the E. *bantel* represents

a mod. Prov. form **banetello*, or O.F. **banetel*, a double diminutive. The difficulty in the present case is to find out in what secondary sense the word 'horn' has to be taken. For this purpose, we have to consider the curious word *enbaned*, which also occurs in these poems, and is likewise a derivative of the O.F. *bane*, a horn. It occurs twice; once in the line already quoted: "*Enbaned* vnder batelment with bantelles quoynt," the subject being "casteles arayed"; and in Gawain, 790, where a castle-wall is described as being "*Enbaned* vnder the abataylment in the best lawe," i.e. in the best way. Thus in both cases the word *enbaned* is a term used in fortification. But the mod. Prov. *embana* is similarly used, and is explained by "garnir ou munir de cornes," and *embanamen*, sb., is distinctly said to be "terme de fortification, ouvrage à cornes." This "ouvrage à cornes" is described in Littré as a term in fortification, exactly like what in English is termed a 'horn-work'; see N.E.D. Moreover, the mod. F. *corne* is used, architecturally, with the sense of 'a salient angle.' We may conclude that an *embanamen* was made with a kind of horn-work, an outwork with angles, including a space like three sides of a square beyond the main-wall; and such a horn-work may well have been called a *bantel*. The phrase *under batelment* suggests that these outworks were battlemented like the main wall itself; and the phrase *on basyng boun* means that they were prepared upon a good foundation. They would require a firm basis because of their superior height. I would, therefore, explain "Enbaned vnder batelment with bantelles quoynt" by "provided, beneath battlements, with fair outworks." Also "banteles twelve on basyng boun," by "twelve outworks provided with strong foundations." And lastly, "the wal abof the bantels bent" may perhaps mean "the wall above the outworks that were bent at their corners," or "the wall above the cornered outworks." What we want to help us out is a picture of an old castle that answers the description. The pictures in Knight's Old England of such castles as Rochester (fig. 375) or Cardiff (fig. 390) probably show what is meant. Thus Rochester keep-tower has a three-angled projection or 'horn' at each of its four corners, and the battlements on these projections are higher and more conspicuous than the rest. The most conspicuous part of the Tower of London has similar *bantels* at each corner. Further, the new Jerusalem was four-square, with twelve *bantels*. That is, it had an outwork at each corner, and two more in each of its faces.

Battel. As early quotations for *battel*, in the sense of 'college account,' or for the allied verb, are not very numerous, it seems worth while to notice the very clear notice of it in Minsheu's Dict., ed. 1627. Under the obvious heading, he merely says: "*Battle*, as scholars doe in Oxford, and other places." But under the heading *Size* he tells us more. "A *Size* is a portion of bread or drinke, it is a *farthing*, which Schollers in Cambridge have at the buttery; it is noted with the letter *S.*, as in Oxford with the letter *Q.*, for half a farthing, and *q*^{a} [the *a* above is indistinct] for a farthing; and whereas they say in Oxford, to Battle in the Buttery-booke, i. to set downe on their names what they take in Bread, Drinke, Butter, Cheese, etc.; so in Cambridge they say to Size, i. to set down their quantum, i. how much they take on their names in the Buttery-booke." See *Assize* in N.E.D.

Batten, to improve, get better. This is usually connected with the Icel. *batna*, to improve. That it is a real Norse word is further shown by the Swed. dial. form *battna* (Rietz), and the modern Norw. *batna* (Aasen).

Battle. The N.E.D. has *battle*, adj., nourishing, fattening, and *battle*, vb., to nourish; and conjectures that the verb is derived from the adjective, as the latter appears to be the older. As the verb *to batten* is of Norse origin, it is likely that *battle* is the same. As Danish often turns a final or medial *t* into *d*, we find the adj. rightly represented by M. Dan. *badel*, fat and sleek, which Kalkar expressly equates with the E. form; also by Dan. dial. *baddel*, fat, thriving, plump (Molbech), Jutland *baddel* (Feilberg). This is very helpful, as it settles the priority of the adj. form.

Borstall. Explained as 'a way up a hill'; and it has been suggested that it is derived from A.S. *beorh*, a hill. The place-name *Burstall*, in Suffolk, suggests that it answers rather to A.S. *burh-steal*, given in Wright-Wülcker's Glossary, col. 205. 36:—"*Cliuium, i. discensum*, helde, burh-steal." The spelling with *o* occurs in Birch, Cart. Saxon. i. 364:—"Silva in Gealt-borgsteal ad ecclesiam de Ferring." We may, perhaps, take *burh* or *borg* to mean 'hill-fort.' See *burgstal* and *burgsteal* in Bosworth. Again, the dat. *Borstealle* occurs in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 209, l. 5; and Earle, in his glossary to his Land-Charters, quotes the form *Borh-steall* as the old spelling of Bostal in Kent. This seems to show that *borh* was occasionally used as a variant of *burh* as well as in the sense of 'pledge'; the derivation in both cases being from the weak grade of the root-verb *beorgan*.

Brake; as in *fern-brake*, a fern-bush. No very early examples appear to have been found, but the word may be native. For we find the A.S. accus. *fearn-braca* (fem. pl. ?) in Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 295, last line. If the form is correct we may deduce a strong fem. form *brac*. Koolman gives the monosyllabic form *brāk*, with the same sense, in which the *a* has been lengthened. He also cites the proverbial phrase "dōr busk un brak," through bush and brake. Rietz gives Swed. dial. *brakar*, bushes, as a masc. pl.

Bush. Usually derived from the Lat. *boscus*, which occurs, by the way, in the Laws of Cnut and in the Laws of Edward the Confessor. The E. and Norse forms are merely borrowed.

I wish to point out that the form *bush* may be considered as the E. form, as distinguished from the M.E. *busk*, which is the Norse form. There are sufficient traces in the A.S. Charters for us to assume an A.S. **bysc*, giving also a form *bish*. In the first place, it occurs in place-names. Not in Bushbury, Staffs., for that is short for Bishopbury; but surely it occurs in Hollybush, Monm.; Bushey, Herts.; Bushley, Worc.; in an A.S. form (*Wardebusc*) which was turned into the Norman Warbois, Hunts.; and certainly in Bushmead, Beds. Now the M.E. forms of Bushmead are *Bissemede*, as in Feudal Aids, vol. i.; and *Bysmede*, Annales Monastici, vol. iii. Again, the M.E. forms of Bushey are *Bissey*, in the Hundred Rolls; and *Bussey* in the Red Book. The M.E. forms of Bushley are *Biselega* in Domesday Book (an early authority); and *Bisseley* in 1275 (Subsidy Rolls). These forms point (as said above) to an A.S. **bysc*, with mutation. Cf. A.S. *stybb*, E. *stub*; A.S. *pyt*, E. *pit*. We could then explain the place-name Wim-bish in Essex; for if here the suffix *-bish* does not mean 'bush,' it hardly seems possible to assign for it any origin at all. On the other hand, just as our *wimberry* is from A.S. *wīn-berie*, so Wimbish may be simply **wīn-bysc*, a 'wine-bush,' a vine.

Of the A.S. **bysc*, we can find clear traces in the Charters. I have already noted Wimbish, spelt *Wimbisc* in Kemble's Index. Then we have *Bissi*, in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 320; quite late; *Wilia-bys*, in Birch, iii. 169, which may be merely 'willow-bush'; the late Norman form *Bessenheie* (Bush-ey?), in Birch, i. 99; and the late form *Wiðí-busce-mere*, in Birch, i. 35; which simply means 'withy-bush mere.'

Finally, *Wardebusc* appears as an older form of Warbois in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 107.

Buskin. The Supp. to Godefroy throws some light upon this word. He gives, s.v. *brodequin*, an O.F. *bousequin* (without an *r*) in 1483, which is twenty years earlier than its first recorded use in E. This suggests a possible source of the E. word. At the same time, the usual O.F. forms are *brousequin* and *brosequin*. I see no difficulty in deriving these from the M. Ital. *borzachino*; Florio gives the pl. *borzachini* as meaning 'buskins, or fine bootes.' He also gives *borzachinetti*, with the double sense of 'little buskins,' and 'little cheuerell purses,' i.e. purses of kid-leather; and Zambaldi makes no difficulty of deriving all these words from M. Ital. *borza*, variant of *borsa*, a purse, orig. a purse made of skin or leather, from the Gk. *βύρση*, a hide. This explains *buskins* as being simply 'little casings made of leather.' It is quite easy to derive all the known forms of *buskin* in English, French, Spanish and Dutch from the Ital. form. The late F. *brodequin*, as Hatzfeld says, was affected by confusion with the verb *broder*, to embroider. I find a remarkably early quotation, in which the E. *buskyns* seems to have the sense of leather. In the York Wills, iii. 188 (A.D. 1471), there is a mention of 'j. tunicam de *buskyns*, et j. togam viridem.'

Chime. It is difficult to see how *chime* came to be shortened from *chimble*, a form of *cymbal*. Perhaps it is not derived immediately from the L. *cymbalum*, but from the Late L. *cymba*, a bell, a docked form of *cymbalum*. Ducange omits the word, but it occurs thrice in the Chronicon de Abingdon, ed. Stevenson, ii. 367, 398, 402, with reference to the dinner-bell of the monastery. "Prior *cymbam* pulsabit"; ii. 367. "Catenam *cymbæ* curabit reparare"; ii. 398. "Qui *cymbam* fuerit pulsaturus"; ii. 402. Or it may have been the case that *cymba* was immediately derived from Gk. *κύμβη*, a hollow cup, of which *κύμβαλον* is merely the diminutive. The Lat. neut. pl. *cymbala* was also used as a fem. sing.; cf. "Campana, cimbala, *belle*"; Voc. 198. 8.

Glind. The word *glind* is not in the A.S. Dictionaries. I think it certainly meant 'a piece of ground railed in,' or 'an enclosure railed round.' It answers to the Low G. *glint*, 'Einzaunung, Stacket, nam. bretterne Einfassung, Lattenzaun, *seps, circumsepta*'; Lübben. It occurs at least twice in the Charters. 'Andlang riðe on wican *glinde*,' along the stream to Wica's inrailed enclosure; Birch, i. 296. 'To glind-lea,' to the inrailed lea; id. ii. 587. There is a place named *Glynde* in Sussex, and a *Glinton* in Northants.

Griddle. This word represents an A.F. form hitherto undiscovered. But the required A.F. form is *gridile*, which occurs in l. 488 of the Nominale which I have now in type, and is glossed by *rosting-hiron*.

Huilpa. In the Codex Exoniensis, p. 307, in the poem called the Seafarer, we find a reference to "ganotes hleothor and *hu-ilpan* sweg," i.e. to the cry of the gannet and the note of the *hu-ilpa*. It is agreed that the reference is to some kind of bird. I think the apparent break in the word is accidental; in fact, Dr. Sweet prints it *huilpan*, in two syllables, and it alliterates with *hleahtor*, laughter. I take *hu* to be the same as *hw*; and the weak nom. *hwilpa* may be connected with a verb **hwilpan*, in which the *i* (= *ie*) may be the mutated form of *ea*, from a base **hwealp-*. A base of this form would answer to a later Northern E. *whaup*, which means 'a curlew,' or (as a verb) 'to cry as a curlew, to whistle, to whine.' It seems likely, then, that the bird named *hwilpa* was simply 'the whistler' or 'the curlew.' Falk and Torp connect Dan. *hvalp*, E. *whelp*, with the idea of 'whining,' and compare Icel. *hvellr*, shrill.

Lop. The earliest quotation for the verb *to lop* is dated 1519. But in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 240, we find *æt loppede thorne*; and if this means "at the lopped thorn," it follows that there was an A.S. verb *loppian*, to lop. The date of the original copy of the charter is A.D. 958.

Meek. The A.S. *mēoc* has not been found. Perhaps it occurs in the place-name *Mēoces-dūn*, in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. v. 297; Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 557.

Moo. In connexion with *moo*, to denote the lowing of a cow, we may note the modern Norman and O. French *muir*, from the Lat. *mugīre*.

Mugwort. Mr. Mayhew kindly refers me to the Low G. *muggert*, mug-wort. Precisely the same form is given in the E.D.D. as known to E. dialects. As the Low G. word is obviously derived from *mugge*, a midge, it shows that my explanation of A.S. *mucgwyrt*, 'mugwort,' as meaning 'midge-wort,' is correct. Our *midge* is from A.S. *mycg*, which has the mutated vowel *y* instead of the original *u*.

Nailbourn. In the South an intermittent stream is called *an eylebourn* or a *nailbourn*. In N.E.D. s.v. *eylebourn*, the oldest spelling is given as *naylborne* in 1480. That this is right seems probable from the entry in Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 172, l. 3:—"thonne . . . ofdune on stream on *nægles burnan*."

In this case *Nægel* appears to be a proper name, so that the sense would be 'Nail's-stream.' On consulting Förstemann's book on personal names I find that he has *Nagal* as an O.H.G. name, A.D. 820; and the compound name *Nagelhard* or *Nagelhart*. But he also gives the forms *Nagalbach*, *Nagelbach*, as the name of a stream. It seems quite clear from this, that, whatever may be the right explanation, the form *nailbourn* should be seriously considered.

Nar-fish. I do not find the word *nar-fish* in the Dictionaries, but it is used by Torriano to translate the Ital. *pernocchia*. Diez translates the same word by *perlenmutter*, i.e. mother of pearl. I think it obvious that *nar* is merely an E. attempt at pronouncing the F. *nacre*, which according to Cotgrave means *a naker*; he adds that *naere de perles* means 'mother of pearle.' *Nar* and *naker* are alternative forms.

Recover, Recuperate. Both from the Lat. *recuperāre*, which is a difficult word to explain. It is also spelt *reciperāre*, and Brugmann, in his Shorter Comparative Grammar, 1902, i. 254, derives it from *capere*, to take; cf. *oc-cup-āre*, from the same source, containing the syllable *-cup-*. But he does not explain the *-er-*. However, this receives some light from the word *in-teg-er*, allied to *tangere*, and meaning 'that cannot be touched,' and so whole, complete. *Recuperāre* is formed like *redintegrāre*, and means 'to take back again,' i.e. to recover. Vaniček gives the same explanation (1877), p. 165.

Rogue. The etymology of the F. *rogue* is unknown. It has been compared with the Breton *rok*, *rog*, arrogant, and the Irish *rucas*, pride; as if it were of Celtic origin; for the O.F. *rogue* had the sense of 'arrogant.' But the idea of 'arrogance' is not very suitable for the *English* word. If the O.F. *rogue* can be derived from a Breton form *rok*, I suppose the English word may possibly be derived from a Low G. *rook*. Now the Low G. *rook* is the common E. *rook*, the name of a bird. I do not wish to take away the bird's character, but I regret to say that he probably lost it long ago. For, according to the Bremen Wörterbuch, he was a known rogue; we there find not only the proverb *He stilt as een Rook*, he steals like a rook, i.e. he is an arrant thief (*Erzdieb*), but a reminder that the E. verb *to rook* means to cheat or defraud, and the sb. *rook* is a cheat or a plucker of pigeons. The Cent. Dict. shows that Milton has both the sb. and the verb. The Dan. for *rook* is *raage*.

Rummer. It is disputed whether *rummer* is derived from a verb meaning 'to praise,' or from the city of Rome. Franck is strongly in favour of the former. We find mention of "Rhenish rummers," so that the word ought to be Low G. And we find Low G. *römer*, a rummer, *römen*, to praise (Bremen Wörterbuch); also *romer*, a rummer, *romen*, to praise (Lübben); also Du. *roemer*, a rummer, *roemen*, to praise, extol. The E. form corresponds to the W. Flemish *rummer*; and De Bo also mentions the W. Flem. diminutive *rummerken*, which is the obvious source of the E. *rumkin*, a little rummer, used by Davenant, The Wits, iv. 2 (Cent. Dict.). On the other hand, there is the story which I cannot verify, sent to me through Dr. Furnivall years ago, that the G. *Römer*, a rummer, was so called because it was used at the great feast of the Election in former times, when they drank the new Emperor's health in the *Römer-saal* at Frankfort. And this view is favoured by the remarkable fact that Hexham and Kilian spell the word *roomer*, quite distinct from the verb *roemen*, but agreeing with *Roome*, Rome.

Sarce, Searce, a sieve. In Nares, and in the Dialect Dict. The etymology given by Wedgwood, and adopted in the Century Dictionary, appears to be right. They equate it with the mod. F. *sas*, a sieve, whence *sasser*, to sift. The explanation may be that the *a* was long in O. French; see *saas* in Godefroy. The O.F. *aa* is here denoted in E. by *ar*, though the *r* is intrusive. The contrary confusion occurs in *dace*, from the O.F. *dars*. The O.F. *saas* corresponds to the mod. Prov. *seas*, *sedas*, Span. *cedazo*, Ital. *staccio*, from L. *saetāceum*; from *saeta*, a bristle, as noted by Diez. It is closely allied to *satin*.

Scholes. In the description of the Grene Knight (in Sir Gawayn, 160), we are told that he had spurs of bright gold, and rode with "*scholes* vnder schankes"; which has not been explained. The glossary suggests that it is a verb, which can hardly be the case, or that it is an error for *shoes*. But we do not wear shoes under our shanks. If we try to picture to ourselves the idea of a man on horseback, the only things that he can have under his shanks are the side-flaps of a saddle, or whatever, in former times, occupied that position. I suppose that, when the horse was armed as well as the man, there were thin plates in such a position, with a cloth between the plate and the horse's back. Something there must have been to keep the leg-armour from galling the horse. I therefore take *schole* to be the equivalent of the mod. Swed.

skolla, a lamina, a thin plate, usually of iron. It is the same word as the G. *scholle* in *eis-scholle*, a flake of ice, *erdscholle*, a clod of earth, or, dialectally, a slice of cut turf. It is related to *shell* and *scale*; and *scholes* may be understood as meaning *scales*, or even flaps; for the reference in the sense is to the shape, not to the material. Indeed, the Du. *schol* not only means a flake of ice, or a clod of earth, but the fish called a plaice; simply owing to its shape; and the same is true of the G. *scholle*. Cf. Lowl. Sc. *shool*, to shell.

Sigh. There is a remarkable difference between our *sigh* and the A.S. *sīcan*, of which the pt. t. was *sāc*. This A.S. *sīcan* is now represented by the prov. E. *sike*. The origin of *sigh* is pointed out in Mayhew's O.E. Phonology, § 814, as being a back-formation from the M.E. pt. t. *sigh-te*. This last form arose from *sīcan* being treated as a weak verb, so that the pt. t. became *sikede*, contracted to **sīkde*, **sīkte*, and thence to *sighte*, because *kt* regularly became *ght* in Early English; see, for instance, *Leighton* in the N.E.D. The forms are well illustrated from P. Plowman, B. xviii. 263, C. xxi. 276, where the various readings give us the forms *syked*, *siȝte*, and (by a new formation from the new infin. *siȝen*) also *siȝ-ede*, *siȝh-ede*, *syh-ede*.

Slab. We have in Macbeth, iv. l. 32, the line:—"Make the gruel thick and *slab*," i.e. thick, viscous. The E.D.D. has *slab*, thick, viscous, slimy. I can find no example of *slab* as an adjective in any foreign language except in Middle Danish; Kalkar gives the Mid. Dan. *slab*, slippery, allied to *slabber*, mire.

It is obviously derived from the second grade of the Icel. strong verb *sleppa*, to slip, pt. t. *slapp*, pp. *slyppinn*. Hence the word is of Scand. origin. It is remarkable that the verb with the sense 'slip' appears in three distinct forms and conjugations; with the infinitives **sleipan-(slīpan)*; Goth. *sliupan*; and O. Norse *sleppa*. Even the verb *to sleep* seems not remote, from the A.S. *slǽpan*. Cf. the Latin forms *lābī* and *lūbricus*.

Sleave, Sleave-silk. The origin of these words has not been clearly made out. The original form is *sleave*, meaning a tangle, an entanglement, a sense still common in our dialects; see E.D.D. Hence Shakespeare's phrase is quite correct: "Sleep, that knits up the ravelled *sleave* of care," i.e. the twisted entanglement. The word is not English, but High German. We must have got it from a Low G. source, such as *slöve*, *slöfe*, given by Koolman as E. Friesic. But this is merely borrowed from G. *schläufe*, which,

according to Kluge, is an older form of the mod. G. *schleife*, a loop, a knot, originally a slip-knot. And the reason why it has not properly been explained is, I believe, that the true vowel-sound was not perceived. The Low G. *ö*, G. *äu*, are derived from *au*, the second grade of the O.H.G. *io*, so that the root-verb is the O.H.G. *sliofan*, cognate with the Goth. *sliupan*, to slip, as Kluge explains. Hence the real Low G. form of *sleave* is not the High G. form *slöve* (with *v* from *f*), but *slöpe*, which is duly given in the Bremen Wörterbuch, and explained as a running-knot or slip-knot; and the following example is given: *de Slöpe is in enen knutten tagen*, i.e. the slip-knot is drawn into a real knot.

Sot. There is a difficulty as to whether the word *sot* is of Teutonic origin or not. I think we may safely conclude, with Franck, that it is so; and that the English form *sot* is of native origin. Toller gives four quotations for it; but we find it already existing as the first part of a compound in the Charters as early as 901; see *sot-ceorl* in Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 242, iii. 309. Gallée notes that it occurs early in O. Low German. Franck notes that it may fairly be considered as derived from the weak grade of a Teutonic root **swet*, which occurs in the Du. *zwetsen*, to tattle, to bounce, brag, i.e. to talk foolishly; whilst the second grade **swat* appears in the E. Fries. *swat*, swagger, boastfulness, and in the G. *schwatzen*, to tattle, to chatter. If this be right, the note of a *sot* was his empty and boastful talk. The Irish *suthan*, a booby, may have been borrowed from English. Thurneysen (p. 83) regards it as not Celtic.

Stalemate. Bacon, in his 12th essay On Boldness, uses the word *stale* alone. He says: "they stand at a stay; like a *stale* at Chesse, where it is no mate, but yet the game cannot stirre." I find no satisfactory explanation; and, indeed, Cotgrave merely explains *estal* as "a stall where wares are laid and shewed to be sold." But the term is no doubt of some antiquity, though Stratmann gives no reference for it. The sense readily appears when we look out the O.F. *estal* in Godefroy. He shows that it often meant precisely a fixed position, like the M.E. *stal*. Thus Layamon, in l. 1671, tells us of a furious attack made upon some Frenchmen by the Trojans, wherein three thousand men were killed; but "nothelas heo stal makeden," i.e. nevertheless they held their ground, and never budged. So in Godefroy we find *estal*, a fixed position; *prendre estal*, to take up a fixed position to await an attack; *se mettre à estal*, to stop short; *muer estal*,

to change one's position, to budge; *partir l'estal*, to give way; *en estal*, *à estal*, *tout à estal*, in the same place, in a firm position; *estre à estal*, *se tenir à estal*, to stand firm; and so on. Such phrases are very old; already in the Chanson du Roland, 2139, we have *ici prendrai estal*, here I will stop; and in l. 1108, *Nus remeindrum en estal, en la place*, we will remain fixed to the spot, firm in our place. These usages make it clear that the phrase *stale*, as applied to a mate at chess, was equivalent to the O.F. *à estal*, or *en enstal*, in a fixed position, from which it is impossible to budge. There is no further difficulty as to the etymology. The O.F. *estal* was really a sb., being derived from the O.H.G. *stal*, cognate with the E. *stall*. The phrase seems to be peculiar to English, and the foreign Dictionaries are very shy of noticing it. Thus the German Dictionaries give the G. word as *matt*, which really means check-mate; the Span. Dict. similarly gives *mate*. A rather early quotation for *stale* occurs in Montgomery's poem of the Cherrie and the Slae (pr. in 1597), l. 216:—"For vnder cure I gat sik *chek*, Quhilk I micht nocht remuif nor nek Bot eyther *stail* or *mait*"; where *nek* means 'prevent,' and *Bot* means 'without.' Mr. Harold Murray kindly tells me that *stale* is an English term, and was used without the addition of *mate* till 1800; and that *patt* is the usual continental term at the present day. The latter is given in the N.E.D. as *patt*, first appearing in English in 1735. It is derived from Ital. *patto*, an agreement, hence 'a drawn game,' from L. *pactum*, a pact. Mr. Murray also sends me a quotation for the A.F. *estaler*, to stop or bring to a standstill, which is the verb derived from the sb. *estal* above. The adj. *stale*, not fresh, is a closely connected word, and derived from the same O.F. sb. *estal* in a very different sense, viz., a stall or trestle where things were exposed for sale; when too long exposed, they were said to be *stale*, because they reminded one too much of the *stall*.

Sturdy. Certainly from the M.E. *sturdy*, often used in the sense of rash or reckless; and so from the O.F. *estourdi*, also used in the same sense, though it also means amazed, or even knocked down or knocked over, which may have been the original sense. The attempts to derive this O.F. word from Latin are unsatisfactory. Much better is the derivation favoured by Körting from a Teut. type **sturtjan*, represented by the Du. *storten*, G. *stürzen*, to precipitate, overthrow; which are probably allied to E. *start* and *startle*.

Swig. The only reasonable hint I can find as to *swig* is in the Century Dict., where it is suggested that *swig* may be connected with the Icel. *svelgja*, to swallow. There are two main difficulties (1) as to the vowel; and (2) as to the loss of *l*. As to the latter, Aasen's Norw. Dict. gives *svelgja*, to swallow, to gulp, with a note that in Sætersland and Telemarken (in the S. of Norway) the form used is *svægje*, with a weak past tense *svægde*, so that the *l* is here dropped.

There is a further possible argument in the fact that Aasen also gives the sb. *svælg*, with a note that in Telemarken it is pronounced *svæg*, meaning not only the swallow or gullet, but also precisely a mouthful, a gulp, or as much as one can swallow at once; which answers fairly to our phrase "to take or to have a swig." In Middleton's play of The Changeling, A. iv. sc. 1, Diaphanta says:—"But one *swig* more, sweet madam."

I merely give these as notes; I cannot say that the etymology is established.

Tag, Teg, a yearling sheep; E.D.D. Cf. Swed. *tacka*, a ewe.

Tun, a large barrel. All the best authorities derive *tun* from the Late L. *tunna*, a cask, found in the fifth century. Stokes and Macbain derive this Late L. form from a Celtic form **tunnā*, a skin, as it is well-known that the original receptacles for wine were wine-skins. This Celtic type is clearly represented by the mod. Irish *tonn*, W. *tonn*, skin; and the same form occurred in Gaelic, but is now obsolete.

I draw attention to this because it seems to illustrate a passage in Alfred's Orosius, ed. Sweet, p. 72, l. 30, where we are told that a servant of Cyrus attempted to swim over a great river *mid twām tyncenum*, i.e. by the aid of two inflated skins. The A.S. *tyncen* is tentatively translated in Toller by 'barrel' or 'bladder'; but it is really a diminutive of the Latin or Celtic *tunna*, and means 'small skin.' The interesting point is that the passage of a river by men who support themselves by help of inflated skins is actually represented on the Nineveh sculptures; see Nineveh and Persepolis, by W. S. W. Vaux, p. 249; and Ralph's book on Swimming tells us that the practice still exists in the East. Some men use but one skin, which is placed beneath them; but this requires an accurate poise, as on a bicycle, lest it should slip from under you. Two skins give a support like that of a tricycle.

Tup, a ram; **Tup-cat,** a tom-cat; E.D.D. Cf. Swed. *tupp*, a cock; Norw. *topp*, a cock (Ross).

Wassail. Very little information about the famous word *wassail* is to be had from Stratmann, who merely refers to Havelok, where the sb. *wesseyl* occurs at l. 1246, and the vb. *wesseylen*, *wosseylen* at ll. 1737, 2098. As the verb is derived from the sb., all that we have to rely upon for the ultimate etymology is the sb. *wesseyl*, which seems to be a Norman spelling. I have already noted that in the Royal Wills, ed. J. Nichols, p. 115, we find "un hanap dargent appellez *wassail*," a silver cup called *wassail*; A.D. 1382; and that the word occurs in Robert of Gloucester, where we find Rowena saying to Vortigern: "Louerd king, *washayl*," l. 2514 (v.r. *washail*, *wassaile*, *wasseyl*); see also ll. 2517, 2522. Here we have *washayl* correctly used as a form of salutation. But there is a much older account in Layamon, vol. ii. pp. 175–6; which records the forms of salutation, viz. "Leofue freond, *wæs hail*; the other sæiȝ *drinc hail*," i.e. "Dear friend, *wæs hail*; the other saith, *drinc hail*." We may here note that the later text has *wassail* as one word. As Layamon was translating from Wace, we find the true original passage in the edition of Wace by Dr. H. Andresen, vol. ii. p. 320, where the story is duly given, with the spelling *weisseil*, or, as one MS. has it, *wesse heil* (an obvious error for *wes heil*). These Norman forms do not rightly represent the A.S. *wes hāl*, but rather its O. Norse equivalent **wes heill* (with *wes* for *ves*, the old form of *ver*, be thou); cf. the O. Saxon *wes hēl*. The O. Saxon *wes* occurs in the Heliand, l. 5604; but is also spelt *wis*; and in the Heliand, l. 259, the Latin salutation *Aue Maria* is given as *Hēl wis thu, Maria*, where the A.S. version has *Hāl wes thū*, Luke, i. 28; see my article in N. and Q. 10th S. iii. 455. See *Be* in N.E.D., p. 716, col. 3, and *Hail*, adj., in the same.

Yaspen, Yespen, Gowpen. The E.D.D. gives *yaspen*, *yespen*, a double handful, as much as can be held in both hands together; and *gowpen* in the same sense. See *Gowpen* in N.E.D., where there is a cross-reference to *Yespen*. It is worth while just to note that these words are almost identical, being from the same root, and only differing in the suffix. *Gowpen* is from Icel. *gaupn*, f., a double handful, from the base *gaup-*. This *gaup-* = A.S. *gēap*, open, expanded, coincident as to form with *gēap*, the second grade of the root-verb *gēop-an*, to take up, receive. From the base *gēap-*, with the fem. suffix *-s-ōn-*, we obtain a Teut. type **gaup-s-ōn-*, A.S. **gēap-se*, f., represented by M.E. *yep-se*, pl. *yepsen*, which appears in Wright's Vocab. i. 147 (miswritten *thepsene*), to

translate the A.-F. *n. nauvre, ... jeune homme*. By metathesis, we have M.E. *aspe*, in Chaucer, Sec. N. 337, s.v. *elepe*, which is an erroneous form: and Way notes that Cotgrave, s.v. *jeusdis*, has: "a jeune homme: in some countries of England it is called a yeapon, in others a yeapond." The word is very widely spread. Cf. M. Swed. *aspa, espe*: Low G. *espe, espe* (Bremen), Low G. *espe, espe* (Lübben). M.H.G. *aspe, espine* (Schade), Bavar. *espfen, espfn* (Schmeller). Icel. *espi*.

COMPLETE INDEX TO THE NOTES ON ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY.

By the Rev. Professor SKEAT.

AT various dates, from 1882 to 1906, I have contributed Notes on certain English Etymologies to the Transactions of the Philological Society. A large number of these were reprinted in my book entitled "Notes on English Etymology," and published by the Clarendon Press in 1901, a few being suppressed that were found to be valueless.

Since that date more Notes of the same kind have annually appeared in the Transactions for 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, and 1906, so that they are now rather numerous and much scattered. The following index is intended to show at a glance where each note may be found.

Some words have been discussed more than once, but the information conveyed concerning them has usually been different. In a very few cases a note has unfortunately been repeated by oversight, for which I apologise. The worst case is the note on 'ledger,' which was discussed in 1903, and again in 1905, in almost identical terms, but the article only occupies six lines.

The following index is given in a much abbreviated form to save space, but can easily be made use of by any who will kindly glance at the explanation here given.

The following is the meaning of the italic letters given in the Index.

a. A note on "surround"; printed in the Transactions, 1882–4; p. 247.
b. Word-list in the same, 1885–6–7; p. 1.
c. Word-list in the same, 1885–6–7; p. 75.
d. The same, 1885–6–7; p. 283.
e. The same, 1885–6–7; p. 690.
f. 1888–90; p. 1.
g. 1888–90; p. 150.
h. 1888–90; p. 284.
i. 1891–4; p. 132.
j. 1891–4; p. 135.
k. 1891–4; p. 359.

l. 1899–1902; p. 261.
O. Paper read on May 4, 1900; not printed in the Transactions. (These few words can only be found (together with a few more) in my Notes on English Etymology, Oxford, 1901; which also contains nearly all in the lists noted above. But the following have been printed since.)
m. 1899–1902; p. 651.
n. 1903–6; p. 145.
p. 1903–6; p. 165.
q. 1903–6; p. 247.
r. 1903–6; p. 359.
s. See Index of English Words derived from Mexican in the Transactions, 1888–90; p. 149. Also the list of English words derived from West-Indian, on the same page.
t. See Index including words of Brazilian and Peruvian origin in the Transactions, 1885–6–7; p. 96.

I omit *o*; to avoid confusion with O. Some words are discussed twice; in such a case, I give both references.

I regret that some of the notes are incorrect, but I have reason to believe that the percentage of these is not large. Several are right and have been made use of.

W. W. S.

Abos, *k*, acajou, *s*, accompliment, *n*, accoutre, *b* (p. 2), agouti, *s*, aiz, O, aker, *k*, alaun (alaunt), *j*, alchemistre, *b* (p. 3), alpaca, *t*, amaze, *e*, ananas, *l*, anatta (annotto), *s*, andiron, *b*, angard, *q*, areimen, O, artichoke, *e*, askaunces, *i*, atone, *e*, awp, *r*, axolotl, *s*.

Bandalore, *r*, bantel, *r*, barbecue, *s*, barge, *c*, barrister, *b* (p. 3), baste (1), O, baste (2), O, baste, *p*, bat (1), *f*, bat (2), *c*, battel, *r*, batten, *r*, battle (*adj.*), *r*, battlement, *c*, bedene, *i*, beef-eater, *c*, beggar, *j*, beltane, O, berth, *q*, bewray, *c*, bezique, *b*, big, *m*, birr, *q*, blaze, *d*, blet, *g*, blot, O, blotch, O, blue, *c*, bluff, *d*, boast, *m*, *q*, boat, *n*, boatswain, *l*, bonfire, *d*, boose, *k*, booty, *d*, bore, *l*, borken, *k*, borstall, *r*, botargo, *d*, *e*, box (Christmas), *d*, brag, *m*, braid, *d*, brake, *r*, breast-summer (bressomer), *c*, bredes, *k*, brisket, *m*, bronze, O, brook, *l*, buccaneer, *s*, bud, O, buffet, *q*, buggy, *g*, bugle, *m*, build, *d*, O, bulk, *l*, bull, *c*, bullace, O, bull-dog, *l*, bump, *l*, bun, O, bunney, *q*, burly, O, bush, *r*, buskin, *r*.

Cacao, *s*, cacique, *s*, cack, *l*, cad, *d*, calf, *l*, campion, *m*, canard, *m*, cannibal, *c*, *s*, canoe, *c*, *s*, cant, *i*, canticle, *b* (p. 5), cantilever, *m*, caoutchouc, *b*, *s*, cape, *q*, capibara, *s*, carminative, *e*, carnival, *d*, carsar, *q*, cartridge, *b* (p. 4), cashew-nut, *s*, cassava, *s*, catgut, *c*, cat-in-the-pan, *l*, cayenne, *s*, cayman, *s*, ceiling (cieling), *h*, cento,

p, centronel, *p*, charter, *c*, chaudron, *e*, cheat, *e*, cheeta (cheetah), *e*, cheroot, *e*, chess, *h*, chete (cheat), *i*, chevisaunce, *k*, chevron, *g*, chilli, *s*, chime, *r*, chinampa, *s*, chocolate, *s*, chopine, *c*, chorister, *b* (p. 3), Christmas-box, *d*, chronicle, *b* (p. 5), chum, *m*, chutny, *e*, cieling, *h*, cinchona, *d*, cipres (cypress), *c*, cistvaen, *c*, clever, *h*, clipper, O, cloak, O, clog, *m*, clopping, O, cloves, *l*, coble, *h*, *q*, cobra, *d*, *e*, coca, *d*, cocker, *m*, cockney, *g*, cockroach, *i*, cockshut, *p*, coffer, *b* (p. 4), cog, *l*, coke, *n*, colé, *j*, colibri, *s*, colleen, *e*, collop, *l*, comely, *m*, compame, *i*, con (1), *b*, condor, *t*, contango, *m*, contraband, *d*, copaiba, *s*, copal, *s*, corrie, *l*, cosset, *h*, costrel, *h*, cosy, *m*, cot (cot-lamb), *h*, couchgrass, *p*, conguar, *s*, courser, *f*, cowl, *i*, cowry, *e*, cowslip, *d*, coy (*see* cuye), coyote, *s*, cozier, *f*, *g*, crack, *h*, craven, *m*, crayer (craier, craie, cray), *h*, crease, O, creel, *d*, *e*, *l*, creem, *l*, cresset, *g*, crewel, *q*, crimp, *q*, cross, *h*, crow-bar, *d*, crowd, *d*, crucible, *i*, crumb, *l*, cudgel, *h*, *l*, cullis, *h*, curare (*see* wourali), curds, *n*, curl, *q*, curry, *e*, cury, *i*, cut, *f*, cutter, *n*, cuttlefish, *m*, cuye (coy), *s*.

Dacoit, *e*, daker-hen, *g*, dally, O, dandruff, O, dank, *l*, darn, *l*, darnel, *l*, date (of the palm-tree), *l*, davit, *d*, day, *g*, daze, *e*, debut, *l*, decoped, *k*, decoy, *f*, decretistre, *b* (p. 2), degaré, *k*, dell, *d*, derring-do, *j*, despot, *g*, dich, *e*, dicker (daykyr), *i*, diddle, *m*, dingy, *e*, dirk, *j*, dismal, *f*, divinistre, *b* (pp. 2, 3), dog, *f*, *l*, *q*, dogger, *h*, doiley, *d*, doll, *d*, dolmen, *e*, dot, *h*, doublet, *d*, dowle, *f*, drain, *g*, drake, *m*, draught-house, *h*, draughts, *h*, dray, *k*, dream, *g*, drivel, *g*, drown, *l*, drum, *e*, drudge, *m*, drumble, *m*, dub, O, duck, *g*, dude, O, duds, *d*, duffer, *d*, dullor, *i*, dusk, *g*, dye, *g*.

Eager (eagre), *l*, earnest, *f*, earnest, *m*, ease, *d*, eddy, *d*, eery (eerie), *d*, eggs, *n*, emerald, *p*, engle (ingle), *g*, entice, *f*, Esquimaux, *g*, estreat, *d*, exhaust, *d*, eynes, *k*, eyot (ait), *l*.

Fad, *l*, fadge, *m*, faggot, *m*, fake, *e*, faldstool, *h*, fallow (2), *g*, fandango, *e*, fanteague, *h*, fat, *e*, fausere (fasoure, vasure), *k*, feckless, *i*, feeze (feaze, pheeze), *d*, feon (pheon), *f*, feraunt, *k*, fester, *d*, fetish, *d*, feuter, *d*, feuterer, *d*, fever, *e*, fewte (feute), *j*, fib, *l*, fidget, *m*, filbert, *g*, *i*, firk, *h*, fit, *h*, fives, *h*, flabbergast, *h*, flannel, *e*, flaunt, *m*, flaw, *h*, flimsy, *l*, flip, *g*, flirt, *l*, flotsam, *f*, flounder, *m*, flue, *m*, fly, *d*, fnatted, *k*, fodding, *k*, fog, *m*, foin, *f*, fond, *l*, fool, *e*, forbears, O, forehead, *p*, frail, *n*, frampold, *l*, freestone, *e*, fribble, *m*, frill, *l*, *m*, frisk, *q*, fuatted, *k*, funk, *g*, funnel, O, furl, *d*, furlong, *h*, futtocks, *c*.

Gallant, *h*, gallop, *l*, gallowglas, *c*, gambeson, *h*, gamboge, *d*, gambol, *h*, game, *l*, gang, *g*, gargalize, O, garnep, *h*, gaudy

grene, O, gavial, *d*, gawky, *l*, gay, *h*, geck, *d*, gele, *k*, gessenen, *k*, gewgaw, *l*, ghazul, *g*, ghoul, *h*, gigging, *h*, gite (gyte), *h*, glaive, *l*, glanders, *c*, glind, *r*, glory (hand of), *h*, gnu, O, gofish, *j*, goluptious, *h*, *n*, gooseberry, *g*, gorce, *f*, gourd, *h*, gourmand, *n*, grampus, O, graze, *g*, greengage, *n*, griddle, *g*, *n*, *r*, grift, *i*, gristle, *n*, grogram, *n*, groin, O, groom, *l*, grove, *n*, grummet (*see* groom), guanaco, *t*, guano, *t*, guava, *s*, guiacum, *s*, gull, *n*, gulp, *n*, gurnard, *n*.

Hairiff, *c*, hale, *h*, ham, *n*, hammock, *s*, hamper, *l*, harlot, *n*, harrawnte, *k*, hastelets, *g*, hatchet, *d*, haunch, O, havoc, *h*, hay, *d*, hayriff, *c*, hayward, *c*, hazy, *q*, hedge, *c*, herb ive, *h*, hernshaw (heronsew), *c*, hidalgo, *c*, himland, *k*, hitch, *n*, hobbledehoy, *d*, hockday (hokeday), *d*, hod, *m*, hog, *h*, *m*, *n*, holt, *c*, hone, *g*, hope, *k*, hopple, *l*, hopscotch, *d*, horse-courser (horse-scorcer), *f*, huilpa, *r*, hurdygurdy, *c*, hurlyburly, *g*, hurricane, *s*, hurry, *c*, husk, O, hutch, *f*.

Idle (ydle), *j*, iguana, *s*, ill, *h*, inkle, *q*, inkling, *i*, inveigle, *d*, ipecacuanha, *t*, irk, *n*, ive (herb ive), *h*, izzard, O.

Jack-of-the-clock, *n*, jag, *n*, jaguar, *t*, jalap, *s*, jane, *c*, jasper, *b* (p. 5), jay, *h*, jeer, *m*, jereed (jerreed), *c*, jerked beef, *t*, jerkin, *n*, jetsam, *f*, Jew's harp, *c*, jibba, O, junk (1), *c*, jupon, *d*.

Kelpie, *d*, kennel (1), *d*, ker, *k*, keve, *k*, kick, *n*, kilderkin, *c*, kill, *l*, kit, *n*, kite, *n*, kraal, *d*.

Lagoon, *d*, lake, *h*, lampas, *h*, lampers (lawmpas), *h*, lancepesade (lanceprisado), *c*, landlubber, O, lanner (lanneret), *d*, lanyard, *d*, larboard, *f*, latch, *h*, lauen, *k*, launch, *c*, laveer, *g*, laye, *k*, lay-figure, *c*, lea (1), *h*, lea (2) (lee), *h*, league, *n*, ledger, *n*, *q*, leet, *g*, legistre, *b* (p. 2), Lewisham, O, liana (liane), *h*, lilt, *d*, lime-hound, *c*, limpet, *h*, lingo, *g*, *n*, linn, *l*, lion, O, listre, *b* (p. 1), lither, *d*, llama, *t*, loach, *q*, loigne, *j*, loom, *c*, loon (1) (lown), *d*, loop, *n*, loose, *c*, lop, *r*, lorayn, *k*, lunes, *j*, luscious, *i*, lush, O, lyddite, O, lyngell, *j*.

Macaw, *s*, maches, *k*, maguey, *s*, mahogany, *s*, maize, *s*, malapert, *n*, manati, *s*, manchet, O, manciple, *b* (p. 6), mandilion, *c*, mandril, *l*, mane, *c*, mango, *c*, manioc, *s*, manito, *g*, mansell (masnel), *k*, marabout (marabou), *g*, marcasite, *g*, marchpane, *d*, marry Gip, *h*, marten, *h*, martingale, *n*, martlet, *c*, mascle, *c*, masuel (*see* mansell), maunder, *h*, may-weed, *h*, mazurka, *c*, mazzard, *h*, mean, *h*, mean it, O, meek, *r*, meese (mees), *h*, melocotone, *h*, menial, *c*, merelles, *g*, mes, *k*, mididone, *i*, milk, *h*, milliner, *d*, minx, *d*, mistery, *j*, mite, *h*, mob, *d*, moccassin, *g*, moidore, *d*, moist, *n*,

molland, *h*, monnets, *h*, montanto (montant), *h*, moo, O, moose, *g*, motet, *n*, moy, *d*, moysoun, *j*, mug, *l*, mugwort, *q*, *r*, mulatto, *g*, mulligatawny, *e*, mundungus, *d*, mustang, *e*, musty, *n*, mutchkin, *l*.

Nailbourn, *r*, nar-fish, *r*, nautch, *e*, neap, *q*, nenupher (nuphar), *g*, nest, *g*, news, *l*, nightshade, O, Nizam, *e*, node, *n*, noggin, *n*, noose, O, nosegay, *e*, notch, O, not-pated, *h*, nullah, *e*, numbles, *f*, *g*.

Obsidian, *f*, oca, *t*, occamy, *c*, ocelot, *s*, odam, *k*, ombre, *d*, omelet, *h*, one, *d*, ornithology, *c*, orra, *e*, ostrich, *h*, oubit, *j*, oust, *p*, overweening, *p*.

Paddock, *d*, pail, *f*, paleis (palis), *k*, Pall-mall, *d*, pampas, *t*, pamper, *n*, pamphlet, *f*, pandours, *l*, papaw-tree, *s*, paramatta, *d*, parasang, *g*, parch, *q*, parget, *f*, parodie, *j*, parramatta, *d*, participle, *b* (p. 5), partlet, *k*, partridge, *b* (p. 4), pawn, *i*, pay, *l*, pear, *q*, pearl, *n*, peccary, O, pechelyne, *k*, pedigree, O, peep, *l*, pentacle, *j*, peridote (perydote), *j*, *n*, pers, *h*, peruse, O, Peter-see-me, *l*, petunia, *s*, pheeze, *d*, pheon, *f*, philosopher, *b* (p. 4), picaninny (pickaninny), *h*, pickaback, *d*, pickle, O, pie, *i*, pilcrow, *d*, pile, *g*, pillowbeer, *n*, pin, *e*, pinfold, *g*, pirogue, *s*, pisane, *k*, pixy, O, plack, *g*, plash, *i*, plot (1), *d*, poldavy, *p*, policy, O, polka, *e*, polo, *e*, poltroon, O, pomander, *e*, *l*, pomet, *j*, pompelmoose (pomplemoose), *h*, poncho, O, pony, *i*, *q*, porter, *d*, posnet, *e*, *l*, posset, *j*, pot, *e*, pot (to go to), *f*, potato, *s*, potenere, *k*, potwalloper, O, pour, O, pourpoint (purpoint), O, pray, *j*, prepense, *j*, principle, *b* (p. 5), prise (prize), *d*, proffer, *n*, provender, *b* (p. 5), prowl, O, prune (1), *n*, puddle, O, puggery, *e*, puke, *q*, pull, *h*, pulque, *s*, puma, *t*, punch, *n*, puncheon, O, punt (at cards), *l*, purse, *f*, puss, *h*, pyked, *k*, pyned, *k*.

Quagga, O, quandary, O, quassia, *h*, quean, *h*, quernes, *k*, quert, *j*, quill, O, quillet, *p*, quilt, *j*, quinine, *t*, quinsy, O, quip, *g*, quiz, *e*.

Rabbit, *m*, *q*, rack, *p*, racket, *q*, raddle, *q*, radevore, *k*, rail, *g*, *i*, raimen (raymen), O, rancho (ranch), *e*, rankle, *j*, rate, *e*, rathe, *q*, reasty, O, recheat, *g*, recover (recuperate), *r*, reel, *g*, reest (rest), *g*, refit, *h*, reheten, *j*, relay, O, relish, O, rencian, *j*, repudiate, *q*, respice, *j*, reveille, *d*, *h*, rezzle, *q*, ribbon, O, rid, *g*, rideled, *j*, rigadoon, *p*, rigol, *h*, rill, *g*, rivelled, *f*, rivulet, *c*, roach, *i*, roam, O, roan, *m*, *n*, robbins, *h*, rogue, *r*, roistering, *b* (p. 3), rother, *g*, rum, *d*, *e*, rummer, *r*, runt, *g*, rust, *g*, rye, O.

Sag, *p*, Sambo, *e*, samovar, *q*, sanap, *l*, sapajou, *s*, sarce (searce), *r*, saunter, *b*, sausage, *b*, savannah, *d*, scabbard, *e*, scabious, *g*, scale, *j*, scamble, *h*, scan, *b*, scavenger, O, scholes, *r*, scorch, O,

scotch, O, scour, *h*, scraggy, O, screes, O, screw, *p*, scriddan, O, scroyles, *d*, scruse, *p*, scur (skirr), *h*, scutch, O, sennet, *d*, sequin, *g*, sere, *g*, serif (seriph, ceriph), *l*, serval, *p*, service-tree, *b*, set, *b*, shaddock, *h*, shah, *d*, share, *h*, shatter, *f*, shear-water, *q*, shingle, *n*, shire, *h*, shoo, *q*, shrike, *n*, sigh, *r*, sigh-clout, *k*, silt, *p*, sirrah, *p*, siskin, *p*, skellum, *d*, skirr, *h*, skirret (skerret), *h*, slab, *r*, slade, *p*, slammerkin, O, slattern, *p*, sleave (sleave-silk), *r*, sleazy, *p*, sledge, *p*, sleigh, *i*, slush, *p*, slut, *p*, smolt, *p*, snooze, *p*, snore, *i*, snout, *p*, soak, *j*, soam, O, sophister, *b* (p. 3), sophy, *g*, sounder, *h*, souse (sowse), *f*, sot, *r*, sowans, *p*, soy, *e*, spancel, O, sparver, *h*, spigot, *p*, spree, *d*, sprint, O, spruce, *b*, stalemate, *r*, stalk, *e*, stalwart, *h*, stammer, *h*, staniel, *f*, stele, *k*, stencil, *p*, steward, *f*, stivour, *k*, stockade, *l*, stodge, *i*, stook, *l*, *p*, stop, *h*, *l*, stoup (stoop), *c*, stour, *h*, strand, *n*, *q*, struggle, *p*, stub, *d*, sturdy, *r*, subdue, O, surround, *a*, swag, *p*, swan-hopping, *d*, swig, *r*, switch, *p*, syllable, *b* (p. 5).

Tag (teg), *r*, talle ne in tuch, *k*, tan, *q*, tankard, *l*, tapioca, *t*, tapir, *t*, tare, *l*, tartan, *d*, tarrier, *n*, tassel (1), *c*, tatter-demallion, *e*, tattoo, *c*, taut, *j*, taw, O, tawdry, *b*, tayt, *k*, ted, *d*, teetotum, *b*, teneling, *k*, ternes, *k*, terrier, *l*, testament, *q*, teueling, *k*, thacces, *k*, theorbo, *g*, thief (in a candle), *l*, thistle, *g*, threshold, *d*, thulged, *k*, tiny, O, tipen, *k*, tit-tat-to, O, tobacco, *s*, tolu, *s*, tomato, *s*, topsy-turvy, *d*, tornado, *l*, totez, *k*, toucan, *t*, tout, *c*, transom, *h*, tranter, *j*, trashes, *k*, travertine, *e*, trayeres, *j*, treacle, *b* (p. 5), treasure, *b* (p. 4), treieted, *k*, troched, *k*, troth, *e*, truck, O, tucker, *d*, tufa, *e*, tuffet, *q*, tuly, O, tun, *r*, tup, *r*, tutty, *g*, twiddle, *q*, twill, O, twirl, *q*, twitch, *h*, Tybalt, *h*, typhoon, *d*.

Underway, *q*, unkek, *k*, upbraid, *q*.

Vade, *l*, vagrant, *e*, *f*, *h*, valance, *l*, vambrace, *d*, veranda (verandah), *e*, vewter, *j*, vicuna, *t*, vole, O.

Wall-eyed, *e*, wallop, O, wassail, *r*, watchet, *d*, wave, *g*, way-faring, *g*, wayzgoose, *j*, weak, *l*, wearish, *i*, wheedle, *l*, whicche, *f*, whimbrel, *f*, whinyard, *d*, *q*, whisky, *d*, wigwam, *g*, windlass, *e*, windren, *k*, wishy-washy, O, wourali, *s*, writhe, *k*.

Yam, *g*, Yankee, *c*, yaspen (yespen, gowpen), *r*, yaw, O, yokel, *e*, yucca, *s*, yuly, *j*.

INDEX

TO THE

PHILOLOGICAL TRANSACTIONS,

1903–1906.

(By B. Dawson.)

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English Etymology. In his first paper, *Notes on English Etymology*, 145–160, the Rev. Professor Skeat deals with the following 48 words:—

accompliment	grogram	jerkin	musty
boat	grove	kick	node
coke	gull	kit	noggin
curds	gulp	kite	pamper
cutter	gurnard	league	pillow-beer
eggs	ham	ledger	proffer
frail (of figs)	harlot	lingo	prune
goluptious	hitch	loop	punch
gourmand	hog	malapert	shingle
greengage	irk	martingale	shrike
griddle	jack-of-the-clock	moist	strand
gristle	jag	motet	tarrier

In the second *Notes on English Etymology*, 165–179, Prof. Skeat deals with 39 words:—

baste	peridote	silt	snooze
cento	poldavy	sirrah	snout
centronel	quillet	siskin	sowans
cockshut time	rack, *v.*	slade	spigot
couch-grass	rigadoon	slattern	stencil
emerald	roan	sleazy	stook
forehead	sag	sled	struggle
oust	screw	slush	swag
overweening	scruse	slut	switch
pearl	serval	smolt	

Prof. Skeat adds to his papers *Index to Notes on English Etymology*, 373–8.

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—— Ghost-words, 180–201.

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"*Nominale sive Verbale*," edited by the Rev. Professor SKEAT, with lists of words used, alphabetically arranged, with separate pagination, 1*–50*.

NOMINALE SIVE VERBALE.

Edited by the Rev. Professor Skeat.

While lately examining MS. Ee. 4. 20 in the University Library, which contains several pieces in Anglo-French, I was particularly interested by a "Nominale siue Verbale in Gallicis cum expositione eiusdem in Anglicis," which I took an early opportunity of copying out. I now print it for the especial use of the editors of the New English Dictionary, as it obviously contains material which ought to be readily accessible to them.

It may be that a large number of the terms included tell us nothing new. That the F. *corps* means *body*, and the F. *teste* means *heuede* or *head*, are familiar facts; but there must be many other equivalent expressions that are remarkable or rare, either as regards the French or the English name, or both. For example, the very first line not only gives us *corps* and *teste*, but the more interesting *hanapel*, explained by Godefroy as meaning (1) a small goblet, dimin. of *hanap*, and (2), figuratively, a skull. The M.E. for 'skull' is given as *heuedpanne*, i.e. *head-pan*. The N.E.D. duly records *head-pan*, with but one M.E. example, viz. from "Sir Bevis."

I have endeavoured to give the MS. just as it stands, for obvious reasons; and have added a verbal Index of the French and English words separately.

I have numbered the lines in such a way as to distinguish the French from the English. In the original, lines 1 and 2 are written in the same line, but with a break between:—'Corps teste & hanapel . . Body heuede & heuedpanne.' It is best to count this line as *two*.

The Nominale begins on fol. 162 (formerly 133), and is written in double columns; col. 2 begins at l. 93. Fol. 162, back, begins with l. 185, and col. 2 with l. 275. Fol. 163 begins with l. 369, and col. 2 with l. 436. Fol. 163, back, begins with l. 524, and

col. 2 with l. 606. Fol. 164 begins with l. 686, and col. 2 with l. 750. Fol. 164, back, begins with l. 801, and col. 2 with l. 847; and after l. 888 there is a small blank space.

On the back of fol. 208 occurs a piece written at the same time or very soon afterwards, which relates to the 14th year of Edward III (1340–1). This may perhaps indicate the date, viz. about A.D. 1340. There are several pieces in the same hand, and the scribe was probably a professional scrivener, whose business was to make copies. Perhaps we may conclude that this Nominale here exists in a copy made about 1340 from an older one, possibly of the thirteenth century.

The text is evidently the work of a Norman scribe, who makes the usual mistakes. We may note *here*, ear, 12; *hax*, ax, 537; *helde*, old age, 348. Also *wan*, when, 134; *wilbarewe*, wheelbarrow, 218; *welus*, wheels, 866; *weston*, whet-stone, 513; etc. He has trouble over *ght*; as in *lictith*, lighteth, 601; *dracte*, draught, 880; *mygth*, might, 282; *nouth*, nought, 370. He writes *th* for *t*; *goth*, goat, 725; *slethuth*, sleeteth, 585. He interchanges *v* and *w* or *u*; hence *cove* is 'cow,' 721; but *lowe* is 'love,' 298; cf. *schewes*, sheaves, 314. Remarkable forms are *hookus*, oaks, 649; *hw*, yew, 667. He actually confuses þ with ȝ; as in *ȝresschith*, thrasheth, 120; *ȝauynge*, thawing, 591. The third person singular ends, impartially, in *-eth*, *-ith*, *-uth*, *-yth*, *-us*; and the pp. in *-ed*, *-id*, *-ud*, *-ut* (206). Note the contractions: M. = man; W. = woman; F. = femme; ll. 84–402. A very few glosses occur; as at ll. 261, 380, 616, 715, 726, 734, 800. At the last reference but one, *fe.* means 'feminine,' as at l. 726.

The scribe has even sometimes miswritten the French, and fails to distinguish between *n* and *u*, and even, at times, between *c* and *t*. Of a few forms I am not certain, as shown by the mark indicating a query. For further remarks see p. 27*.

In many passages, this Nominale resembles the treatise of Walter de Bibbesworth (Bibsworth), printed in Wright's first Volume of Vocabularies, pp. 142–174; but it is not quite the same thing, and treats of matters in a different order. By way of similarity we may compare the following:—

'P*ar* le gel no*us* auons glas
Et de glas vient v*er*glas'; *Nominale*, 576.

'Pur le gele nous awomus glas,
Et pluvye e gele fount vereglas'; *W. de B.*, p. 160.

The order of matters is so different that I here subjoin a brief Table of Contents of the Nominale, with references to the corresponding pages in Wright's text. I only give the principal categories; there are others included within these, owing to the discursive habits of the writer.

1. Parts of the Body; 1–76; Wrt., pp. 144–8.
2. Natural noises and Actions of Men and Women; 77–422.
3. Assemblies; 423–7.
4. Of building a house; 428–483; Wrt., pp. 169, 170.
5. Utensils; 484–563; Wrt., pp. 156–8, 170–2.
6. Winds and storms; 564–603; Wrt., p. 160.
7. Of breaking things; 604–615; Wrt., p. 172.
8. A few puns; 618–633; Wrt., p. 145.
9. Some red things; 634–645; Wrt., p. 153.
10. Of trees; 646–693; Wrt., pp. 162–3.
11. Of beasts; 694–741; Wrt., p. 166.
12. Noises of beasts; 742–761; Wrt., p. 152.
13. Herds of beasts; 762–774; Wrt., p. 151.
14. Of birds; 775–821; Wrt., pp. 164–5.
15. Flocks of birds; 821–835; Wrt., p. 151.
16. Noises of birds; 836–852.
17. Parts of a plough and cart; 853–888; Wrt., pp. 167–9.

[*From* MS. Camb. Univ. Lib. Ee. 4. 20, fol. 162 (133).]

Nominale siue Verbale in Gallic*is* cum expos*itio*ne eiusdem in Anglicis

Corps teste et[1] hanapel
Body heuede and[2] heuedpanne
Et p[e]il[3] cresceant *sur* la peal
And here growe[n]de on the[4] skyn
Toup canel et ceruel
Toppe tey and the brayne
Greue fou*n*tayne et haterel
Sched molde and sculle
Col venoun et fossolet
Nekke faxwax and nekkehole
Lapet oraile et molet
Dewelapp*e* here and herehole

[1] & *is used throughout for* et.
[2] & *is used throughout for* and.
[3] Second letter erased, and third indistinct.
[4] ye *is used for* þe *throughout, and* yt *for* þat. I print *th* where *y* is written for þ in other words.

Frount face et surcils
Forhede visage and browes
Oiel paupere purnel et cils
The eelede appul and bryn
Albume del oiel et chacie
Whyte of the ee and gounde
Nes tendroun et narie
Nose gristul and nose-thurles
Iowe temples et iernoun
Cheke thonewonges and here-liste
Barbe bouche et mentoun
Berde mouthe and chyn
Leuere bas et machelers
Nether-lippus and chaules
Leuere susane et messelers
Ouer-lippe and wangtethe
Iungyues et palet
Gomes and the roof of the mouth
Dentz foreynz langes et filet
Forteth tunges and strynge
Gorge gule et forcele
Throte-bolle and canel-bon
Pys peitrine et mamelle
Brest brestbon and tete
Ventre hynes et vmbil
Wombe schere and nauele
Quyces genoil et penoil (*sic*)
Thees kne and flank
Vyt coyloun et furchure
Pyntul ballok and greynes
Garet Iambe et la sure
Hamme legge and the calf
Talouu pee plaunte et kyuyl
Hele fot bal and ancle
Vngle ele et vrtil
Nayle angenayle and too
Nages reynz et costeez
Buttokkes lyndes and ribbes
Dos eschyne et custez
Bak bakbon and sydes

Espaules hussel et bras
Schulders armehole and arme
Cov ne coute ne lerrai pas
Wriste elbowe ne schal I leue
Pouce poynoun et les meyns
Thoumbe knokil and the handes
Deiez cieles et galeyns
Fyngres wortwales and ȝespons
Claie paume et poyne
Bak louf and handefulle
Poyn poucere et paumee
Fuste vnche and spanne
Dedeynz le ventre de checun
Inwyth the wombe of man
Est coer foie et pomoun
Is herte lyuer and longes
Espleen bowelles fel et reinoun
Milte tharmes galle and kedeney
Estomak nerues enuyroun
Mawe senues aboute
Veynes rate et farsue
Veynes mygge and mydreme
Vessie sang et chare crue
Bleddere blode and rawe flesch

De la noyse et des faitz qe homme naturelment fait

Homme parle et espire
Man spekyth and vndyth
Femme teinge et suspire
Woman pantyth and sykyth
Homme bale et babeie
M. drauelith and wlaffyth
F. bale et bleseie
W. galpyth and wlispyth
Homme nause et nassie
M. snyffyth and snyuelith
F. beit et mange mye
W. drynkyth and etyth cromus
Homme cyngulte et sussie
M. belkyth and gronyth

F. bale et sossie [col. 2]
W. hoppith and karith
Homme mache et loreie.
M. chewith and ȝeskith 96
F. transglute et ferueie (*sic*)
W. swolewith and mysgoth
Homme dort et sounge
M. slepith and dremyth 100
F. lesche et rounge
W. likkith and gnawith
Homme fowe warence
M. delueth madyr 104
F. gemele et tence
W. momelith and chidith
Homme fiert et combate
M. smytith and fictith 108
F. est pute la gent flate
W. is hore the folke flaterith
Homme fauche de pre andene
M. mawith of mede a swath 112
F. de berbit tounde leyne
W. of schepe clippith wulle
Homme borde fende et table sye
M. cleuyth the borde and sawith 116
F. ble sye et fenz esparplie
W. scheruth corne and muk spredith
Homme ble vente et bate
M. corne wyndewith and ȝresschith (*sic*) 120
F. pur areste dorge grate
W. for awne of barly clawith
Homme de curreie est cente
M. with a thonge is gurde 124
F. tistre drap et teynt
W. weuyth clothe and letyth
Homme chauntaunt relement plue[r]t
Syngynge man silden weputh 128
F. veugle a pareie ahurt
Blynde woman hurtith to wal
Homme plede et toile pur glebe
M. motith and striuyth for rit of kyrke 132

F. cauke quant fait glebe
W. tredith wan a makyth a clot
Homme forge fer et quiuere
M. smethuth Irun and copur
F. vse nase et criuere
W. weruth seue [or sene] and riddell
Homme chace tessoun et leuer
M. huntith brokke and hare
F. iungyues couere de leuere
W. gomes helith with the lippe
Homme vende cyre par la liuere
M. selluth wax by the pounde
F. enprent enfant sur liuere
W. lernyth chylde on boke
Homme ioyne osyloun en hay
M. doth a plou-reste in the bem
Femme roste oseloun dun hay
W. bredith a goselyng with a hegge
Homme morue et nees muche
M. snyfterith and nose snyt
F. coupe pur vn muche
W. spitelith for a flie
Homme esquele emple de luche
M. dissch fulluth with the ladel
F. coife de lucher luche
W. oft with slikeston slikyth
Homme seriement sule
M. myrilike wysteluth
F. humblement hule
W. mekelike goulith
Homme lide sur verglas
M. sliduth vp-on hyse
F. ercule (*sic*) et cheet bas
W. waggi[t]h and falluth lowe
Homme morde et cachyne
M. bitith and grennyth
F. ad seif et feyme
W. hath thriste and honger
Homme touce et sternue
M. cowith and nesith

F. iupe et ledement hue
W. houtith and foule stotith
Homme doile guenyle
M. with ee starith 176
Femme doile cynile
W. with ee twynkeluth
Homme doile clune
M. with ee wynkyth 180
F. saunz groyn fune (?)
W. with-oute snoute wrotith
Homme doile recleie
M. with ee baggith 184
F. de ramoun baleie [fol. 162, back]
W. with besome sweputh
Homme de martel fiert sur enclume
M. with hamur smyt on the anfelde 188
F. laed et chowes hume
W. mylk and wortis soupith
Homme verge de coudre torte
M. ȝerde of hasul writhus 192
F. chace anatyn de reorte
W. dryuyth the doke with a wippe
Homme ad Iambe rugerolee
M. hath legge maselede 196
F. ad face verolee
W. hath face pokky[1]
Homme ad la iowe enflestree
M. hath the cheke welewed 200
F. ad la gorge enlestree
W. hath the throte frekenede
Homme ad le col pilouus
M. hath the nekke hery 204
F. ad la cov roynouus
W. hath the wriste scabbut
Homme de corde seyn sonne
M. with rope belle ryngguth 208
F. dit moun pee tonne
W. says my fote sleputh
Homme araspe arbre pur fruyt
M. clymbuth the tree for fruyt 212

[1] *Written* polky (*as usual*).

F. treche mene p*ur* deduyt
W. the ryng leduth for ioye
Homme malade gist en liter
Sikeman lith in hors-bere
Et vn coueret en brut*er*
And the crepul in the wilbar*e*we
Homme mort gist en caunt*e*le [*or* taunt*e*le]
Dedman lith in ber*e*
Et luy fole vngle (*sic*) en br*a*ndele
And the fol houyth in the tot*ur*
Homme en verg*er* creker ente
M. in the ȝerde bolastre ymputh
F. en coustr*e* serche lente
W. in the seyme syketh the nete
Homme de nuger pluche noyz
M. of walnote-tr*e* plukith note
Et fait fagotes de subboys
And makith kydus of vndre-wode
Homme p*ur* lynchel seme lynoys
M. for schete sowith lynsede
Et p*ur* cordes seme canoys
And for ropes hempe-sede
Homme en gardeyn arace nauet
M. in the ȝerde pullith nepus
Et F. de bouche sue bauet
And W. fro the mouth wipith drauelyng*e*
Homme p*ur* labour sue
M. for trauayle swetith
F. apr*es* suour se sue
W. aft*er* swote here wipith
Homme p*ur* aleyne tret et suffle
M. for onde drawith and blowith
F. en dormant ruffle
W. in slepyng*e* routith
Bien puissent ils oreiler*e*
Wil mone thay roune
Qe gisent s*ur* vn oreiler
That lyne on a pilowe
Homme apr*es* dorm*er* se espr*e*che
M. aft*ur* slepe romuth hym

Et F. en ryuer pesche
W. in watre fysschuth
Ou de roy ou de heche
With a net or with a hoke
Et ou la gurget ne troue queche
in the poke [fynduth] but tundre
Prestre en lesglise preche
Preste in the kyrke prechuth
.i. mal meneger anglice hosebonde
Il est failuy [or failuy] qe ame chare fressche
That loueth fressche flessch
Et lesse sa terre giser friche
And lat his lande ly leye
Qe nad de seon vn estiche
That nathe of his an appil-stalke
Homme lambeie pur ordure
M. wemelith for fulthe
Et reget pur trop enflure
And castith for to myche bollynge
Homme yueres deuyent rous
M. drounkyn be-comyth red
F. putee fait homme cous
Hore makith man cokewolde
De beal femme est homme gelous [col. 2]
M. of fayre w. is gelous
Et ce la fait trop orgulouse
And that makith here proude
Homme negge qe ne sciet noer
M. drencheth that can nout swymme
Et espaume pur noun-power
And swoneth that hath no mygth
Homme promte biens et rent
M. borewith gode and ȝildith
F. se abote et estent
W. bowith and bent hire
Homme ouerayne emprent
M. werke vndurtakyth
F. manace et reprent
W. thretith and withnemyth
Homme pur estre sotel aprent
M. to be ele lirnyth

F. son lower *pre*nt
W. here hyre takith
Ho*m*me p*ur* requeste genoile
M. for be-sekyng*e* kneluth
F. p*ur* amo*ur* souenoile (?)
W. for lowe longgith
Ho*m*me pense et espere
M. thenkith and wakyth
P*ur* la malyce dun lere
For the wikkodenesse of a *th*ef
Ho*m*me curreie quere de boef
M. tawith an oxe-hyde
Poi vaut le crut [*or* trut] del oef
Lityl is worth the reme of an ey
Ho*m*me enp*er*ke lowe biz
M. pynduth a gray gose
Et deplume la cocheuyz
And pulluth a coppid larke
Ho*m*me chastre porcel
M. geldith a grise
Et de garbis fait t*re*sselle
And of schewes makith schockes
Ho*m*me neef de veroun nage
Schippe w*ith* ore rowith
Frank ou neif s*ur* son nage
on his buttok
Ho*m*me en meer pesche de ray
M. i*n* the see fischuth w*ith* nette
Dapere [Drapere?] al feire mene ray
M. ledith birell clothes
Ho*m*me en moale met rais
M. i*n* the nathe doth spokes
Et de solaile issent rais
Comyn sonne-bemus
En la mere nouent le rais
in the see swy*m*mu*n* rays
Et en selioun gisont rais
And in londes lyn forewys
Roy de t*er*re fait reyne
Kyng*e* makith a qwene

Et en ray est pris la rayne
in the nette [is] takun a froske
Homme poet teil perer [*for* parer ?]
M. may a webbe warpe
Sur paleis fait de perer
On a stake of pere-tre
En la tistre par-my lame
Wouyn thorue slay
Fait daronde et de leme
Made of yrede (*sic*) and of birche
Homme vomyte pur surfet
Spewith for ouer mykul
Pur viaunde qe a luy desplet
For liuelode that payuth him nout
Homme pur veilesse chanue
M. for helde horuth
Et pur ciroyne mangue
And for a handeworme sikith
Apres manger nape escule
Aftur mete clothe slake
Et son manger entre par gule
And his mete thoru throte-bolle
Homme de turlu laede espaunde
Of chirne mylke spilluth
Come le tient en seon deuant
Holte in his skyrte
Apres beyuer hanap endente
Welme the cuppe
Relement crest herbe en sente
Sylden waxus gres in the path
Souent lem fait frasee feue
Often make wyte bene
Et aleuer em (*sic*) teste la greue
And to payse [*or* rayse] schede in the hede
Homme qe chace oue .x. chiens
M. that huntith with .x. houndes
De ceo qil prent il nad riens [fol. 163]
He nathe nouth
Et ceo qe fue en desert
Him that flethe in-to wildernesse

Il le trouera en sa herde
Schal he fynde *in* his floc
Si treit le sang vn sangsue
So draw*ith* blode the wat*ur*leche
Come venteuser de char crue
As the ventuser of rawe flesch
Oisel heit escarrie
bokeberet an*glice* nomine
Brid hatith the skerlis
Fendour de burs la Iuye
Cutte-purs the pilery
Homme suette et pecche
M. wischith and senegith
F. moile drap et secche
W. wetith cloth and drieth
Homme drap retounde
M. scleruth (*sic*) clothe
Et prent muscheroun en serounde
And takith sperwe in nette
En estange crest arounde
In the pole growith reede
En ewe surde rebounde
In wat*ur* risen burblis
En meason poune irounde
in house leyth the swalewe
Plus tost qen seuerounde
*th*en *in* the euesyngge
Homme va a la herce
M. goth at the harewe
F. bercelet berce
W. childe *in* cradul rokkith
Hurton*ur* rute ierce
Ram blismyth a yeue
Enfant sa lesson*e* reherce
His lessone recordith
Ma cloche est esclauotee
be-squireid (*sic*)
Et ma surcote enpalluee
be-drauelud
Ma manche est tauelee
Mi sleue is raggid

Et de uerons tut rongee
And *with* moutys gnawyn
De sabiloun (*sic*) est fait true
with al make a bore
Et seie filee passe le lieu
And bristul *th*redud passith the stede
P*ur*-qoy ne mynge ane et v*er*der
Wy pissith nout doke and ruddoc
Come fait asne et vereder
As the asse and the forstere

Assemble de gentz p*ro*prement

P*ar*lement de Roys Conseil de Euesqes[1]
Assemble de Countes Brut de Barons
Aray de Chiualers Route de Esquiers
Frape de Clers Compaignie de damys
Lure de pucels Route de Burges Route de Ribaudes

Les propretees coment ho*m*me doyt edifier sa meason

Qe veut edifier s*ur* estage[2]
Wo-so wole house
Couient qil soit riche et sage
Riche and wys
P*r*imes deit a son escient
At his wytyngg*e*
Sercher bon fundement
Serche a gode grounde
Leuer deit mure et messer*e* [col. 2]
Wal and gonele
De sablon chaux et de pier*e*
W*ith* sonde lym and ston
Amont cochera p*ur* feare meson
[*half-line blank*]
Cumble heez et cheueroun
Roof firstr*e* (*sic*) and sparr*e*
Treefs et guenchisons
Bemes and ribresenes

[1] Here each entry occupies a whole line; I put two entries into *one* line and three into l. 427 to save space.
[2] Here again the Anglo-French and the English are written in the same line.

Clowes kyuyls et guenchons
Nayles pynnes and lathes
Traches et trenchons
Sulle-trees and splentes
Et meynte autre gobons
And many other cuttynges
Piler desouz le poutre
Post vndur the giste-tree
Et bons selions mettez outre
And gistes lay abouen
Et puis feteez la plauncie
And sithen make the floore
De boorde ou plastre bien pauye
Of boorde other morter planyd
Al hoes couient suz-lyme
To the dore be-houeth thresschewold
Et gemelees fichez en lyme
Dore-trees set in the thresschewold
Et verteuels et gons
Hengelus and hokus
Et graps et appenduz
Stapul and haspe
Cleket clef et serure
Latche keye and lok
Sere veroil et cerrure
Barre slot and stapul
Auxi il deit estre
Al-so there shulde be
A coustes bon fenestre
On the sydus gode wyndowes
Astre chenet et aumare
Herthe hed-bronde and louere
Et pur feu vn aumayre
And for smoke a smoke-hole
Ore soit couert oue tiel ou cene
Hilde with tile or with schyngle
Fet de tey ou de chene
Made of claye or of hooke
Lauour basyn et poot ewer
And watur-canne

Poot daresme et chaudere
Brasen poot and caudroun
Trepet gridile et paiele 488
Brandirne rostinghiron and panne
Broche luche et esquele
Spite ladul and dissch
Auge gate et ficele 492
Trowe mele and cheseuat
Tyne cuuerel et tynele
Couuyl fat and cuuyltre
Paile turlu et hanape 496
Stoppe chirne cuppe
Table towayle et nape
Boorde handcloth and metecloth
Cotel saler et culier 500
Knyf saler and spon
Platel saucer de tilier
Dobler saucer of lynde
Eschamel chaier de fow 504
Stole chayre of beche
Tenailes enclume et fow
Tonges stethie and bely[1]
Tonel barel et seuercun 508
Tunne barel and tappestaf
Morter pil et mundiloun
Morter pestelle and pootstikke
Fonyle keux et lucher 512
Tunningmele westoñ slikestoñ
Caliow fusil et passuer
Flynt firehiroñ stoppyngston
Coyne cune et terrere 516
Bolax wegge wymbul
Trobile beche furche fymere
Schole spade mouke-forke
Flael estril et cyuere 520
Fleel horscombe and barewe
Rastel martel et rastuere
Rake hamur and ribbe
Lyme sie et fusil [fol. 163, back] 524
File sawe and spindelle

[1] Lines 508 and 509 precede ll. 506 and 507 in the MS. The French rhymes show that they are out of order.

Sarcle faux et faucil
Wedehoke sythe and sikulle
Van corbel et nace 528
Fan berelep and syue [*or* syne]
Sak cryuere et sace
Sak ridelle and heresyue
Bolenge et corbelchon 532
Bultyngcloth and skeppe
Conoil trahul et ramoun
Rokke reel and besme
Picoys dolabre et besagu 536
Pikke brodehax and mattok
Pyncel malet et sarcu
Brake betulle and grane [*or* graue]
Vertun batel et sarpe 540
Hore boot and bil
Frestel cheueret et harpe
Fleget bagpipe and harpe
Pessel escuiour et rupere 544
Swangulstoke riplingcombe swyngilwande
Serence lussel et voydere
Hechele clewen ȝarewyndul
Arblaste arke secchez espeie 548
Arblastre bowe arue sworde
Corn de bugle ride de seie
Bauderik of sylke
Trenket et subiloun 552
Shappyngknyf and al
Torcas [*or* Tortas] et torcheron
Horsewyppe and horsewyspe
Mole et rouloun 556
Qwerne and qwernestaf
Astrere et carboun
Bake-panne and colys
Launce escu et gambeson 560
Spere and schylde
Basenet et aketoun
Basenet and aketoun

Les nouns de temps et de tempestes

Vent de biz et vent solerne
Northwynde Estwynde
Vent mouent et vent galerne
Southwynde westwynde
Graunt cretyne vient de pluuye
Flode of reyne
Et de la meere surde deluuye
Flode of see
Nous auons gresil pur ceo qil grele
Hayl for hit hayluth
Et dure gel pur ceo qil gele
Forste for he fresuth
Par la gel nous auons glas
Be the forste we han yse
Et de glas vient verglas
And slidur yse
Pur ceo qil negge nous auous (*sic*) neif
For hit snewith we han snowe
Dount cheont anfis de neif
Flakys of snowe
Il est ceyme pur ce qil cemoie
Hit is slethe for hit slethuth
Apres fouudre vient clerseie
Aftur leytinge leytinge
Grant criccle [*or* tricele] cheet en broil
Rayne falluth in myst
Apres gel vient remoile
Aftur forste comyth ȝauynge (*sic*)
Ieo oy toner qar il tonne
Thundre for hit thoundruth
Et pur doute mon pee tonne
For drede my fote slepith
En estee est souent grant rusee
Gret dewe
En sep[t]embre aube gelee
Hore forste
La lune lust le solayle resplent
Mone lictith sunne schinith

Le io*ur* aio*ur*ne en orient
The day dawith in the Est
Frussez tiel payn q*e* vient de fu*ur* 604
Breke the lof th*at* comith of oue[*n*]
Brusez los qauo*us* de veneo*ur* [col. 2]
Breke the bon
Rumpez la corde q*e* fait nousau*n*ce 608
Breke th*at* Rope
Freynez la couen*a*nt de deteyn*a*nce [deceyu*a*nce?]
Breke th*at* forwarde
De coudre depessez la noys 612
Breke th*at* note of the hasulle
Quassez le hay et ent*r*om en bois
Breke th*at* hegge
Vn dee aherda et vola p*ar*-my *anglice lideȝate* vn issel 616
A swarme of beez
Sur la ripe est vn ceroyne
On the bank is a meremayde
Et de sa cov p*r*ist vn cyroyne 620
Toke a hande-worme
G*r*aunt merueil fust vn filandre perer*e*
A sterling warpe
Vn teile de filau*n*dre s*ur* vn perer*e* 624
A web of gossom*er*
La leuer*e* deit close les dentz
The lippe
Le leuer*e* en boys se tient de-deynz 628
The har*e*
La liuer*e* sert a marchau*n*tz
The pounde
La liuer*e* ap*r*ent nous enfau*n*tz 632
The boke
Ho*m*me et fe*m*me si est rous
Red
Chiual soor si soit pilous 636
Red
De goules ho*m*me porte lescu
Red
De rouge launce ho*m*me est feru 640
Red

Vyn vermaile est bon claret
Red
Pur beuyere oue bien pu blaret
A balled gose

644

Nomina arborum

Pomer perere et frene
Appultre peretre and assche
Pruner creker et chene
Plumtre bolastre and hookus
Coudre fov et tilier
Hesul beche and lynde
Arable sape et glasier
Mapul fyr and mulberetre
Fourder leme et alier
Slotre birche and ellertre
Tremuler nuger et grosiler
Aspe walnotetre and theuthorne
Sauce sev et ciriser
Welew, hollertre chiritre
Aube-espyne et eglenter
Hawethorne hepetre
Vrm alne et verte huce
Elme althir and holyn
Ere du boys et la buce
.V. and box
If roser et cenelere
Hw rosetre and hawetre
Cheuere-foil et populer
Wodebynde and popiltre
Arderne genette et coyner
Wyth brome and quincetre
Pomer de boys et medlere
Crabbetre
Arbre ad braunche et racyne
Tre boowe and rote
Foils somet qe encline
Lefs croppe that bowith

648

652

656

660

664

668

672

676

Nomina *Fructuum* dictarum Arborum

Pome pere et furdye
Appul pere and slo
Creke prune et alie 680
Bolas plu*m*be and cirue
Coynz cornaile et cirie
Coyns pekede and chirie
Cromsile nugage et glasie 684
Theuthorne and mulber*e*
Murs de rou*n*ce et coudre-noys [fol. 164]
Berie and hasul-note
Glane cenele et pome de boys 688
Accorne hawe and crabbe
Fige reysyn et poperouge (*sic*)
Fige reysyng*e* and hope [*for* hepe ?]
La velu pesche et frese rouge 692
Opyn-herse and streberie

Nomina Bestiarum

Leon est Roy de bestys
[*half-line blank*]
Et contr*e* luy abeysant testes 696
bowen
Vrs senge et leparde
Bere ape and lep*a*rde
Lou gopile et pesarde 700
Wolf fox and nytmar*e*
Taupe putois et tesson
Moldewarpe fulmard and brok
Welet (*sic*) leuer*e* et hereson 704
Wesel hare and irchoun*e*
Cheueroil cerf et bice
Roo h*e*rte and hynde
Leuerer*e* chien et lice 708
Grehounde dog and bicche
Deym deyme et conyz
Buk doo and conye
Chat rat et soriz 712
Cat ratou*n* and mouse

Destre iument et poutr*e*
Stede mer*e* and merecolt (etatis iij. annorum)
Poleyn chiual et loutr*e*
Colt hors and otre
Chiual praie hakeney sor
Geldud hors red hakeney
Fauf vache motee et toor
Don*n* doddyd cove and bole
Boef bouet et ienyce
Oxe stere and hefere
De cheuere est freide pelice
Of goth is colde pilche
Bouycle ienyche et le vel (mas. ij. annorum fe. ij. annorum)
Bullok hefer*e* and calf
Porke hoget et porcelle
Swyn hog and gris
Sengler troie et suel
Bor sowe and gilte
Hurton*ur* motou*n* et agnel
Ram wethur and lombe
Asne asnesse (fe.) et mulet
Asse and Mule
Miere (*sic*) berbitz et furet
Ewe and furet
Crapoude rayne et s*er*pent
Tode frogge and nedder
Verm culure ensement
Worme and snake

La noyse de ditz Bestes

Leon romyst	Lyoun rorith
Vrs grundile	Bere rorith
Senge braie	Ape scrikith
Lou hule	Wolf gouluth
Gopil claye	Fox berkith
Putois garit	Fulmarde scremyth
Tesson c*r*aile	Brok woulith
Chien baie	Hounde berkith

Chat menoye	Cat meututh [col. 2]	
Chiual hyne	Hors neyeth	
Vache mugee	Cov lowith	752
Toor buge	Bole belluth	
Cheuere cherit	Got bleti[t]h	
Pork grundise (*sic*)	Swyn grundeluth	
Berbit baleie	Schepe bletith	756
Asne rechane	Asse rorith	
Crapoude quailie	Tode croudith	
Rayne gailie	Frogge pipith	
Colure regailie	Snake cissith	760
Serpent [*blank*]	Nedder tissith	

Cy orrez assemble de bestes

Vn herde de cerfs	A herde of hertes	
Vn herde de deymes	A herde of bukkys	
Vn soundre de porks	A hep of swyn	764
Vn pastroil dez asnes	A hep of asses	
Vn pastroil de mules	A hep of mulus	
Vn route de boefs	A drofe of oxone	
Vn gurdei de vaches	A hep of kyne	768
Vn gurdei de veels	A hep of calfryn	
Vn harasse de poleyns	A stode of coltes	
Vn tripe de berbis	A trip of schepe	
Vn loreie de purcels	A hep of gris	772
Vn mute de chiens	A mute of houndes	
Vn lesse de leuerers	A lesse of grehoundes	

Nomina Auium

Egle griffoñ et gelyne	
Erne grip henne	776
Cok iarce et le Cyne	
Cok gander and swan	
Malarde ane et lowe	
Drake doke and gose	780
Sigoyne pown et powe	
Storke pecok and pohenne	
Musscherom verder et lalowe	
Sparwe ruddoc and larke	784

Gryue et croulecowe
Feldefare and waschesterte
Plusschoun huan et russenole
Cote houle nytyngale 788
Coufle chowe et loriole
Kyte ko and wodewale
Corb corf et charderole
Roke Rauen and goldefynch 792
Frescie et pynocuole
Nyterowe and watirfynch
Owe rosers et couperole
Wylde goose and notehache 796
Assi reitel et paleuole (?)
Wodecok wrenne and fymer (?)
Pardys plouer et merle
Partrik plouer and osele 800
blaebrid
Fesant botor et herle [fol. 164, back]
and schelledrake
Coloumbe ramer et vanele
Stokdowe and lapwynge 804
Turtre moneau et praele
Turtildow sperwe and buntynge
Esperuer tele et chalaundre
and wodelarke 808
Arounde esturnel et filandre[1]
Swalewe and sterlinge
Chaufsoris et papiloun
Bak and botreflee 812
Salamandre et grisiloun
Criket and gressehopper
Ee hanatoun en ruche
Bęc drumbil in hyue 816
Puce wybet et muche
Fle gnatte and flie
Bekas et musenge
Snyte and titemose 820
Vn kukele anglice cukkou [*half-line blank*]

[1] *Above is written*—id est (*and no more !*).

Congregacio Auium

Vn herde de grues	A flok of cranes	
Vn herde de gryues	A floc of feldefares	
Vn beuee de herouns	A hep of schiterowys	824
Vn Ny de fesauntz	A hep of fesaundes	
Vn Couee de perdys	A couee of pertrichez	
Vn dameye de alowes	A damey of larkes	
Vn cumpanye de owes	A cumpanye of gees	828
Vn grele de gelyns	A floc of hennes	
Vn pipe de oysealx	A pipe of briddus	
Vn volee de columbes	A flişte of dowes	
Vn tourbe de cercels	A hep of telus	832
Vn sondre de estournels	A hep of stærlingges	
Vn iaroil de anes	A hepe of dokes	
Vn lure de faucouns	A lure of faucouns	

La noyse de oysealx naturelment

Egle gerreie	Erne crieth	836
Grue groule	Crane gret	
Cyne recifle	Swan tissith	
Columbe gerit	Dowe croukyth	
Owe iangle	Goos crekith	840
Estournel iargonne	Sterlyng spekyth	
Iarce agrule	Gandre gagoluth	
Ane iarule	Doke qwekyth	
Cok chaunte	Coc crowith	844
Alowe chaunte	Larke syngyth	
Gelyne patile	Henne cakelyth	
Gelyn chaleyse	Henne clokkyth [col. 2]	
Gelyne est caukee	Henne is trodyn	848
Gelyne ad poune	Henne hathe layde	
Gelyne est couee	Henne is set	
Gelyne ad trepele	Henne hathe hachut	
Poucynes enbrauncheez	Sponfytherede chykenes	852

Lapparayle pur charue

Chief et penoun	Heuede and fot	
Manuel et tenoun	Handle and stilte	
Hay et oysiloun (*sic*)	Bem and reste	
Vomer et escochoun	Schare and scheldbrede	856

Soche et esclauous	Cultir and clyuye	
Trecters (?) et temous	Plowestryngges and tem	
Iugo (*sic*) et arsoun	ȝok and oxebowe	
Mallet et mundilous	Betul and akirstaf	860
Herce et semylous	Harewe and sedelep	
Fuet et agilous	Gode and prikke	

Lappareyle pur charette

De charette orrez les nouns	
Firste of the carte	864
Primes de roes nus dirrons	
And of the welus	
Bende de fer iauntes et ray	
Cartebonde felies and spokes	868
Et de moaus apres dirray	
And of the nathus	
Cartil essel et sauuers [*or* sauners]	
Cartebodi axultre cloutes	872
Trynes braieus et riders	
Axultre-pynnes warewrethes radeues (?)	
Eschele founs et crossers	
Laddre botme and crosse-bredes	876
A coustes claies et roulouns	
Be sydes hirdeles and cartesoulis	
Dosser biletz de fut auons	
Rigwith dractepynnes	880
Sele coler et ventrere	
Sadul hamborwe and womberope	
Esteles trays et valuere	
Hamys trays taylerope	884
Charetер ad sa reorte	
Carter hathe his wippe	
Dount chiuals a chemyn resorte	
Turnyth to the weye	888

INDEXES TO THE NOMINALE.

I subjoin separate indexes to the Anglo-French and English words.

Some of the former I do not understand, and the spellings of these are sometimes uncertain. It is hard to distinguish between *n* and *u*, *c* and *t*, *f* and long *s*.

I here make notes of a few words which seem to give earlier quotations for English words than appear in the N.E.D. Thus *acre-staff* is first quoted from Cotgrave (1611); but appears here as *akirstaf* in l. 860.

Acre-staff (1611); bagge, to look askew (Chaucer); be-dravel (P.Pl.); blissom (1432); bolas-tre (bullace-tree, 1440); bolling (excessive drinking, 1529); cart-band (1483); cart-body (no example); clyuye (clevis, 1592); coppid (crested, 1398); coppid larke (1611); cut-purse (P.Pl.); cutting (a piece cut off, 1382); crowd (to crow, 1575); dodded (1440); doubler (13 . .); draveling (slaver, 1398); drumble (a drone, 1575); firstre (no example); freckened (Allit. Morte Arthure); furet (ferret, 1398); gaggle (1399); gilt (young sow, 1440); grashopper (14 . .); grundle (cf. gruntle, 1400); hackney (13 . .); haw-tree (13 . .); hed-brond = head-brand (14 . .); hog (1340); jealous (1382); joist-tree (joist, 1379); kids (faggots, 1350); lathes (1330); louvre (1367); open-arse (medlar; no quotation between 1000 and Chaucer).

Stratmann has no quotation for *totur*, a see-saw, before 1440. The N.E.D. derives E. *gobbon* from an "unrecorded" A.F. form **gobon*; for which see l. 450. Again, the A.F. *fonyle*, hitherto unrecorded, helps to explain our *funnel* (1402). We also find here A.F. *furet*, a ferret (1398); *gridile*, a griddle.

In the hope of contributing information that may solve some of the A.F. forms, I refer to "B." = Walter de Bibbesworth,[1] printed in Wright's Volume of Vocabularies, i. 142; with various

[1] Wright prints "Biblesworth." I find, from the Hundred Rolls, that there was a "Bibbesworth" in Hertfordshire. See N. and Q. 4 S. viii. 64.

asnesse, 734; C.
assemble, 424.
assi, 797; assée, C.
astre, 476; B. 170. 27.
astrere, 558; *see* astre.
aube, 598; white.
aube-spyne, 660; aubespin, C.
auge, 492; C.
aumare, 476; cf. annuere, B. 170. 15.
aumayre (?), 478. [*The* um *uncertain.*] *Perhaps the same as* aumare; cf. "lover, aumeur," Reliq. Antiq. ii. 84, col. 1.
anons, 576; we have. *Written* anous, 580. *See* quanous.
auxi, 472; moreover.
babeie, 83; cf. balbeye, B. 173. 8.
baie, 749; bays; B. 152. 9.
bale, 93; cf. baler, to dance, C.; B. 152. 19.
bale, 85; cf. baaillier, baller, G.; baailler, C.; B. 152. 21.
bale, 83; gl. "drauelith."
baleie, 185; balayer, C.
baleie, 756; B. 152. 19.
barbe, 23; C.
barel, 508; barrel.
barons, 424.
bas, 165.
basenet, 562; bassinet, C.
basyn, 484.
bate, 119; batre, C.
batel, 540; bateau, C.
bauet, 237; bave, C.; cf. B. 143. 12.
beal, 275; fair.
beche, 518; C.
beit, 89; Fr. boit.
bekas, 819; becaz, B. 166. 3; snipe.
bende, 867; B. 167. 8.
berbit, 113, 756; brebis, C.; B. 152. 19; *pl.* berbis, 771; berbitz, 736.
berce, 401; bercer, C.; B. 143. 9.
bercelet, 401; cf. berceau, C.
besagu, 536; besague, C.; B. 162. 21.
bestys, 694; beasts.
beuse, 824; B. 151. 8.
beuyere, 644; to drink.
beyuer, 359; drinking.
bice, 706; biche, C.
biens, 283; goods.
biletz, 879; B. 168. 15.
biz, 307; bis, C.
biz, 564; bise, C.
blaret, 644; cf. blaireau, C.; blarette, B. 165. 25.
ble, 117, 119; bled, C.
bleseie, 85; cf. "blois, qui blèse," G.
boef, 303, 722; ox; *pl.* boefs, 767.
bois, 614; C.
bolenge, 532; B. 155. 16.
bons, 454; good.
borde, 115; boord, 458; board.
botor, 801; butor, C.
bouche, 23, 237; C.
bouet, 722; cf. bouveau, C.
bouycle, 726; bullock.
bowelles, 69; B. 149. 4.
braie, 744; B. 152. 1.
braieus, 873; braiel, G.
brandele, 221; brandilloir, C.
bras, 53; C.
braunche, 674; branch.
broche, 490; C.
broil, 588; cf. brouillar, C.
brusez, 606; B. 172. 16.
brut, 424.
bruter, 217; brouette, C.
buce, 664; buz, B. 163. 15.
buge, 753; bellows (as a bull).
bugle, 550; wild ox.
burges, 427; burgesses.
burs, 381; purse.
cachyne, 167. Lat. *cachinnare.*
caliow, 514; caillou, C.; B. 157. 5.
canel, 5. Cf. *canel*, a term in weaving; "canels ou trames," G.
canoys; B. 156. 19.
carboun, 558; charbon, C.
cartil, 871; B. 167. 25. Cf. Norm. dial. *chartil* (Moisy).
cauke, 133. *From* Lat. *calcare.*
caukee, 848; cauqué, C.
cauntele (*or* tauntele), 219; bier. Cf. F. "chantier, a gauntrey or stilling for hogsheads to stand on, a tresle to saw tymber on," C.
cemoie, 584; it sleets; B. 160. 11.
cene, 480; *glossed* schyngle, i.e. wooden tile.
cenele, 688; B. 162. 27; senelle, C.

cenelere, 666; B. 162. 27; cf. cenele, Supp. to G.
cente, 123; ceinct, C.
cercels, 832; B. 151. 12; sarcelle, C.
cerf, 706; C.; *pl.* cerfs, 762; B. 151. 1.
ceroyne, 618; sereine, C.
cerrure, 470; *see* serrure, G.; cerure, B. 170. 22.
ceruel, 5; cervelle, C.
ceyme, 584; ceym, B. 167. 2; cem, B. 160. 12; sleet.
chace, 139, 193; chases.
chacie, 17; cf. jacie, B. 145. 1.
chaier, 504; chair.
chalaundre, 807; calaundre, B. 164. 8.
chaleyse, 847; clucks (as a hen).
chantaunt, 127.
chanue, 347; grows gray.
char, 377; flesh.
charderole, 791; cardenerole, B. 165.8; goldfinch.
chare, 75, 261; B. 153. 4; chair, C.
chareter, 885; B. 168. 20.
charette, 863; B. 167. 3.
chastre, 311; chastrer, C.
chat, 712, 750; cat.
chaudere, 486; chaudiere, C.
chaufsoris, 811; chauvesouris, C.
chaunte, 844, 845; B. 152. 6.
chaux, 438; C.
checun, 65; chacun, C.
cheet, 165, 588; falls.
chemyn, 888; B. 168, 22.
chene, 482, 648; B. 163. 23; B. 171. 7; oak.
chenet, 476; B. 171. 4.
cheont, 582; fall.
cherit, 754. Cf. "cheverau cherist," Reliq. Antiq. ii. 80, ll. 2, 3.
cheuere, 724, 754; chevre, C.
cheuere-foil, 668; chevre-fueille, C.
cheueret, 542; cf. chevrie, C.
cheueroil, 706; chevreul, C.
cheueroun, 442; B. 170. 9.
chief, 853; B. 168. 27.
chien, 708, 749; dog.
chiual, 716, 751; cheval, C.
chiualers, 425.
chowe, 789; chough.
chowes, 189; chou, C.
cieles, 59; *glossed* wortwales, i.e. hangnails (Halliwell); cf. *wartywell, wortewell*, a hangnail, the half-moon at the bottom of the finger-nail; E.D.D. *See* ele.
cils, 15; cf. cyz, B. 145. 12.
cirie, 682; cherry.
ciriser, 658; B. 162. 25.
ciroyne, 349; "ciron, a hand-worme," C.
claie, 61; the back of the hand; B. 147. 16.
claies, 877; claye, C.
claret, 642; claret.
claye, 746. Cf. "jopil (*read* gopil) cleye," Reliq. Antiq. ii. 79, col. 2.
clef, 468; C.
cleket, 468; cliket, B. 170. 22.
clers, 426; clerks.
clerseie, 586; cf. O.F. *esclarcir*, to lighten, G.
cloche, 407; G.; cloak.
clowes, 446; nails.
clune, 179; winks. O.F. *clignier, clugner*, G.
cochera, 440; coucher, C.
coche-uyz, 309; "cochevis, the copped lark, the lark that hath a little tuft standing on her head," C.
coer, 67; quer; B. 149. 4.
coife, 157; coiffée, C.
cok, 777, 844.
col, 9, 203; C.
coler, 881; collar.
columbe, 831, 839; coloumbe, 803; B. 152. 6; dove.
columbes, 831; doves; B. 152. 6.
colure, 760; snake.
combate, 107.
compaignie, 426; B. 151. 16.
conoil, 534; conul, B. 157. 1; quenouille, C.
conseil, 423.
conyz, 710; connil, C.
corb, 791; rook.
corbel, 528; corbeille, C.; B. 158. 7.
corbelchon, 532; cf. corbeillon, C.
corde, 207, 233, 608; B. 172. 17.
corf, 791; corbeau, C.
corn, 550; horn.

cornaile, 682; corneille, C.
corps, 1; C.
costeez, 49; B. 148. 1.
cotel, 500; knife.
coudre, 191, 612, 650; hazel.
coudre-noyz, 686; hazel-nuts.
couee, 826; B. 151. 5.
couee, 850; couvé, C.
couenant, 610; B. 172. 18.
couere, 141; covers.
coueret, 217; a cripple (?). (*Might be* coneret.)
couert, 480; covered.
coufle, 789; escoufle, C.
couient, 430, 460; suits.
countes, 424.
coupe, 152. Cf. O.F. *escopir*, to spit.
couperole, 795; nuthatch.
cous, 273; a cuckold, G.
coustes, 474, 877; B. 168. 4; sides.
coustre, 225; "cousture, a seame," C.
coute, 55; coude, C.
cov, 55, 205; "cou de la meyn, the hand-wriste," B. 147. 15.
coyloun, 41; couillon, C.
coyne, 516; coignée, C.
coyner, 670; B. 163. 8.
coynz, 682; quinces; cf. B. 163. 8.
craile, 748; "crailler, to croake like a raven or toad," C.
crapoude, 738, 758; crapaud, C.
creke, 680; B. 162. 28.
creker, 223, 648; *see* creke, G.; B. 162. 28.
cresceant, 3; growing.
crest, 361, 391; grows.
cretyne, 568; crestine, G.
cricele [tricele?], 588; cf. O.F. *crecin*, a flood, G.
criuere, 137; crible, C.
cromsile, 684; bramble (?). (*Possibly* cromfile.)
crossers, 875; cf. croisée, C.
croulecowe, 785; wagtail.
crue, 75, 377; raw.
crut, 305; skin under the shell (of an egg); cf. B. 150. 12.
cryuere, 530; crible, C.
culier, 500; spoon.
culure, 740; colure, B. 159. 12; snake.
cumble, 442; comble, C.; combele, B. 170. 12.
cumpanye, 828.
cune, 516; coing, C.
curreie, 123; courroye, C.; thong.
curreie, 303; courroyer, C.; taws.
custez, 51; B. 148. 1.
cuuerel, 494; *see* cuveau, C.
cyne, 777, 838; cynge, B. 152. 8 (note 5); swan.
cyngulte, 91; cf. "sengloter, to yex," C.
cynile, 177; twinkles (?).
cyre, 143; cire, C.
cyroyne, 620; *see* ciroyne.
cyuere, 520; civiere, C.
dameye, 827; damé, B. 151. 6.
damys, 426.
dapere (?), 321. *Perhaps read* Drapere, a draper.
daresme = de aresme, 486; arain, C.
daronde = de aronde, 341; reed; Lat. *arundo*. *See* arounde.
de-deynz, 65, 628; dedens, B. 145. 21.
deduyt, 213; deduit, C.
dee, 616. [Perhaps incorrect; cf. O.F. *ee*, a bee, G. Two lines are here crushed into one. Perhaps read—Vn [essaim] dee[s] aherda Et parmy vn issel vola.]
deiez, 59; doigt, C.
deit, 432; he ought.
deluuye, 570; flood.
dents foreynz, 31; B. 146. 16; front teeth.
dentz, 626; teeth.
depessez, 612; despecer, C.
deplume, 309; *see* deplumation, C.
desert, 371.
desouz, 452; under.
desplet, 345; displeases.
destre, 714; destrier, C.
deteynance, 610; B. 172. 18.
deuant, 357; devant, devantel, C.
deuyent, 271; becomes.
deym, 710; daim, C.; *pl.* deymes, 763.
deyme, 710; *see* deym.
doile = de oile, 175, 179, 183; *see* oile.
dolabre, 536; *see* Supp. to G.; doloire, C.
dorge = de orge, 121; orge, C.
dormant, 245.

dormer, 251; dort, 99.
dos, 51; C.
dosser, 879; B. 168. 10.
doute, 594.
drap, 125, 385, 387; C.
eche; *see* queche.
edifier, 428.
ee, 815; G.; bee.
egle, 775, 836; eagle.
eglenter, 660; B. 163. 2.
ele, 47. It represents Fr. *aile*; *see* B. 172. 4. *See* cieles.
emple, 155; emplir, C.
emprent, 287; undertakes.
enbraunchees, 852.
encline, 676; inclines.
enclume, 187, 506; C.
endente, 359; "endenter, renverser," G.
enfant, 145, 405, 632.
enflestree, 199; enflestrir, G.; cf. flestrir, C.
enflure, 269; enfleure, C.
enlestree, 201; freckled.
enpalluee, 409; *see* empaluer, G.; soiled.
enperke, 307; encloses.
enprent, 145; teaches.
ente, 223; enter, C.
enuiroun, 71; B. 149. 5.
ercule, 165 (?). *Perhaps miswritten for* croule; cf. "crouler, to shake, wag," C.
ere, 664; ere, iere, G.; lierre, C.; B. 162, 7.
escarrie, 379; escharrie, B. 173, 12; a beetle.
eschamel, 504; cf. escabeau, C.
eschele, 875; B. 168. 8.
eschyne, 51; eschine, C.
escient, 432; C.
esclauotee, 407; B. 173. 1 (*footnote*).
esclauoun, 857; clavon, B. 169. 11.
escochoun, 856; B. 169. 2.
escu, 560; C.; *see* lescu.
escuiour, 544.
escule, 351.
esglise, 259; church.
esparplie, 117; esparpiller, C.
espaules, 53; C.
espaume, 281; espausmer, C.
espaunde, 355; spills; cf. B. 164. 10.
espeie, 548; sword.
espere, 299; cf. esperer, C.
esperuer, 807; esparvier, C.
espire, 79; aspirer, C.
espleen, 69; B. 149. 4.
espreche, se, 251; B. 152. 23.
esquele, 155, 490; B. 172. 3; escuelle, C.
esquiers, 425.
essel, 871; B. 167. 21; essieu, C.
estage, 428; B. 169. 22.
estange, 391; pool.
estee, 596; esté, C.
esteles, 883; B. 168. 17; estelle, C.
estent, 285; cf. estendre, C. and Supp. to G.
estiche, 265; B. 150. 19; apple-stalk.
estomak, 71; B. 149. 5.
estournel, 841, 833; estourneau, C.
estre, 472; to be.
estril, 520; estrille, C.
esturnel, 809; *see* estournel.
euesques, 423; bishops.
ewe, 393; water.
ewer, 484; adj., for water.
face, 13, 197; C.
fagotes, 229.
failuy (failny ?), 261; fally, B. 153. 3.
farsue, 73; midriff (?).
fauche, 111; faucher, C.
faucil, 526; faucille, C.
faucouns, 835; falcons; B. 151. 13 (note 3).
fauf, 720; fauve, C.
faux, 526; faulx, C.; B. 154. 11.
feare, 440; to make.
feire, 321; a fair (?).
fel, 69; fiel, C.
femme, 81.
fende, 115; fendre, C.
fendour, 381; fendeur, C.
fenestre, 474; B. 170. 15.
fenz, 117; fiens, C.; feus (*for* fens), B. 151. 11.
fer, 135.
feru, 640; struck.
feruele, 97; *read* forucie; "fourvoyer, to mistake the way," C.
fesant, 801, 825; B. 151. 5; pheasant.
feteez, 456; make.
feue, 363; bean.

feyme, 169 ; faim, C.
ficele, 492 ; fissele, G.
fichez, 462 ; fixed.
fiert, 107, 187 ; smites.
fige, 690 ; fig.
filandre, 622, 809 ; "stare, filaundre" ; Reliq. Antiq. ii. 82, col. 2 ; B. 164. 7.
filaundre, 624 ; gossamer ; B. 147. 25.
filee, 417 ; threaded.
filet, 31 ; B. 146. 18.
flael, 520 ; flail.
flate, 109 ; flater, C.
foie, 67 ; B. 149. 4.
foils, 676 ; leaves.
fole, 221 : fool.
fonyle, 512 ; funnel.
forcele, 33 ; B. 146. 5.
forge, 135 ; forges.
fossolet, 9 ; "fosselete, petite fosse," G. ; "fossette, a little pit, small hole, dimple," C., i.e. depression in the neck, below the chin ; cf. fosset, B. 146. 17.
founs, 875 ; fons, fond, C.
fountain, 7 ; "fountaine de la teste, the mould of the head," C. ; s.v. *fontaine*.
fourder, 654 ; B. 163. 1.
fouudre, 586 ; fouldre, C.
fov, 650 ; beech.
fow, 506 ; bellows ; B. 171. 9, 11.
fow, 504 ; fou, C.
fowe, 103 ; "fouir, to dig," C.
frank, 317 ; free man.
frape, 426 ; frap, G.
frasee, 363 ; fraser, to peel, shell, G.
freide, 724 ; cold.
frene, 646 ; B. 162. 26 ; ash.
frese, 692 ; fraise, C.
freseie, 793 ; frezaiye, C.
fressche, 261 ; B. 153. 4.
frestel, 542 ; fretel, C. ; frestele, B. 164. 22.
freynez, 610 ; B. 172. 18.
friche, 263 ; freche, B. 153. 3.
frount, 13 ; B. 144. 20.
frussez, 604 ; B. 172. 15.
fruyt, 211.
fue, 371 ; flees.
fuet, 862 ; fouet, C.
fundement, 434 ; B. 169. 24.
fune (?), 181 ; cf. fongner, C., G.
furche, 518 ; fourche, C.
furchure, 41 ; B. 148. 13.
furdye, 678 ; fourdine, B. 163. 1 ; fourdrine, C.
furet, 736 ; C.
fusil, 524 ; fuseau, C. ; B. 157. 4.
fusil, 514 ; C. ; B. 157. 5.
fut, 879 ; fust, C.
fuur, 604 ; fourn, B. 172. 15.
fymer (?), 798.
fymere, 518 ; fumier, *adj.*, C.
gailie, 759 ; croaks.
galerne, 566 ; C.
galeyns, 59 ; double handfuls, as much as the two hands will hold, B. 147. 21.
gambeson, 560 ; C.
garbis, 313 ; cf. gerbe, C. ; sheaves ; garbes, B. 154. 13.
gardeyn, 235.
garet, 43 ; B. 148. 15.
garit, 747 ; cf. Lat. *garrire*.
gate, 492 ; "gate, a bowle," C.
gel, 574, 590 ; frost.
gele, 574 ; freezes ; B. 160. 3.
gelee, 596 ; frost.
gelous, 275 ; jealous.
gelyne, 775, 846 ; gelyn, 829, 847 ; B. 152. 11 ; hen.
gemele, 105 ; cf. gemir, C.
gemelees, 462 ; door-posts.
genette, 670 ; genest, C. ; genet, B. 162. 26.
genoil, 39 ; B. 148. 15 ; knee.
genoile, 295 ; kneels.
gent, 109 ; people.
gerit, 839 ; gemit, B. 152. 6 ; gerist, Reliq. Antiq. ii. 79, col. 2.
gerreie, 836.
giser, 263 ; to lie. *Hence* gist, 215 ; gisent, 249 ; gisont, 329.
glane, 688 ; acorn.
glas, 576 ; ice ; B. 160. 5.
glasie, 684 ; mulberry (?).
glasier, 652 ; *see* glasie.
glebe, 131, 133.
gobons, 450 ; pieces ; *see* gobbon *in* N.E.D.
gons, 464 ; B. 170. 20.
gopil, 746 ; gopile, 700 ; goupil, C.

gorge, 33, 201; B. 146. 3.
goules, 638; gules, B. 153. 23.
graps, 466; *see* grape, G.
grate, 121; grater, C.
grele, 829; B. 151. 12.
grele, 572; gresler, C.; B. 160. 15.
gresil, 572; C.; B. 160. 15.
greue, 7, 365; B. 144. 10; "la greve des cheveux, the shedding of the haire," C.
gridile, 488; a griddle.
griffoun, 775; griffin.
grisiloun, 813; B. 165. 11.
grosiler, 656; groselier, C.
groule, 837; B. 152. 3.
groyn, 181; groin, C.
grue, 837; B. 152. 3; *pl.* grues, 822; B. 151. 3.
grundile, 743; B. 152. 11.
grundise [*read* grundile], 755; grundile, B. 152. 11; grondillier, G.
gryue, 785; grive, C.; *pl.* gryues, 823; B. 151. 4.
guenchisons, 444. See below.
guenchons, 446; laths (?). Cf. Reliq. Antiq. ii. 84, l. 2; and O.F. guinche, a sort of plank, G.
guenyle, 175; stares (?). Cf. "guignier, to winke," C.
gule, 33, 353; throat.
gurdei, 768, 769; herd.
gurget, 257; B. 159. 9.
hakeney, 718; hackney.
hanap, 359; hanape, 496; B. 172. 3; cup.
hanapel, 1; small cup, skull, G.; B. 144. 19.
hanaton, 815; haneton, C.
harasse, 770; B. 151. 9.
harpe, 542.
haterel, 7; B. 144. 21; nape.
hay, 147, 855; B. 169. 7.
hay, 149, 614; haye, C.
heche, 255; B. 153. 2; hook.
heez, 442; roof-posts (?); cf. heese, B. 159. 24.
heit, 379; hates.
herbe, 361; grass.
herce, 399, 861; harrow.
herde, 373, 762, 822; B. 151. 2, 3.
hereson, 704; herisson, C.; yrizoun, B. 165. 13.
herle, 801; B. 164. 4.
herouns, 824; B. 151. 8.
hoes, 460; hus, B. 170. 16.
hoget, 728; little hog.
homme, 77.
huan, 787; huant, C.; owl.
huce, verte, 662; houce, B. 163. 19.
hue, 173; "huer, to hoot, shout," C.
hule, 161, 745; B. 152. 9; huller, C.
humblement, 161.
hume, 189; humer, C.
hurtonur, 403, 732; ram. Cf. heurter, C.
hussel, 53; hissel, B. 146. 25.
hyne, 751; neighs; B. 152. 5.
hynes, 37; cf. "eine, the groine or grine," C.
Iambe, 43, 195; B. 148. 15.
iangle, 840; jangler, C.
iarce, 777, 842; jars, C.; gander.
iargonne, 841; jargonner, C.
iaroil, 834; lit. a quacking. "L'ane iaroile"; and again, "Ane en mareis geroile" (*glossed* quekez = quacks); MS. Gg. 1. 1; in a passage following B. 152. 10.
iarule, 843.
iauntes, 867; B. 167. 10.
ienyce, 722; genisse, C.
ienyche, 726; *see* ienyce.
ierce, 403; jarse, G.; ewe.
iernoun, 21; *see* grenon, G.; gernon, B. 146. 23.
if, 666; C.; B. 163. 23.
iour, 602; day.
Iowe, 21, 199; joue, C.; B. 145. 17.
ioyne, 147; joins, fixes.
irounde, 395; swallow; arunde, B. 165. 27.
issel, *anglice* lidegate, 616.
issent, 325; issue; B. 167. 12.
Iugo, 859; iuge, B. 169. 13.
iument, 714; C.
Iungyues, 29, 141; cf. gyngives, B. 145. 29.
iupe, 173; "jupper, to whoot, showt," C.; B. 158. 20.
Iuye, 381; cf. juise, a pillory, G.
keux, 512; queus, C.

kukele, 821; cf. "cuknel, a kocken," *for which perhaps read* "cukuel, a kockeu"; B. 166. 5; cuckoo.
kyuyl, 45, 446; B. 148. 25; B. 170. 11; pin.
labour, 239.
laed, 189, 355; laict, C.
lalowe = l'alowe, 783; lark.
lambeie, 267; feels nausea. Cf. "laumber, wamblez," Reliq. Antiq. ii. 84, col. 2.
lame, 339; C.; B. 157. 16.
lange, 31; B. 146. 18.
lapet, 11; dewlap: (rather, lobe of the ear; see *lappet* in N.E.D.).
launce, 560, 640; B. 153. 24; lance.
lauour, 484; laver.
ledement, 173; laidement, C.
leme, 341, 654; birch (?).
lente, 225; "lende, a nit," C.
leon, 694, 742; lion.
leparde, 698; leopard, C.
lere, 301; thief.
lerrai, 55; I will leave; B. 147. 13.
lesche, 101; C.
lescu = le escu, 638; B. 153. 23.
lesse, 263; leaves; B. 153. 3.
lesse, 774; leash.
leuer, 436; to raise.
leuere, 628, 704; leuer, 139; hare; B. 145. 21.
leuere, 141, 626; B. 145. 18; l. bas, 25; B. 146. 14; l. susane, 27; lip.
leuerere, 708; levrier, C.; *pl.* leuerers, 774.
leyne, 113; laine, C.
lice, 708; *see* Roquefort's Dict.
lide, 163; slides; B. 160. 10.
lieu, 417.
liter, 215; litiere, C.
liuere, 145, 632; B. 145. 24.
liuere, 143, 630; B. 145. 22; pound.
loreie, 772; litter (of pigs).
loreie, 95; hiccoughs (?).
loriole = l'oriole, 789; oriole; B. 166. 10.
los, 606; *for* le os, the bone.
lou, 700, 745; loup, C.
loutre, 716; C.
lowe = l'owe, 307, 779; goose.
lower, 293; hire.
luche, 155, 490; louche, C.; B. 172. 8; ladle.
luche, 157; B. 172. 9; sharpens.
lucher, 157, 512; cf. B. 172. 9.
lune, 600; moon.
lure, 427, 835; B. 151. 13 (note 3).
lussel, 546; B. 157. 10.
lust, 600; lights, shines.
lyme, 524; lime, C.
lyme, 462; B. 170. 16; threshold.
lynchel, 231; linceul, C.
lynoys, 281; B. 156. 18.
mache, 95; mascher, C.
machelers, 25; cf. "machoueres, the jawes," C.
malade, 215.
malarde, 779; mallard.
malet, 538; mallet, 890; B. 169. 9.
malyce, 301.
mamelle, 35; mammele, C.
manace, 289; threatens.
manche, 411; C.
mange, 89.
manger, 351; eating.
manger, 353; meat.
mangue, 349.
manuel, 854; B. 168. 28.
marchaunz, 630; merchants.
martel, 187, 522; marteau, C.
meason, 395; house.
medlere, 672; medlar.
meer, 319; sea.
mene, 213, 321; mener, C.; B. 153. 5.
menoye, 750; mews; mynowe, B. 152. 7; cf. miauwer, G.
mentoun, 23; B. 146. 3.
mere, 327; sea.
merle, 799; C.
merveil, 622; marvel.
meson, 440; house.
messelers, 27; B. 146. 15.
messere, 436; B. 169. 25.
met, 323; mettez, 454; puts, put.
meyns, 57; main, C.; B. 147. 15.
meynte, 450; many.
miere, 736, (*sic*); *for* mere?
moale, 323; moyal, B. 167. 17; moyeu, C.; *pl.* moaus, 869; nave.
moile, 385; mouiller, C.

mole, 556; meule, C.
molet, 11; B. 146. 19.
moneau, 805; moineau, C.
morde, 167; bites.
mort, 219; dead.
morter, 510.
morue, 151; morver, C.
motee, 720; cf. Ital. *mozzo*.
motoun, 732; mouton, C.
mouent, 566; cf. movant, G.
moun, 209; my.
muche, 153, 817; mouche, C.
muche, 151; moucher, C.
mugee, 752; lows.
mules, 766.
mulet, 734; C.
mundiloun, 510, 860; cf. moundilon, B. 169. 10.
mure, 436; mur, C.
murs, 686; meure, C.
muscheron, 389; sparrow. *Spelt* musscherom, 783.
musenge, 819; B. 165. 3.
mute, 773; B. 151. 10.
mye, 89; mie, C.
mynge, 419.
nace, 528; cf. nasse, C.; cf. nase, B. 159. 7, 9; *see* nase.
nage, 315; rows.
nage, 317; buttock; *pl.* nages, 49; B. 148. 13.
nape, 351, 498; nappe, C.
narie, 19; B. 145. 15.
nase, 137; B. 159, note 3 (where for *szyne* read *szyue*, sieve); *see* nace.
nassie, 87; cf. nasyer, B. 173. 10.
nauet, 235; C.
nause, 87; sniffs (?).
neef, 315; nef, C.
nees, 151; *see* nes.
negge, 279; is drowned.
negge, 580; it snows; B. 160. 11.
neif, 580; snow; B. 160. 13.
neif, 317; naif, neyf, G.
nerues, 71; B. 149. 5.
nes, 19; nees, B. 145. 2.
noer, 279; C.
nouent, 327; noer, nouer, to swim, G.; cf. B. 167. 13.
noun-power, 281; weakness.
nouns, 863; names.
nousance, 608; nusaunce, B. 172. 17.
noyse, 742 (*title*); noise.
noyz, 227; noys, 612; noïx, C.
nugage, 684.
nuger, 227, 657; "noyer, a walnut-tree," C.
ny, 825; B. 151. 5.
oef, 305; egg.
oiel, 15, 17; eye.
oisel, 379; bird.
oraile, 11; B. 146. 19.
ordure, 267.
oreiler, 249; oreiller, C.
oreilere, 247; whisper (?); Cotg. *has* "oreiller, to hearken, listen."
orge; *see* dorge.
orgulouse, 277; proud.
orient, 602; C.
oriole; *see* loriole.
orrez, 863; ye shall hear.
oseloun, 149; oison, C.
osyloun, 147; *spelt* oriloun, B. 169. 1. *But see* 149 *and* 855.
oue, 367, 480, 644; ou (?), 257; with.
ouerayne, 287; work.
outre, 454; above.
owe, 795, 828, 840; B. 165. 23; *see* lowe; goose.
oysealx, 830; B. 151. 8.
oysiloun, 855; oriloun, B. 169. 1; oroilloun, Reliq. Antiq. ii. 83, col. 2.
paiele, 488; paelle, C.; pan.
paile, 496; pail (*see* stop *in* E.D.D.).
paleis, 337; palisse, G.; palisade.
palet, 29; B. 145. 25.
paleuole, 797; "the rede fleye, *palenole*" (*sic*), Reliq. Antiq. ii. 82, col. 2; *palevole*, "brin de paille, paillette," G.; la palenole (*sic*), *glossed* a litel bote fleyen [boterfleye = butterfly?] to wode, the rede fleye, B. 165. 7.
papiloun, 811; papillon, C.
pardys, 799; perdriz, B. 174. 11.
pareie, 129; paroy, C.
parle, 77.
parlement, 423.
par-my, 339; C.
passe, 417.
passuer, 514; B. 159. 26; stepping-stone.

pastroil, 765, 766; a herd.
patile, 846; B. 152. 11, 14, 17.
paume, 61; B. 147. 16.
paumee, 63; "longueur de la paume de la main," G.
paupere, 15; B. 145. 10.
pauye, 458; paveye, B. 170. 7.
payn, 604; B. 172. 15.
peal, 3; pel, C.
pecche, 383; sins.
pee, 45, 209, 594; B. 148. 25; foot.
p[e]il, 3; poil, C.
pelice, 724; pilch.
penoil [*read* penil], 39; B. 148. 12.
penoun, 853; B. 168. 27.
pense, 299.
perdys, 826; B. 151. 5.
pere, 673; pear.
perer, 337, 624, 646; pear-tree; B. 162. 25.
perer, 335. Perhaps for *parer*, to provide; C. *See* perere.
perere, 622 (parer ?); *see* perer.
pesarde, 700; pesart, C.
pesche, 692; C.
pesche, 253, 319; fishes. Cf. B. 153. 1.
pessel, 544; B. 156. 27.
peytrine, 35; B. 146. 10.
picoys, 536; picquois, C.
piere, 438; stone.
pil, 510; pilon, C.
piler, 452; pilier, C.
pilous, 636; pilouus, 203; cf. poillu, C.
pipe, 830; B. 151. 8.
plastre, 458; C.
platel, 502; platter.
plauncie, 456; B. 170. 6.
plaunte, 45; B. 149. 1.
plede, 131; plaider, C.
plouer, 799; plover.
pluche, 227; plucks.
pluet, 127; *read* pluert; pleurer, C.
plunchoun, 787; plongeon, C.; plounjoun, B. 165. 15.
pluuye, 568; rain.
poet, 335; can.
poi, 305; little.
poleyn, 716, 770; poulain, C.; B. 151. 9; colt.
pome, 678; apple.
pome de boys, 688; crab.
pomer, 646, 672; B. 162, 25.
pomoun, 67; B. 149. 4.
poot, 484, 486; pot.
poperouge, 690 [*perhaps read* pepe-rouge; cf. piperounge, B. 163. 2].
populer, 668; peuplier, C.
porcelle, 728; porcel, 311; pig.
porke, 728; pork, 754, 764; B. 152. 11.
pouce, 57; C.
poucere, 63; poulcée, C.
poucynes, 852; poucin, C.
poune, 395; lays eggs; *pp.* pouné, 849; B. 152. 12.
poutre, 714; C.; filly.
poutre, 452; C.; B. 170. 4; joist.
powe, 781; peahen.
pown, 781; paon, C.
poyn, 63; poing, C.
poyne, 61; poignée, C.; B. 147. 18.
poynoun, 57; knuckle (?).
praele, 805; cf. "*hic pratellus*, a buntyle"; Voc. 702. 40.
praie, 718; cf. priere (2), G.
pre, 111; pré, C.
preche, 259; preaches.
prent, 293, 369, 389; takes.
prestre, 259; priest.
primes, 432, 865; B. 169. 23; first.
prist, 620; took; *pp.* pris, 333.
promte, 283; cf. emprunter, C.
prune, 680; plum.
pruner, 648; B. 162. 26; plum-tree.
pu, 644; pou, B. 165. 25.
puce, 817; flea.
pucels, 427; maids.
puissent ils, 247; they can.
purcels, 772; pigs. *See* porcelle.
purnel, 15; cf. prunele, B. 145. 9.
pur-qoy, 419; why.
pute, 109; putain, C.
putee, 273; cf. putier, C.
putois, 702, 747; C.; B. 166. 17.
pyncel, 538; *glossed* brake.
pynceuole, 793; *gl.* watirfynch.
pys, 35; pis, C.
quailie, 758; croaks.
quassez, 614; quasser, C.

quauous, *for* quauons = que auons, which we have; 606.
queche, 257; *for* qu'eche; *where* eche (*glossed* tundre, i.e. tinder) = O.F. *esche*, tinder, G.; Ital. *esca*.
quere, 303; cuir, C.
quiuere, 135; cuivre, C.
quyces, 39; B. 148. 13.
racyne, 674; root.
rais, 329; furrows.
rais, 323; spokes; B. 167. 15. *See* ray.
rais, 325; rays; B. 167. 12.
rais, 327; rays (fishes); B. 167. 13.
ramer; coloumbe ramer, 803; "coulomb ramier, a queest, ringdove"; C., s.v. *ramier*.
ramoun, 185, 534; ramon, C.
rastel, 522; rasteau, C.; B. 155. 23.
rastuere, 522; rastuer, B. 155. 22.
rat, 712; rat.
rate, 73; C.
ray, 321; B. 167. 14; clothes.
ray, 867; B. 167. 11; spoke. *See* rais.
ray, 319, 333; B. 158. 28; net.
rayne, 333, 738, 759; reyne, B. 154. 2; frog.
rebounde, 393; bubble.
rechane, 757; recane, B. 152. 8.
recifle, 838; B. 152. 8 (note 5).
recleie, 183; looks askew (?).
regailie, 760; cf. gailie.
reget, 269; rejecter, C.
reherce, 405; rehearses.
reinoun, 69; B. 149. 4.
reitel, 797; roitelet, C.; roytel, B. 164. 17.
relement, 127, 361; seldom.
remoile, 590; thaw; B. 147. 6; cf. remouiller, C.
rent, 283; pays back.
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riplingcombe, 545; rippling-comb (E.D.D.).
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tawith, 304; taws.
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tete, 36; teat.
telus, 832; teals.
tem, 858; draught-chain; cf. "teame, cheane, *temo*," Levins; "timon, draught-tree," C. *See* team (E.D.D.).
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warpe, 336, 623; to form the warp of a web.
waschesterte, 736; wagtail.
watirfynch, 794.
watur, 394; watre, 254.
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waxus, 362; grows.
webbe, 336; web, 625.
wedehoke, 527; weeding-hook.
wegge, 517; wedge.
welew, 659; willow.
welewed, 200; withered.
welme, 360; reverse.
welus, 866; wheels.
womelith, 263; feels nausea.
weputh, 128; weeps.
werke, 288; work.
weruth, 138; wears, uses.
wesel, 705.
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wethur, 733.
wetith, 386.
weuyth, 126; weaves.
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weye, 888; way.
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wischith, 384; wishes.
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wlispyth, 86; lisps.
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wodelarke, 808.
wodewale, 790; woodpecker.
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woulith, 748; howls.
wouyn, 340; woven.
wrenne, 798.
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wulle, 114; wool.
wy, 420; why.
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wyndewith, 120; winnows.
wyndowes, 475.
wynketh, 180.
wys, 431; wise.
wysteluth, 160; whistles.
wyte, 364; white.
wyth, 671; withy.
wytyngge, 433; knowledge.
yeue, 404; ewe.
ymputh, 224; grafts.
yrede, 342; *apparently an error for* rede (reed).
yse, 577; ice.
ȝarewyndul, 547; yarewind, yarring! (E.D.D.).
ȝauynge, 591; *for* þauynge; thawing.
ȝerde, 192; yard, rod.
ȝerde, 224, 236; yard, court, garden.
ȝeskith, 96; hiccoughs.
ȝespons, 60; double handfuls.
ȝildith, 284; repays.
ȝok, 859; yoke.
ȝresschith, 120; *read* þresschith; thrashes.

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Jan. 1 to Dec. 31. To sums received in 1903—						
For Arrears	7	7	0			
,, Entrance Fee	1	1	0			
,, Subscriptions, 1903	48	6	0			
In advance	3	3	0			
				59	17	0
For Sale of Publications				3	19	8
,, Contribution from Clarendon Press, 1902 and 1903 towards printing				100	0	0
				276	13	1
Received from Members for copies of the Society's Dictionary				21	0	0
				£297	13	1

1903. CASH PAID.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31. By Printing—S. Austin & Sons				200	0	0
,, Meetings—Expenses of Rooms and Refreshments				8	17	5
,, Treasurer's expenses, including the Dictionary				1	10	0
,, Balance at Bankers	64	7	3			
,, ,, in Treasurer's hands	0	16	8			
				65	3	11
				275	11	4
Paid to Clarendon Press for Members' copies of the Society's Dictionary				22	1	9
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To Balance				153	3	2
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31. To sums received in 1905—						
For Arrears	5	5	0			
,, Entrance Fees	2	2	0			
,, Subscriptions, 1905	48	6	0			
In advance	3	3	0			
				58	16	0
				211	19	2
Received from Members for copies of the Society's Dictionary				9	16	0
				£221	15	2

1905. CASH PAID.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.						
By Printing—S. Austin & Sons, Ltd.				69	14	6
Boys' Home				0	5	0
,, Meetings—Expenses of Rooms and Refreshments				8	9	3
,, Bankers' charge on Scotch cheque				0	0	3
,, Treasurer's expenses, including the Dictionary				2	0	0
,, Balance at Bankers	138	1	1			
,, ,, in Treasurer's hands	1	3	1			
				139	4	2
				219	13	2
Paid to Clarendon Press for Members' copies of the Society's Dictionary				2	2	0
				£221	15	2

We have examined this Account with the Books and Vouchers, and certify that it is correct.

MARCH 16TH, 1906.

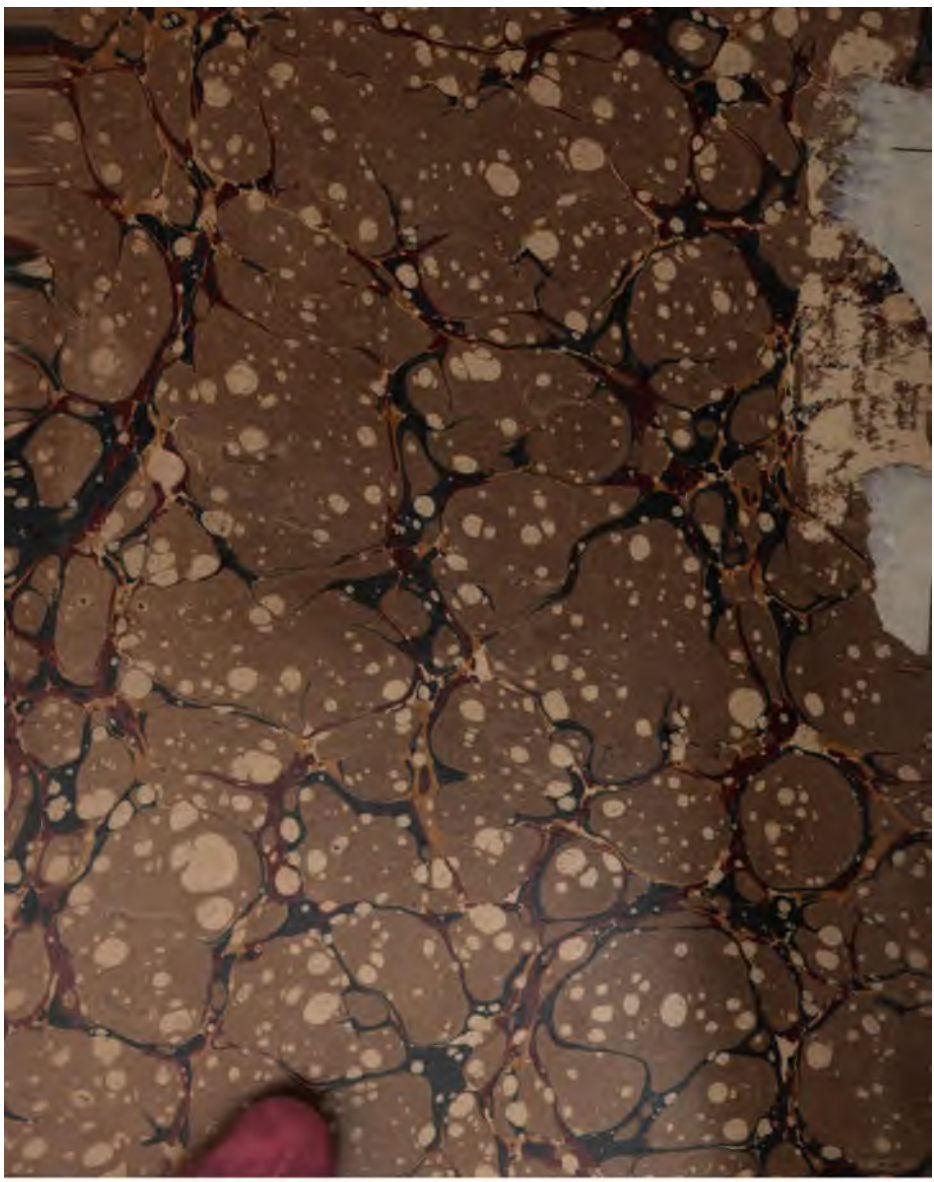
(Signed) HENRY B. WHEATLEY, RICHARD WARE, } AUDITORS.

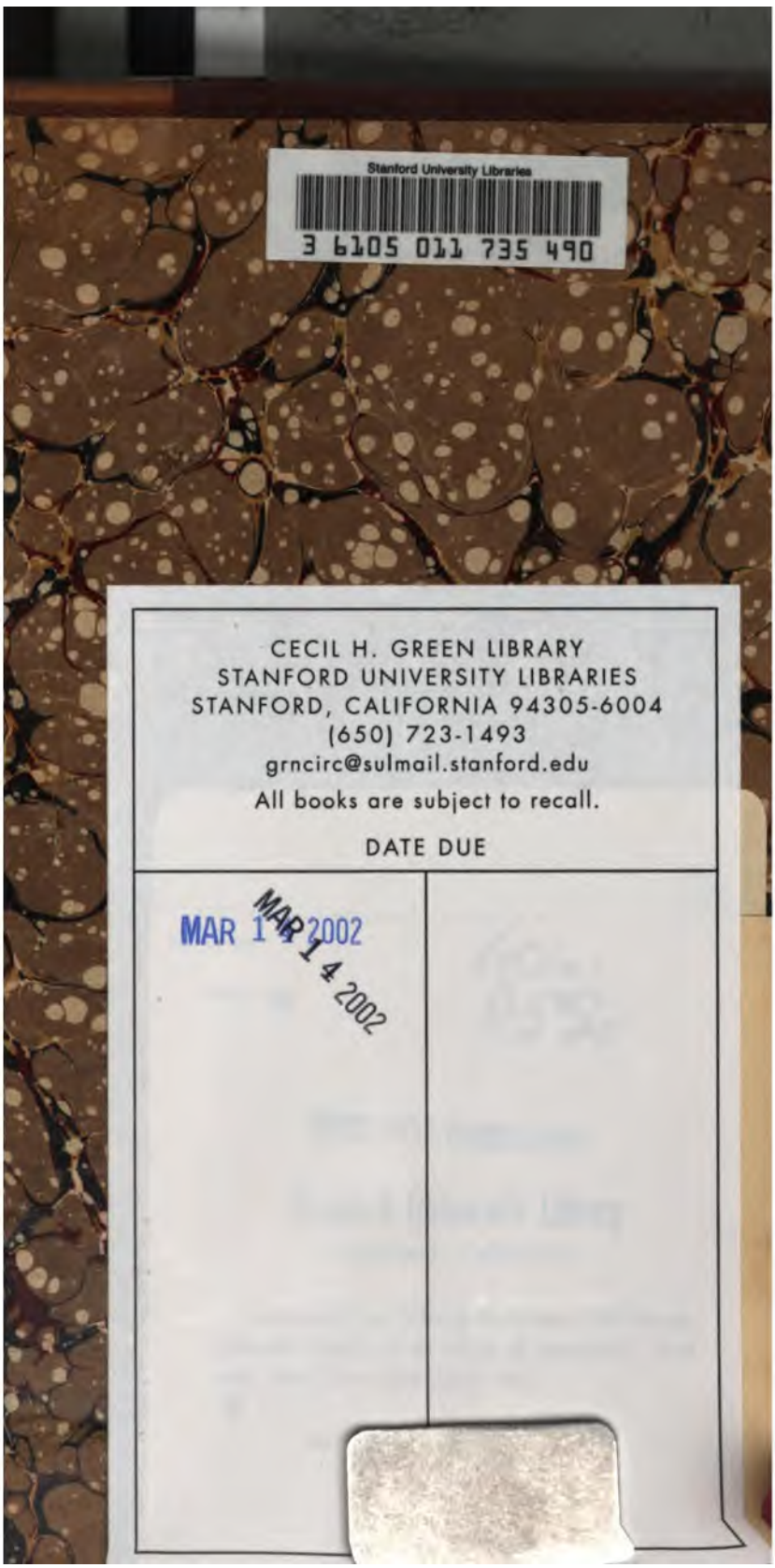












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